JOHN FOXE

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH

CONTAINING THE HISTORY AND SUFFERINGS OF THE MARTYRS

PART 2

Elibron Classics

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK VIII.

CONTINUING

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AFFAIRS APPERTAINING BOTH TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL STATES.

Mistress Smith, widow; Robert Hatches, a shoemaker; Aacher, a shoemaker; Hawkins, a shoemaker; Thomas Bond,—a shoemaker; Wrigsham, a glover; Landsdale, a hosier, at Coventry, A.D. 1519.

THE principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was, their teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and ten commandments in English, for which they were upon Ash-Wednesday put in prison, till the Friday following.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry. During which time their children were sent to the Gray Friars in Coventry, before the warden, called Friar Stafford: who examining them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them upon pain of suffering death, to meddle no more with the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English.

Upon Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought again to Coventry, and there the week before Easter they were condemned to be burned. Mistress Smith only was dismissed for the present. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, Simon Mourton offered to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the ratling of a scroll within her sleeve, saith he, "What have ye here?" And so he took it from her, and saw that it was the Lord's Prayer, the articles of the creed, and the ten commandments in English; which when the wretched somner understood, he brought her back to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and burned with the six men beforenamed, on the 4th April, A.D. 1519.

When these were dispatched, the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle for their own use, not leaving their wives and children any thing. And as the people began to complain of the cruelty, and the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the commandments in English, but because they ate flesh on Fridays and other fast days!

Robert Silkeb, 1521.—In the number of these men was Robert Silkeb, who fled, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to Coventry, where he was burned about the 13th day of January, 1521.

Patrick Hamilton, A.D. 1527.

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotchman, of an high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, called abbot of Fern, coming out of his country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marpurg in Germany; there, in conference and familiarity with learned men, like Francis Lambert, he so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he was the first in all that university of Marpurg who publicly did set up conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works: arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the subject.

This learned Patrick increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself his return to his country, being desirous to impart to his countrymen, some of the knowledge which he had received abroad. There not bearing the ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, was accused of heresy, and afterwards constantly and stoutly sustaining the cause of God's gospel, against the high priest and archbishop of Saint Andrews, named James Beaton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the first day of March, 1527. He being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the appointed hour, came very early before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the scriptures be convicted, he was oppressed by force: and the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, he was led away to the fire, and there burned.

We think good to express here his articles, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton, by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

That man hath no free-will.

That there is no purgatory.

That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.

That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; neither had any pope that power after St. Peter.

That the pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath the power that the pope hath.

That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.

That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.

That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.

That the popes' laws are of no strength.

That all christians, worthy to be called christians, do know that they are in the state of grace.

That none are saved, but those who are previously predestinate.

Whoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.

That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they sin.

That it is devilish doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.

That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all children, departing immediately after their baptism, are saved or condemned.

That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

These articles above written, were given in, and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for which also he was condemned. But other learned men, who communed and reasoned with him, testify, that these articles following, were the very articles for which he suffered:—

1. Man hath no free-will.
2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.
5. A good man doth good works. Good works do not make a good man.
6. An evil man bringeth forth evil works. Evil works being faithfully repented of, do not make an evil man.
7. Faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in any one man in this life.

Henry Forrest.—Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forrest, a young man, affirmed, that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For this he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, shortly after, caused a friar, named Walter Lang, to hear his confession. To whom, when Henry Forrest, in secret confession, had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard.

It followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was summoned before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be an heretic, equally with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the clergy, as soon as he entered at the door, and saw the face of the clergy, he cried with a loud voice, saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars! Revealers of confession! After this day, let no man ever trust any friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!" When they proceeded to degrade him, he said, with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism," meaning, whatever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereto there are great additions in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as an heretic. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his Gospel, at the north-church stile of the Abbey Church of St. Andrew.

James Hamilton, brother to Patrick; Catharine Hamilton; a wife of Leith; David Stratton; Master Norman Gurley.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forrest, all these five were called to the Abbey church of Holyrood-house, in Edinburgh, in presence of King James V., who, upon the day of their accusation, was clad in red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one that maintained the opinions of Master Patrick, his brother. To whom the king gave counsel to depart, and not to appear, for, in case he appeared, he could not help him; because, the bishops had persuaded him, that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain to him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an heretic, and all his goods and lands were confiscated, and given unto others.

Catharine Hamilton, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold, and being accused of an horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after long reasoning between her and Master John Speus, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of work can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour." The king hearing these words, turned himself about and laughed, and called her to him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt, and she escaped.

The woman of Leith was accused, that when the midwife in time of her labour, bade her say, "Our Lady help me," she cried, "Christ help me! Christ help me! in whose help I trust!" She also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

David Stratton said, "There was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world;" and because that when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea. Therefore, he accused him as one that had said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned as heretics, and were burned between Leith and Edinburgh, that the inhabitants of Fife seeing the fire, might be struck with terror, so as not to fall into the like.

In 1553, *Thomas Harding*, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice, his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, (A.D. 1506), with others, who, at the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to bear fagots, some burned in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and robbed of all their goods; some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the Rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.; of whom we have made mention before.

At last Harding, (A.D. 1522), about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to engage in their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth. As he was occupied with a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood side, it chanced that one saw him, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book. Upon this, immediately a rude rabble ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching under the boards of his floor, they found English books of the holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn, who, with his chaplains, calling father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes, than

with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, where he lay with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal, condemned him for relapsing, to be burned to ashes, committing his martyrdom to Roland Messenger, vicar of Great Wickham, which Roland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought father Harding to Chesham again. The next day after his return, Roland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the time he was preaching; which sermon was nothing else but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of the Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Roland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body born of the Virgin Mary. To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father."

Then he was brought into a house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So, the next morning, came Roland again, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning. A great number both of men and women followed him, of whom many bewailed his death, and the wicked rejoiced at it. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained to the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit!"

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains; for what purpose he did so is not known, but it was supposed it was that he might have forty days of pardon; for proclamation was made, as at the burning of William Tilseworth, "That whosoever did bring a fagot or a stake to the burning of an heretic, should have forty days of pardon." Many ignorant people caused their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

Mistress Alice Doly. — Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Dr. London, in the parsonage at Stanton Harcourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Doly, her mistress. That Mistress Doly, speaking of John Hacker, water-bearer, said, "That he was very expert in the gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare it, and the Pater Noster, i. e., the Lord's prayer, in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him." Saying, moreover, "That she wished in no case that this were known, lest it should hurt the poor man."

Over and besides, Elizabeth deposed, "That Mistress Doly, her mistress, shewed unto her that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and, after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Brittwell to read upon a book which he called the Golden Legends, and one saint's life he read, which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, 'Lo, daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this book speaks against pilgrimages.'

It was deposed against Mistress Doly, by this Elizabeth, that she being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet, images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my lady Barenten's gods." To whom the said Elizabeth answered again, "That they were set for remembrance of good saints." Then said she, "If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images." "Nay," said the other, "images do provoke devotion." Then said her mistress, "Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel."

Note here, good reader, in this time, which was above forty-six years ago, what good matter was there here to accuse and molest good women for!

Roger Hachman, A.D. 1525.—Against this Roger Hachman it was laid by deposition, that he sitting at the Church-aisle at Norfolk, said these words, "I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king"; and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

Robert West, A.D. 1529.—Against this Robert West, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having wife and children, &c.

Also for saying, "That whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say mattens and evensong, they had no authority to do so." For which he was abjured, and was enjoyned penance.

John Ryburn, A.D. 1530.—It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she coming to him upon the Assumption eve, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was not a convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, "That God never made such fasting days; but you," quoth he, "are so far in Limbo Patrum, that you can never turn again." And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover; he said again, that she did wrong, "For there is never a step," said he, "that you take in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil; and you go to church to worship what the priest holds above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse he will eat it;" and said, that he would never believe that the priest has power to make his Lord.

Also, it was testified by another sister named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimer's-close, heard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again, asked, "And what service shall we have then?" He said, "That service that we have now."

John Simonds.—It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or heaven.

He said, too, that priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of John Simonds, that he converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had helped two or three friars out of their orders.

William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawks of Westwycomb, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshill, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, William Hawks of Chesham, A.D. 1530.

These persons, with others, were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field of London read a portion of scripture in English, and the expounding many things to them; for saying, that they who went on pilgrimage were accursed; that it booted not to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man; that God Almighty biddeth us work, as well on one day as another, saving the Sunday, for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested; that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the embering days; for he had been beyond the seas in Germany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holidays.

That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service, "Nay," said Nicholas, "it maintained great houses, as abbeys and others."

That men should say their Paternoster and Ave Maria in English, with the creed, and declare the same in English.

That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory; and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for that there were more masses said in a day than bodies buried in a month.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford was charged in judgment for having three books in English, one was the gospels in English, another was the psalter, the third was the sum of the holy scripture in English.

*James Algar of Aiger, A.D.*1530.—It was stated and objected to James Algar, first, that he speaking to a certain doctor of divinity named Aglionby, said, that every true christian man living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

That he would not have his executors to pay a penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience told him, that the soul, so soon as it departs out of the body, goes straight either to heaven or hell.

When Dr. Aglionby had alleged to him the place of St. Matthew, chap. xvi., "Thou art Peter," &c., he answered him again with that which followeth in the gospel after, "Get thee behind me, Satan," &c.

The said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great force, for the church hath enough already.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will speak something of the life and doings of the other party who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church, that it may be better discerned and judged what manner of church that was which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and the members of his church.

A brief Discourse concerning the history of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; wherein is to be seen the express image of the proud, vain-glorious church of Rome, how far it differs from the true church of Christ Jesus.

Although it be not very pertinent to our history, nor very requisite in these weighty matters of Christ's holy martyrs to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; yet, as there are many who are carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering church of Rome, therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure christianity and godliness, may appear to all men, I shall describe the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanour of this Thomas Wolsey. For as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show drunken men to their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth examples which are not honest, that others might gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

And first to begin with the first coming of this cardinal, and his fellow-cardinal Campegio into England: it was about the time that Pope Leo, intending to make war againt the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome; one went into Germany, another into France, Campegio into England. When he was come to Calais and the cardinal of York had knowledge of it, he sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to shew him that if he would have his embassy effectual, he should send to Rome to have the cardinal of York made legate, and joined with him in the commission. He much affected this, doubting, lest his own authority might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate; and therefore required to be joined with him in the embassy. Campegio being a man easy of belief, and suspecting nothing, sent to Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, in which they were both equally joined in commission.

When all things were ready, Campegio passed the seas and landed at Dover, and proceeded towards London. At every town he was received with procession, accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, the duke of Norfolk met him with a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and brought him into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he put on a cardinal's robe furred with ermines, and so took his mule, and rode towards London. Now mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare the same with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is most gospel-like.

This Campegio had eight mules of his own, laden with goods and treasures; but the cardinal of York not thinking them sufficient for his state, he sent him, the night before he came to London, twelve mules more, with empty coffers covered with red. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a legate with so great a treasure and riches. For so the common people always judged and esteemed the majesty of the clergy, by nothing but by their outward shew and pomp; but in the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition. For as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze, it happened that one of the mules breaking his collar, ran upon the other mules, by which it happened, that they running so together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew their burthens, and there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, some of whom gathered up pieces of meat, others some pieces of bread and roasted eggs, some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold here is my lord Cardinal's treasure!" The muleteers being greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could and went forward.

About three o'clock, the 29th day of July, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, to St. Paul's church, where when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was guided to the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the cardinal, and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted to the king, to fulfil his embassy against the Turk, who might have destroyed all Hungary, while they were studying with what solemnity to furnish out their embassy.

The cardinal of York being thus a legate, set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt and not exempt; and under colour of reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief; for by example of his pride, priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk both in gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes, and bare themselves so highly that no man durst reprove anything in them, for fear of being called heretic, and then they would make him smoke or bear a faggot. And the cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal to the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him with wine, and to hold the basin while he washed.

This glorious cardinal in his tragical doings exceeded all measure of a good subject, and became more like a

prince than a priest. When he had well stored his own coffers, he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so busy meddling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set England, France, Flanders, Spain and Italy together by the ears.

Thus the legate, following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well displaying the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church practised great hypocrisy, and under the authority of the king used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so plundering the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Nor yet were the churchmen altogether free from this cardinal, who under his legatine power gave by anticipation all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which it is hard to say whether he purchased to himself more riches or hatred of the clergy. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeys, priories, and monasteries; and he did so, taking from them all their goods, moveables, and immovables, except it were a little pension left to the heads of certain houses. By the legatine power, he held general visitations through the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses, at which the friars observant much complained, and would not submit to it; so that they were publicly cursed at St. Paul's cross, by friar Forrest, one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Great hatred arose against him among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licences, and other means, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and every year sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, there was this one which much incensed them; the cardinal had sent out commissions in the king's name that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering among the commons, so that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk with wisdom and gentleness stept in and appeased the same.

Another thing that caused the anger of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was his insolent presumption to take upon him, as the king's chief counsellor, to set a reformation in the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in it. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, being then princess. All this, with much more, he took upon him, making the king believe that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains, so that the charge of all things was committed to him.

And now to express some part of the practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in princes' wars, first here is to be noted, that after long wars between England and France, in 1525, it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan, at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and viceroy of Naples, and so led prisoner into Spain. All this while the cardinal held with the emperor, hoping by him to be made pope; but when that could not be obtained, he went clean from the emperor to the French king.

After this victory, and the French king being taken prisoner, through great labour and solicitation, as well of others as of the cardinal and king Henry, conditions were proposed between the French king and the emperor; among which conditions it was agreed, that they should resist the Turks and oppress the Lutherans, and so the king was set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome, and he said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. A. D. 1526. Pope Clement VII., seeing the French king restored to liberty, and doubting the power of the emperor in Italy, absolves the French king from his oath, joins together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that favoured the emperor's part, especially the family of Colonna in Rome; and therefore to shew his hatred against them, Clement said to Pompey, cardinal of that family, in threatening words, "That he would take away his cardinal's hat." To whom the cardinal answered, "That if he did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple crown." Whereby it may appear what holiness and virtue lies in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

Thus the pope, under the lying title of holiness, was the father of much mischief and of great wars. For the duke of Bourbon, and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting, about Milan and Cremona, at length approached and laid siege to Rome, and after three sharp assaults obtained the city, with the whole spoil; they besieged the pope with his cardinals, in the castle of St. Angelo, and took him prisoner, A. D. 1527. The cause of the besieging of Rome you have heard; the manner of the taking of Rome and of the pope is thus described:

The sacking of Rome and taking of Pope Clement.

The emperor's army departing from Florence, took counsel to go to Rome, and they travelled by night and day, commonly travelling forty miles in a day and night, so that on the sixth day of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome, the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and placed ordnance on the walls, and shot at them fiercely.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all simple people, and without great ordnance; wherefore he determined to give the assault, and they manfully approached the walls. But the Romans valiantly defended them with guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that their enemies were compelled to retreat. Then the Romans were glad and set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the duke of Bourbon seeing, cried to a new assault. Then every man with a ladder mounted the walls; and at the first encounter, again the Romans drove them back, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving, cried, 'God and the emperor!" Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight; many an arrow shot, and many a man slain; but at last the emperor's men got the wall. At the three assaults were slain three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard. In this last assault the duke of Bourbon was wounded in the thigh with a gunshot, of which he shortly after died; and notwithstanding this, the army entered into Rome, and took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's arms.

The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement thought little of the emperor's army; for he had cursed them on the Saturday before; and when he was hearing mass, suddenly the Germans entered into the church, and slew his guard and others. He fled in all haste by a secret way to the castle of St. Angelo, and all that followed him and could not enter, were slain; and if he had been taken he had been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were trodden down as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates, that passed toward the castle for succour.

The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and with him were four-and-twenty cardinals, one thousand prelates and priests, five hundred gentlemen, and five hundred soldiers; immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo. In the mean time the soldiers fell to spoil. Never was Rome so plundered

either by the Goths or Vandals; for the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, broke up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters.

The duke D'Urbino, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the pope; but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard again. The marquis of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodso, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Virterbo, where, hearing that the city of Rome was taken, they also tarried. The cardinal of Colonna came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men, but when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the 8th of July; at which day he yielded; and then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he tarried still in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Germans and Spaniards to keep him; but the Spaniards bare most rule in the castle, for no man entered, nor came out of the castle but by them. When the month of July came, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to wax strong; wherefore the great army removed to a place called Nervia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them such as kept the bishop of Rome.

When the cardinal here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to bestir himself, and he laboured with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the church, which if he would do, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive great reward at God's hand. The king answered and said, "My Lord, I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am the defender of the faith, I assure you, that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions; and now if Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? My person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seems to you most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could not obtain at the king's hands what he wished, in stirring him up to mortal war, he made out of the king's treasure twelve score thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had.

The cardinal, passing the seas with these sums of money, departed from Calais, accompanied with Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, the lord Sands, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, to the number of twelve hundred horse, and having in his carriage fourscore wagons, and threescore mules and horses of burden.

It were long to discourse in this place of the manifold abuses and treasons which he practised when he came to the French court, in converting the great sums of money which he had obtained of the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, who at that time was prisoner in the emperor's army, and in bestowing it in the hiring of soldiers, and furnishing out the French king's army; appointing also certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope; all which army was paid with the king of England's money.

Besides that, he privily by his letters caused Clarent, king-at-arms, to join with the French herald, and openly to defy the emperor; by which there began great displeasure between the emperor and the king.

When, as the Spanish ambassador complained to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarent; saying that Clarent had defied the emperor, without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France: and therefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Clarent being informed of this, took shipping and came to England, into the king's presence before the cardinal knew of it. Where he shewed the king the cardinal's letter of commission, and declared the whole circumstances. When the king heard the whole circumstances, and had a while mused upon it, he said, "O Lord Jesus! he that I trusted most, told me all these things differently. Well, Clarent, I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well that I have been made believe the thing that was never done." And from that time forward the king never put any more confidence in the cardinal.

The cause why the cardinal bore the emperor all this malice appears to be this, that when Pope Clement was taken prisoner, he wrote to the emperor and requested that he should make him pope. But when he received an answer that did not please him, he waxed furious, and sought all means to displease the emperor, writing many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a strife betwixt Christian princes as had not been for a hundred years before, so as to make the emperor repent it, even though it should cost the whole realm of England.

The emperor made answer in a little book to the many menacings of the cardinal, but especially to his threat, that if he would not make him pope, he would fetch such a strife betwixt Christian princes as had not been for a hundred years, though it should cost the whole realm of England. The emperor bid him look well about him, lest through his attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realm of England indeed.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required the king, because he bore the title of "Defender of the faith," that he would rescue the pope. Now, by what means, and upon what occasion this title of the "defender of the faith was given to the king, we think it good to say somewhat in this place. When Martin Luther had denounced and opposed the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and many books were come into England, the cardinal here thinking to find a remedy, sent immediately to Rome for this title of "defender of the faith."

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it to the king at Greenwich; and though the king had had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen sent for, that could in so short a space be gathered, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal went through the back way into the friars observants, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome: part met him half way, and some at the court-gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read. Which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied with many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel, and so he proceeded to mass. When mass was done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new title. Then the king went to dinner; in the midst of which the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying "*Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei, et Dominicus Hiberniæ.*" Thus were all things ended with great solemnity.

All this while the cardinal was aspiring to be made pope, and with that view he had Stephen Gardiner shortly after sent ambassador to Rome, in the time of Pope Clement VII.; and that for two special causes, one was about the king's divorce, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorce we will speak hereafter. In the meantime as concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as may appear in the letters, sent from the cardinal to Stephen Gardener, in which letters he solicited Gardener, by all means to pursue the suit, desiring

him to stick at no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, christian reader, what an holy catholic church this is!

But we may here learn, how man purposes one thing and how God disposes another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the papal see, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, his divorce might more easily be compassed, which otherwise he thought impossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, who only is the director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the divorce was concluded, and yet neither Cardinal Wolsey was made pope, nor yet had Pope Clement died. Yea, he so ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness. Of which divorce, and suppressing of the pope's authority, we have to make declaration. But first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadors were travelling to Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope, although the pope was not yet dead, the cardinal in the meantime was playing the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he, sitting in his pontifical robes in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, under his cloth of state of rich cloth of gold, caused Friar Barnes, an Augustinian Friar, to bear a fagot, for some points which he called heresy. Also he caused two merchants to bear fagots for eating flesh on a Friday. At this time, the bishop of Rochester made a sermon against Martin Luther, who had written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honour of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminency, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare.

After this, the cardinal, A.D. 1528, sitting at Westminster as legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abuses of the church should be amended: but nothing else was done, save only he caused Thomas Arthur, Thomas Bilney, Geoffery Loni, and Thomas Gerrard, to abjure for speaking against the pope's authority, and his pompous pride.

The next year, (A.D. 1529,) the question of the king's marriage began to be revived. Upon which Cardinal Campegio was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter. He with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed to incline to the king's wishes, yet afterwards perceiving the consequence of the case, that it might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's authority, if this case were thoroughly decided by the truth of God's word; he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily betook himself out of the realm, before the appointed day came for determination. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed with false promises, and craftily deluded by the cardinals, and after so many delays and long expectation, and nothing concluded; he was grieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities; as to the archbishoprick of York, the bishoprick of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's, besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high offices and preferments in the realm; this induced him to cast him out of favour, so that after that time he never came more into the king's presence.

Then followed a council of the nobles, which was summoned for the 1st of October. During which council all the lords and others of the king's council, resorted to Windsor to the king, and informed the king, that almost all things which Wolsey had done, by his legatine power, were in the case of præmunire: and that the cardinal had thereby forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the king: so the king caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of præmunire against him.

And on the 17th of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his palace of Westminster, to bring the great seal of England; which he was unwilling to deliver.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Doctor Stephen Gardiner, newly-made secretary, to see that no goods should be embezzled out of his house: and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher, beside Kingston, there to wait the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came to the Star-chamber on the 19th of October, when the duke of Norfolk declared, that the king's highness for many and various offences had taken from him his great seal and deposed him from all his offices: and lest men might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the chamber, to hear and determine causes: and so that week they sate in the Star-chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal removed out of his house called York place: and so he took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till after Lent.

During which time, being called for an answer in the king's bench to the præmunire, for giving benefices by pre-emption, in disturbance of men's inheritance, and other open causes in the præmunire, according to the king's license, he constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenney, apprentices of the law, his attorneys, who by his own warrant signed with his own hand, confessed all things concerning the siut, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden; and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattles and should be out of the king's protection; but for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the bishopric of Durham he gave to Doctor Tonstal bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich: and to London he promoted Doctor John Stokesley, the ambassador to the universities, for the marriage, as you have heard before. For all this kindness shewed to the cardinal, yet still he maligned the king, as we shall hereafter relate. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The following year, A.D. 1530, in the month of November, was summoned a general parliament, to be held at Westminster. In which year, about the 23rd day of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, and there consulted with his council, for a meet man to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the clergy: and so after long debate, the king resolved to appoint Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the languages, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imagination.

We stated before, how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in October, to assemble in the Star-chamber about the cardinal's matter: and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the following year, 1530. At the beginning of which parliament, after More the new chancellor had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, Esquire, and attorney to the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament being begun the sixth day of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembled in the lower house, and began to debate upon their grievances, where-

with the clergy had grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm, and especially in these six great causes.

Grievances against the Clergy of England.

1. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, so that Sir Henry Guilford, knight of the garter, and controller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid for the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling.

2. The second cause was, the great taxing and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of presents, or mortuaries.

3. The third cause was, that priests being surveyors, stewards, and officers to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, held and occupied farms, granges, and grazing in every county, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but from them, and yet for that they paid dearly.

4. The fourth cause was, that abbots, priors, and spiritual men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

5. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons who were promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the court in lords' houses, and took every thing from their parishioners, and spent nothing on them: so that for want of residence both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instruction of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

6. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an heretic, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served, that men dare more boldly express what they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy; the burgesses of the parliament appointed men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spiritual men.

Now to return to the cardinal again. During the time of the parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.

1. First, that he without the king's consent had procured himself to be appointed a legate, by which he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

2. In all writing that he wrote to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote *Ego et Rex meus*, "I and my king," as one who would say, that the king was his servant.

3. That he slandered the church of England to the court of Rome: for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the church of England.

4. He without the king's consent carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor.

5. Without the king's consent he sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassali, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

6. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

7. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm. With many other things which are touched more at large in chronicles.

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was shewn another writing sealed with his seal, by which he gave to the king all his possessions.

You have heard, how the cardinal was attainted in the præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was in 1530. The next year after, in the Lent season, the king by the advice of his council, licensed him to go into his diocese of York, and gave him command to keep within his diocese, and not to return southward, without the king's special license in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and newly apparelled his servants, and bought many costly things for his household. But some of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and especially Thomas Cromwell, one of his chief council, and principal agent for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year, but the lands he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich were now come to the king's hands, by his attainder in the præmunire: and yet the king of his gentleness, and for favour that he bore to good learning, erected again the college in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College, and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statues and ordinances; and because the college of Ipswich was thought not to be profitable, he left that dissolved,

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the præmunire, yet the king being good to him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great substance, and had licensed him to abide in his diocese of York, where he so continued the space of a year. But in the year following, which was A.D. 1531, he wrote to the court of Rome, and to other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and, as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the king and his realm, so that opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Karne, the king's ambassador at Rome. And it was said to him, that on the cardinal's account the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his divorce and marriage. The cardinal also would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and untruly dealt with. Which fair speaking made many men believe that he spoke truly. And to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them to him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be installed, or enthroned at York, with all the pomp that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral church to such a height and fashion as was never seen, and sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood, on the sixth day of Nov., and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The king, who knew of his doings, dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till finding his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be triumphantly installed without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king, he thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes. Wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, commanding him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood, on the 4th of Nov., and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him: "My lord, I pray you be patient, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me!" said the cardinal. "Yea, said the earl; "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal; "for I am both a car-

dinal, and a legate De Latere, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power; wherefore, if you arrest me I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission, and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: "Well, my lord, I am content to obey; but although by negligence I fell into the punishment of the præmunire, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now should be arrested, and especially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl; "when I was sworn warden of the marshes, you yourself told me, I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with yeomen of the guard to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was astonished, and shortly became sick; for he perceived some great trouble coming on him, and he took so much of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. But Sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester, on the 27th of Nov., where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and lies buried in the abbey.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates.

Among other acts of the cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford, for the supply of which he had gathered together all the best learned men he could, among which number were these: Clark, Tindal, Sommer, Frith, and Taverner, with others, who, holding an assembly together in the college, were accounted to be heretics, and were cast into a prison of the college where salt fish lay, and through the smell of which the most part of them were infected, and Clark being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning among them all, died in the prison.

And thus having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, now we will bring back our history again to more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, we will first begin with Master Humphry Mummuth, a virtuous and a good alderman of London, who in the time of the cardinal was troubled, as in the history here followeth:

The trouble of Humphry Mummuth, Alderman of London.

Master Humphry Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who in the days of Cardinal Wolsey was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured it.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, objected articles to him, to the number of four-and-twenty; as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tindal, Joy, and such others; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministering private help to translate, as well the Testament, as other books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming that faith only justifies; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, or the pope's pardons; briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c.

Being examined and cast into the Tower, he at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, out of the Tower. In which he answered to the accusation of those who charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tindall. He said, that he denied not, but that four years then past he had heard Tindall preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West, and that afterwards meeting with Tindal, he had certain communication with him concerning his living, and was then told by him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service; for he then laboured to be his chaplain. But being refused by the bishop, he came again to Mummuth, and besought him to help him, who the same time took him into his house for half a year; where Tindal lived like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon Mummuth had the better liking to him, so that he promised him ten pounds, as he then said, for his father's and mother's souls, and all christian souls, with which money he afterwards sent him over to Hamburgh according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to others likewise who were not heretics; as to Doctor Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Doctor Wodiall, provincial of the Augustinian friars; as much or more to Doctor Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other scholars and priests; besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denney, above fifty pounds sterling.

And as touching his books, of which some were left with him by William Tindal, some he sent to him, and some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these books, he said, did lie open in his house, for the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same books being desired by different persons, as of the abbess of Denney, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of Sion, and many others, he let them have them, and yet never heard friar, priest, or laymen, find any fault with the books.

Thus he excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the injury to his trade, who was wont formerly to send abroad five hundred pieces of cloths, and set many clothiers to work in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he bought all their cloths, who were now almost all undone; at length he was set at liberty, being forced to abjure, and after he was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

The History of Thomas Hitten.

Touching the memorial of Thomas Hitten, nothing remains in writing, but only his name, save that William Tindal in his apology against More, and also in another book intituled "The practice of prelates," once or twice makes mention of him. He was, says he, a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had long kept and tormented in prison with sundry torments, and notwithstanding that he continued constant; at last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530.

Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich, A. D. 1531.

In the history of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of some whom the Cadinal caused to abjure; as Bilney, Geoffery Loni, Garret, Barnes, and others, of whom we have now specially to treat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the University of Cambridge, even from a child, profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, even to

the profession of both laws. But at last having got a better school-master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at last to this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than profit.

As he was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so there was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many to the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, among which number was Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer; Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the University, went to many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, who accompanied him from the University. The authority of Thomas Wolsey cardinal of York, of whom mention has been made before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, whom they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to question the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent; for he understood well enough upon what slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. So he caused Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, on the 27th Nov. A.D. 1527, the cardinal accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asaph, with many other divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the cardinal inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any other condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Bilney answered, that knowingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, That he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, That he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. The cardinal then caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur, causing him to take the like oath. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, Kt., that in the sacrament of the altar there was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing.

The second day of December, the bishops assembled again, and sware witnesses against Master Bilney. That done they called for Master Arthur; to whose charge they laid these articles following.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

1. That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those that are now in prison. Which article he denied.

2. That he said, Though men are restrained from preaching now-a-days, yet I may preach: First, By the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his license. Secondly, By the authority of the University. Thirdly, By the pope. Fourthly, By the authority of God, where he saith, "Go preach the gospel to every creature." By which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to prevent any man preaching the gospel. This article he confessed.

3. He said that when there were but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they observed; and such as are not pecuniary, those they regard not: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law. He confessed that he spake thus.

4. He said, Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people, think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel is therefore to be forsaken. This article he confessed, except that he made no mention of tyrants.

5. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest. He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer.

6. That men should not pray to saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator but Christ Jesus our only Redeemer. This article he denied.

7. He preached that they should not worship images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones. This he also denied.

8. He preached upon Whitsunday last, within the University of Cambridge, That a bachelor of divinity admitted of the University, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses would turn to the condemnation of themselves. He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, master Arthur did revoke and condemn the articles objected against him, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

The third day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling again, after Bilney had refused to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (as he said) lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, exhibited to the notaries, in the presence of Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; all which he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

Here follows a Summary of certain Depositions, on the inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.

First, it was deposed, That in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what should we need then to seek any saint for a remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemes our Saviour.

That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger shewed him: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." Then if this were the very Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, what an injury it is to our Saviour Christ, for any one to say that to be buried in St. Francis' Cowl should remit four parts of penance! what is then left to our Saviour Christ, who taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falsehood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, That he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also, it was deposed against him, That he, in the parish-church of Willesden, exhorted the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave off their offerings to them. Also, that Jews and Saracens would have become christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of christian men, in offering of candles, wax, and money to stocks and stones.

Over and besides these matters deposed against him, here follow other articles gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, in Whitsun week, (A. D. 1527.)

He said, pray only to God, and not to saints, in rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to "Holy Mary, pray for us," he said, Stop there.

He said, that christian men ought to worship God only, and not saints.

He said, that christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints: for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

He said, as Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so should kings and princes now-a-days destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

These five hundred years there has been no good pope, nor in all the times past can we find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their dignity. Wherefore, till now they have born the keys of simony. Against whom, good people, we must preach to you. For we cannot come to them; it is a great pity: they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have foolishly of late gone upon pilgrimages, who had been better had they been at home.

Many have made vows, which are not possible for them to fulfil.

The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it has pleased our Saviour Christ to shew their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me, who shall shew and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I shew and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ.

These and many other such like charges were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses. But now, before we return again to his examination, we here insert a dialogue between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, as written down by the friar himself.

A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.

Brusierd.—Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies, yet, being moved partly with our gentle petitions, partly pitying your case, I am come here to talk with you secretly. When you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error, more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seem to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Where you said that none of the saints make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. Which thing you can not deny, especially as there is such incessant knocking at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, as appears in the sevenfold Litany.

Bilney.—I marvel at you, and cannot marvel enough, but that the vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not heard but in much talking, doth put an end to my wonder. For our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, "There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." If then there be but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed lady? Where is then St. Peter and other saints?

Brusierd.—I suppose that no man is ignorant, but that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed that there is one Mediator between God and men. Neither could any at any time praise or pray to the saints, when yet they were living in the calamities of this body, and, wrestling with the winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest to which they were travelling. Paul (I grant) did rightly affirm that there was but one Mediator between God and men, for as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the Calendar. But now seeing the church knows, and certainly believes, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, has taught, and that most diligently, her children, to praise the Omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions to God. It is that that the psalmist saith, "Praise ye the Lord in his saints." Rightly also do we say and affirm, That saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another, therefore, much more may saints that do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, "God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer always for you," &c. Rom. i. 9.

Bilney.—I marvel that you, a learned man, are not yet delivered out of the dungeon of heresy through the help of the holy gospel: especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name, he will give it you," John xvi. 23. He saith not, whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints, but in *my* name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of Him, who is able to obtain for us whatever we ask, lest, peradventure, hereafter in the end of the world, at the judgment, we shall hear, "Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing."

Brusierd.—Where ye marvel that I, a learned man, as you say, am not delivered yet from the dungeon of heresy through the help of the gospel: much more do you, who are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish wonder. Nor can I choose but laugh at you, as one rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which are done here in the lower parts of philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he never

so young, that knows not, that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, has no force?

Bilney.—As the pharisees took Christ, so you take my words otherwise than I meant.

Brusierd.—Your words, which wander far from the scope of scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lies inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney.—Such as invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who, being under the hand of physicians, and having medicines ministered for their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, fling all away: therefore, I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity.

Brusierd.—O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that ever I have heard! Thus you escaping from the smoke, fall into the fire, and, avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis. O heart of man wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search out the first origin of these Rogation days: for so we read in the church history, that they were first ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence then reigning among the people. At which time, the people going in the procession, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, painted with the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, went before them, about which image, in the honour of the Virgin, angels sung this anthem: "O queen of heaven be glad," &c. To which anthem, the pope also adjoined this, "Pray to the Lord for us." Wherefore, seeing the angels worshipped the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, and seeing the holy father, Pope Gregory, with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appears manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further, also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the gospel, "Send them away, because they cry after us." And although there are infinite places in the holy scripture, wherewith we might easily resist your error, yet, standing herewith content, as sufficient, we will proceed to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ungrateful child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For whom you affirm blasphemously, the bishop of Rome to be the very antichrist, and that his privileges have no force against the gates of hell: in so saying, what do you but like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her most miserably upon the earth? But as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears: I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sits in the temple of God, as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God, or how he sheweth himself as Lord in power and signs, and deceitful wonders.

Bilney.—Although incredulity does not suffer you to understand these things, yet I will help your incredulity, through the aid of the Lord, beseeching you, that setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the ten commandments?

Brusierd.—According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them: but how you expound them I cannot tell.

Bilney.—And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men, to which men are so straightly bound, that under pain of death they are compelled to observe them?

Brusierd.—I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers, but such as you speak of as devised by men's dreams, I know none.

Bilney.—Now then let us set and compare these two together, and you shall easily understand that the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, sits in the temple of God, as God, to be extoled above all that is named God. It is written, "The temple of the Lord is holy, which temple ye are." Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost, in which temple, I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. Whoso condemns the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him, neither is that punishment to death, but he that shall contemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death! What is this, but that the bishop of Rome sits and reigns in the temple of God; that is, in man's conscience, as God?

Brusierd.—Although this exposition seems unworthy for christian ears, yet I would hear you further how he shews himself in signs and deceitful wonders.

Bilney.—These wonders, which they call miracles, are wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan, who, as the scripture witnesseth, has been loose five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Revelation, "After a thousand years Satan shall be loosed," &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds, to make them put their faith in our Lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.

Brusierd.—But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge upon thee, I would surely with these nails of mine be thy death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God saith, "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live." And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay secret snares of death for us that we should not know them. Which, if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner:—"If it be an error, it is of thee, O God, that we are deceived; for they be confirmed with such signs and wonders, as cannot be done but by Thee." But I am assured it is untrue and heretical: and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints. For once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours you said, "That no saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or his life." Which is contrary to St. Augustine.

Bilney.—Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another; Whether of these two shall we believe? For Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant us all sinners. By the wise virgins he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish, asking oil of them; "No," say they, "lest, peradventure, we have not sufficient for us, and for you. Go you rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves." Wherefore, if they had not oil sufficient for themselves and also for the others, where then are the merits of saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us? I cannot see.

Brusierd.—You wrest the scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, hearing with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well.

The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; where, also, Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant. Who answered, "That he would stand to his conscience." Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered:" and, making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Master Bilney in this manner:—

I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here

present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow.

The fifth day of December the bishops assembled there again; before whom Bilney was brought: whom the bishop asked if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon, Bilney answered, "That he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought against him; which witnesses the bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law.

In the afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses, which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholic church? He answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses, and other answer he would give none.

Being again asked whether he would return, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give him licence to deliberate until the morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate. But Bilney required space till the next morrow. But the bishop would not grant him his request, lest he should appeal. But at last the bishop granted him two nights respite to deliberate, that is to say, till Saturday, at nine o'clock, forenoon, and then to give a plain determinate answer.

The 7th day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared. The bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration, which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself, and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed and delivered it to the bishop, who then absolved him, and for his penance enjoined him, that he should abide in prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were released by him; and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession in the cathedral church of St. Paul's bare-headed, with a fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross, during the sermon.

After which abjuration, made about A. D. 1528, Bilney felt such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as is credibly testified by Master Latimer, whose words I here annex, written in his seventh sermon, preached before king Edward:—"I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, (beholding this image of death,) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them to him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of Rome."

Again, Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, has these words:—"That same Master Bilney, who was burned here in England for the sake of God's word, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a fagot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bore the swinge. Now, when Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word, for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him), but all things whatever any man could allege to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet, for all that, he afterwards came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake which we now preach in England, &c."

Furthermore, in the first sermon of Master Latimer, before the Duchess of Suffolk, he infers as follows:—"Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any in England, insomuch, that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so, and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So, from that time forward, I began to inhale the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries, &c."

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, for the space of nearly two years, that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, he, in Trinity hall, at ten o'clock at night, took his leave of his friends, and said, that he would go to Jerusalem, alluding to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem, when he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and would see them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters. Then he preached openly in the fields, confessing his sin, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he had abjured, to be the very truth, and desired all men to learn by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to Norwich, upon which he was apprehended and carried to prison.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doctor Pellas, doctor of law, and Chancellor, was first degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to their popish manner, by the assistance of the friars and doctors. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's especial friend, and sorry to receive him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could not do otherwise, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked to, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, Bilney had his friends resorting to him in the Guildhall, where he was kept.

Some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he

should suffer the next day, should be of great heat to his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word Thomas Bilney putting his hand to the flame of the candle burning before them, and feeling the heat, O, said he, I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, mentioned in that word, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable. And here he much treated of in this place of scripture. "Fear not, For I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel."—Is. xliii. 1. Which he most comfortably treated of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends. Of whom some took such sweet fruit that they caused the whole sentence to be fair written on tables, and some in their books. The comfort of which (on some of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday following, when the officers of execution with their gloves and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called The Lollards' Pit, under Saint Leonard's Hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution) at the coming forth of Thomas Bilney out of the prison door one of his friends came to him, and with few words, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troubled sea, how for a while he is tossed in the billows, but yet in hope, that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he bears in better comfort the perils which he feels: so am I now toward this sailing, and whatever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he chose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; he came at last to the place of execution, and descended from the hill, apparelled in a layman's gown with his sleeves hanging down; and his arms out, his hair having been piteously mangled at his degradation, and drew near to the stake, and desired that he might speak some words to the people, and standing there, he said:—

"Good people, I am come hither to die, I was born to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life, as a true christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse to you the articles of my creed:" and then he began to rehearse them in order, as they are in the common creed, with often elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the article of Christ's Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word crucified, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the Catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words, "Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once contrary to her prohibition, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, where I was a fellow, earnestly intreated to do so by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing, that they had no sermon there for a long time before: and so moved in my conscience. I did make a poor collation to them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of authority in the church;" however I trust at the general day, charity that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment seat of God;" and so he proceeded, without any words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, on which he was afterwards to stand, to be better seen, he made his prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers, with the 143rd Psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my supplications:" and the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation, thrice, "And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:" and so finishing that Psalm he ended his private prayers.

After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. He then put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went to the stake, and the chain was cast about him; Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Thomas Bilney most gently smiled, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, "Feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing: and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me;" and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses being present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured it, and it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Upon this Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and fagots about his body, and set fire to them, which made a very great flame, and deformed his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes, "Jesus," sometimes "I believe." The flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before very great: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, but soon the wood again took the flame, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye the true history, and martyrdom of this good man.

Master Stafford of Cambridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned; so his diligent travel, in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life corresponding to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that University, and drawing many to Christ. Through him and partly also another called Master Stafford, the word of God began to spread there. Among them was Master Latimer, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Thistel of Pembroke Hall, Master Fooke, of Bennet College, and Master Soude of the same college, Doctor Warner above mentioned, with others.

This Master Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that University: who, as he was a professor of Christ's gospel, so was he a diligent follower of that which he professed.

As the plague was then sore in Cambridge, and among

others a priest called Sir Henry Conjurer, lay sick of the plague, Master Stafford hearing of it, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that, neglecting his own bodily health, to recover the other from eternal damnation, he came to him, exhorted, and so importuned him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring books burned before his face. Which done, Mr. Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and shortly after most christianly died.

Concerning this Master Stafford moreover it is to be noted, that Master Latimer, being yet a servant and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, persuaded the scholars not to hear him: and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.

And thus much, by the way, of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly perseverance in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

Account of Master Simon Fish.

Before the time of Bilney, and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called The Supplication of Beggars, declaring how and by what means it came to the king's hand, and what effect followed, in the reformation of many things, especially of the clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaks no great square in our history. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this.

After the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness began to be discovered more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to discern Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of whom was Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London, which was about A. D. 1525, that there was a play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same Inn, in which play was matter against the Cardinal Wolsey. And when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the cardinal, this Master Fish took upon him to do it. Upon this, great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, so that being pursued by the cardinal, the same night that this tragedy was played, he was compelled to leave his own house, and fled over the sea to Tindal. The year following this book was printed (being about the year 1527), and not long after, was sent over to the lady Anne Boleyn, who then lived at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, desiring her earnestly to give it to the king, which she did.

This was about A. D. 1528. The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who wrote it. She answered, "A subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal." After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, information was given by the king's servants to the wife of Simon Fish, that she might send for her husband without danger. She, being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband. Who, understanding whose wife she was, shewed a very gentle countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it please your Grace not far off." "Then," saith he, "fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm." Saying, moreover, "that she had been much wronged, that he was absent from her so long;" he had been absent now two years and a half. In the mean time the cardinal was deposed, and More sat in the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife went immediately to her husband, who was lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the king, about the year 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he received him with loving countenance. Who after a long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together a hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him. He answered the king and said, he dare not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, and Stokesley, the bishop of London.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, desired him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hard as to do him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the friars, for not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in English. Upon which the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not ceasing his dislike to the wife, the next morning sent for her to appear before him, who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, had probably suffered much trouble. Of which plague her husband, Master Fish, died within half a year, and she afterwards married Master James Bainham, who was burned not long after.

Now comes another statement of Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, on the same matter.

This Moddis being with the king, talking of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, "If it might please his grace to pardon him, and such persons as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was wonderful to hear of!" The king demanded who they were. He said, two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson. The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in the privy chamber, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said, "That there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace." When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it." "I think so," said the king, "for if need were, thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book and put it into his desk, and commanded them upon their allegiance that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book, &c. The copy of the book here ensueth:

A certain book, intituled "The Supplication of Beggars," thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before King Henry the Eighth, for him to read, made by Master Fish.

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

Most lamentably complaineth their woful misery unto your highness, your poor daily beadmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for honour any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame and sick, that live only by alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of all the well disposed people of this your realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong puissant and counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabonds, which since the time of their first entry,

by all the craft and wilyness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

These are not the herds, but the ravenous wolves going in herds' clothing, devouring the flock,—bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and somners. And who is able to number this ravenous idle sort, who (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your realm? The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs; besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese and butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretic. Hereto have they their four offering days. What money do they pull in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of churches, altars, superaltars, chapels and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money. What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year! How much money get the somners by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the commissaries' court, and afterwards releasing the apparents for money! Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what get they in a year?

Here, if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households. And of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars, a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twenty pence a-year of every house; *i. e.*, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels; that is, 260,000 half angels, or 130,000 angels. Total, 430,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling! Whereof not 400 years past, they had not one penny.

Oh grievous and painful exaction, thus yearly to be paid! from which, the people of your noble predecessors the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free. And this will they have, or else they will procure him who will not give it to them to be taken as an heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people, like this cruel and vengeful generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince; that is, after this fashion yearly polled? What good christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that are thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths and subsidies that your grace most tenderly, of great compassion, hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, yearly, by this ravenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should ever have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither into your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to feed at home. The noble king Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius, the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to feed. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole world under their obedience, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now in your time should never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the foresaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm or not; ye shall find that it draweth far above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, to the number of the lay people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted, or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women and children, so are they not the four hundredth person in number. One part therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burthen is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed since the world first began?

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience and dignity, from your grace to them. Nothing but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did to your noble predecessor king John; who because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (among which a clerk called Stephen, whom afterwards against the king's will, the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted his land. For which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) hath stood tributary not to any kind of temporal prince, but to a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here were an holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm and succession, for doing right! Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for none other cause but for his righteousness! Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and concience, submitted himself unto them!

O case most horrible, that ever so noble a king, realm and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suckers! Where was his sword, power, crown and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the commonwealth should have holden him manfully to have resisted these blood-suckers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good king unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that the worst vices should reign over all among your subjects, that no man should know his own child, to put right-begotten children clean beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage to hinder the generation of the people, whereby all the realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable.

Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity be-

come, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes truly, what an infinite number of people might have been increased to have peopled the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? such truly as was never since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves for their labour? How many thousand doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not there been this excessive treasure of the spiritualty? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

O the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his institutes. There was also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there was at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them: as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? Nay truly. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house for them, against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he, though he be grieved very sore, that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wilyness, accused of heresy; yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a fagot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then by all his actions dashed.

So captive are your laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy as to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath ere the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it makes him wish he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rages for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year in the Wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the statute of Mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since then than any duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not for all that translated into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom through, only the name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the utmost, they would also take the name to them, and of one kingdom make twain; the spiritual kingdom, as they call it, for they will be named first, and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the blood-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and that that is once given, never cometh from them again. Such laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which, if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have to the truth and to the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spiritualty, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all the holy scripture. They say also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons may for money deliver one soul from thence, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand: if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory, and then he is a cruel tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

Likewise, say they, of all the whole sort of the spiritualty, that if they will pray for no man but for them that gave them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics; these they burn; these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear fagots; but whether they be heretics or no, well I know that this purgatory and the pope's pardons are all the cause of the transferring of your kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom, he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself, although he was most free lord of all, and innocent, was obedient to the high powers unto death. This is the great sore why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they by their cloaked hypocrisy do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure, your grace thinketh, as the truth is, I am as good a man as my father; why may I not as well give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmain was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory by giving to the spiritualty, as their predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter than all the laws that can be made, be they ever so strong; for to make a law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offence, what would it avail? Did not Doctor Allen most presumptuously, now in your time, against his allegiance, do all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also Doctor Horsey and his accomplices, most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder in prison that honest merchant Richard Hunne, for that he sued your writ of *præmunire* against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belonged unto your high courts? And what punishment was there done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds, as it is said, to the building of your chamber; and when that payment was once made, the captains of his kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, have heaped upon him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds for himself and his accomplices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, on having obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit the like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to those men for their so offending? so weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he who hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is also a spiritual man, who hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should therefore utterly be undone. Here we leave out the greatest matter of all, lest that we declaring such an horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may have learned by these small enormities that which we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.

But what remedy is there to relieve us your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadsmen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof for the remoteness of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain number of masses said daily for them, whereof they never say one. If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all your poor beadsmen, then take from them all these things. Send these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God (Gen. iii. 19.) and to be an example to other idle people to go to labour.

Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the alms that the good christian people would give to us sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadsmen. Then shall the number of the aforesaid monstrous sort, be reduced, as of whores, thieves, and idle people. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be transferred from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to work. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be increased. Then shall your commons increase in riches. Then shall the gospel be preached. Then shall none beg our alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure."

Against this book of the beggars, Sir Thomas More shortly after wrote another book in answer to it, under the title of "The Poor Silly Souls Pewling out of Purgatory." In which, after More had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, earth and purgatory; then he makes the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical *prosopopœia* to speak out of purgatory, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at the author of the beggars' book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, an heretic, and all that. And no wonder, if these silly souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat is testy, and soon inflames anger. But yet these purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel pronounce them guilty of hell fire, which say, "thou fool," it may be feared lest those poor, silly, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man fool so often, bring themselves thereby out of purgatory fire to the fire of hell; so that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominick, nor yet of all the friars, can release the poor wretches. But yet as I do not, nor cannot think that those departed souls either would so far oversboot themselves if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory, at all, unless it be in Master More's Utopia, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of the Beggars' Supplication to be strewed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came to the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies; desiring his grace to beware of them." Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it to the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and especially this book of "The Supplication of Beggars," and the New Testament of Tindal's Translation. This commission was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and others; the tenor of which prohibition is as follows:—[1]

A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with many other books.

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide

(1) The same prohibition was published by every bishop in his diocese.—BURNET.

for, root out, and put away all those things which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we having understanding by the report of several credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the catholic faith, have craftily translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermixing therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profane the majesty of the scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same, of which translation there are many books printed, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number, which truly, without it be foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's Divine Majesty; wherefore we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straightly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar general, *all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue;* and that you do certify to us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

"Given under our seal, the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, A.D. 1526."

The like commission in like manner and form was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

Many other books were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament. And among them were The Supplication of Beggars; The Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; The New Testament of Tindal; The Wicked Mammon; The Obedience of a Christian Man; An Introduction to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; A Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; and nearly one hundred other books besides written by the reformers.

The New Testament, above recited, began first to be translated by William Tindal, and was printed at Antwerp, and sent over into England in the year 1526. Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, being aggrieved, devised how they could destroy that false erroneous translation, as they called it. It happened that there was one Augustine Packington, an English merchant, at Antwerp at that time, when the bishop was there in 1529. This man favoured Tindal, but pretended otherwise to the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, said, that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, "My Lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants can do, if it be your pleasure, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindal, and have them here to sell; so, if it be your Lordship's pleasure to obtain them, I must spend money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them, but if it is your pleasure to do so I will secure to you every book that is printed and unsold." The bishop said, "Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatever is their cost, for I intend to burn and destroy them all at St. Paul's cross." This Augustine Packington went to William Tindal, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tindal had the money.[1] After this Tindal corrected the New Testament, and caused it again to be newly reprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, who, by that time, had returned to England, and said to him, "How comes this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be had, but I perceive that they have reprinted more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps; wherefore, you had better buy the stamps too, and so then you shall be sure." At which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

It happened, in the following year, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, on suspicion of heresy; and after several examinations, among other things, More asked him, saying, "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee, I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea Tindal, Joy, and a great many others; I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore thou knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who are they that help them thus?" "My Lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly; it is the bishop of London that hath helped us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money to buy up the New Testaments to burn them, and that has been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same, for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

Of this George Constantine, it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he being taken, seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine, and not only to disclose others of his fellows, but also studied how these books, which he himself and others of his fellows had bought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, by whom the books were taken and burned.

Constantine afterwards, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the seas, and after that, in the time of king Edward, troubled the good bishop of St. David's, who was burned in Queen Mary's time.

On the return of Tonstal from Antwerp, he caused all the New Testaments which he had bought, to be publicly burned in St. Paul's church-yard, which gave great offence to many of the people; and to remove this feeling, the bishops gave out that they intended to set out a true translation of it. The bishops, by many complaints, and under the pretence that the translations of Tindal and Joy were not truly translated; and, besides, that in them were prologues and prefaces, that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops. They obtained a proclamation from the king, prohibiting the teaching or preaching of any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome, and prohibiting the reading of any books contrary to the church of Rome. But the king commanded the bishops to call to them the best learned men of the universities, and that they should make a new translation, so that the people might not be

(1) Tindal was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and correct edition, but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it; so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over to be burned.—Burnet.

ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this command, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation. But on the contrary, on the 24th of May, 1530, there was a paper drawn up, and agreed to by archbishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Tonstal and others, which every incumbent was called upon to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. In this paper it was declared that it was not necessary to set forth the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Many of the people were so disappointed at this, that they only became the more eager to read Tindal's translation, by reason of which many things came to light. Soon after this time great trouble and persecution was raised up against the poor innocent flock of Christ.

Richard Byfield, Martyr.

This Richard Byfield, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and Master Maxwell, and Master Stacey, two godly men of London, brickmakers, and wardens of their company, who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, had converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year at their own cost, they went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that time much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Byfield was, to one Doctor Ruffam. At this time it happened that this Byfield the monk was chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; he delighted much in Doctor Barnes and in other laymen's conversation; and at last, Doctor Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tindal's Testament in English, with a book called, "The Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man;" he had learned so much in two years, that he was cast into prison, sore whipped, and a gag put into his mouth, and then put into the stocks, and so continued three quarters of a year before Doctor Barnes could get him out; which he brought to pass, by the means of Doctor Ruffam, before-mentioned, and so he was committed to Doctor Barnes to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London to Maxwell and Stacey, where they kept him secretly a while, and then conveyed him beyond the sea. Doctor Barnes, himself, being by this time in the Fleet prison for God's word. This Byfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was serviceable to Master Tindal, and Master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and bought all their works, and the Germans' works, and sold them both in France and in England; and at last coming to London, he was there betrayed, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and from thence to the Coalhouse.

This Richard Byfield being in the Coalhouse, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, and manacled, to make him accuse others that had bought his books; but he accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, even to the very end, and was, in the consistory of St. Paul's, thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or not? He said he would dispute for his faith, and so he did to their great shame; Stokesley being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops.

The articles laid to Richard Byfield, by the aforesaid bishops, were these, (A.D. 1531, November 10.)

Articles laid to Richard Byfield.

First, that he had been many years a monk, professed of the order of St. Benedict, of St. Edmundsbury, in the diocese of Norwich.

2. That he was a priest, and had ministered and continued in the same order for the space of nine or ten years.

3. That since the feast of Easter last, he being beyond the sea, bought and procured divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of others of his damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretic, and other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

5. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license, as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

6. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from henceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the bishop.

8. After his abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's, at Billingsgate, and bear a fagot of wood upon his shoulder.

9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide an habit requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go nowhere without such an habit; which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that he should, some time before the feast of the Ascension, then next ensuing his abjuration, go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain according to the vow of his profession; which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appointed by the bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, on the 25th day of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance, and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

12. That on the 20th day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said Bishop Tonstal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's palace, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him an habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following; which he had not done.

13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being; which he had not fulfilled.

The sentence given against him.

In the name of God, Amen! We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, &c.

Forsomuch as by the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy ordinary, according to the form and order of the church. And that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and accomplices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as an heretic, by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolic See; and the books, and all writings, schedules and sermons of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages, printed or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf, to be incurred by the law, that no man, by any means, presume to read, teach, hear, print, or publish, or by any means defend, directly, or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any

such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument; whereunto, and to the contents thereof, we refer ourselves, as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forsomuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premises; and yet these things, notwithstanding after thy abjuration made, as is aforesaid, thou hast brought in divers and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and accomplices, and of other heretics, the names, titles, and authors of which books here follow, and are these:—Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the Private Mass; The Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vowers; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; John Oecolampadius upon the exposition of these words, "This is my body;" the Annotations of Oecolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul unto the Romans, &c. &c.

Of all which kind of books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and printed, containing not only Lutherian heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other condemned heretics; forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parts beyond the sea, a great number into this realm of England, and especially to our city and diocese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over; also, hast kept by thee, and studied those books, and hast published and read them unto divers Christian men, and many of those books also hast dispersed, and given to divers persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther, and other heretics, his accomplices and adherents, and all the contents in them, are good and agreeable to the true faith, saying, that they are good, and of the true faith; and by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, and hast favoured and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions. Therefore, we, John, the bishop, aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee, the aforesaid Richard Byfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, accomplices, favourers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving, and dispersing the books and writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as of other heretics beforenamed, and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be, and have been an heretic; and that thou, by the pretence of the premises, art fallen again most damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that thou art, and hast been, a relapsed heretic, and hast incurred, and oughtest to incur, the pain and punishment of a relapse. And we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even, by the law, incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication; and, thereby, we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastical office and benefice. Also, we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth:—

In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee, Richard Byfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics unto the unity of the Catholic faith. This, our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.

On Monday the 20th day of November, (A.D. 1531.) in the Quire of the Cathedral church of St. Paul's, the bishop of London, called to him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ church of the city of London; Master J. Cox, auditor and vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Bagh, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Inocent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh A-price, doctors of both laws, &c.; which religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men, thought it good that the bishop should pronounce, and give the sentence against him; and so he was delivered to the sheriffs to be taken to Newgate, they being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into St. Paul's upper quire, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London; and by and bye the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier staff, and smote him on the breast, so that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head that sounded it. When Byfield came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ militant here in earth; "And I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever;" and he was then led forth through the quire to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer; and afterwards went to the fire in his apparel, manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was half an hour alive; and when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving. He was burned in Smithfield.

John Tewkesbury, Leather-seller of London, Martyr.

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tindal's Testament, and "The Wicked Mammon." He had the bible. In all points of religion he openly disputed in the bishop's chapel in his palace, and in the doctrine of justification, and all other articles of his faith, was very prompt in his answers, so that Tonstal, and all his learned men were ashamed that a leather-seller should dispute with them, with such power of the scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued a week. The process of examinations and answers here follow, as they are extracted out of the bishop's register.

On Wednesday, 21st April, (A. D. 1529,) John Tewkesbury was brought into the Consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster. The bishop of London then declared that he had often exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him, not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother, the church. He made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And, at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the book called "The Wicked Mammon," he answered:—"Take ye the book and read it over, and I think, in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it." And, being asked by the bishop, whether he had rather give credit to this book or to the gospel; he answered that the gospel is, and ever has been true.

The bishop said further to John Tewkesbury:—"I

tell thee, before God, and those here present, that the articles contained in the book are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church—how thinkest thou?" He commanded him to answer determinately, under pain of the law, saying, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law.

He answered, "That he thought, in his conscience, there was nothing in the book but that which is true; and to this article objected, that is, that faith only justifies without works, he answers, "That is well said, and added, "I pray God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it; for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one." He said, that he had studied the holy scriptures for the space of these seventeen years, and as he could see the spots of his face in the glass, so, in reading the New Testament, he knew the faults of his soul.

The bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. John Tewkesbury answered, "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough." The bishop appointed him to determine with himself against the morrow.

After some days, with advice of his friends, he submitted himself and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as follows.

That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

That the Sunday following, in St. Paul's Church in the open procession, he should carry a fagot, and stand at St. Paul's Cross with the same.

That on the Wednesday following he should carry the same fagot about Newgate-Market and Cheapside.

That on the Friday after, he should take the same fagot again at St. Peter's Church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leaden-hall.

That he should have two signs of fagots embroidered, the one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve, and that he should wear them all his life time, unless he were otherwise dispensed with.

That on Whit-Sunday eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and there abide, and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors. Which penance he commenced the 8th day of May, 1529.

And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, when he was induced through infirmity, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Being afterwards confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Byfield, who was burned in Smithfield, he returned and constantly remained in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for it. Recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, he was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected of him: the chief of which we briefly recite.

I. That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

II. That he affirms, that the abjuration, oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

III. That he had the books of "*the Obedience of a Christian Man*," and of "*the Wicked Mammon*," in his custody, and had read them since his abjuration.

IV. That he affirms that he suffered the two fagots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

V. He saith, *that* faith only justifies, which has charity.

VI. He saith, that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made to saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem; "Hail queen of heaven, our *advocate*." To which he answered, that he knew no other advocate but Christ alone.

VII. He affirms that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Savour is a sufficient purgation for us.

VIII. He affirms, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

IX. He affirms, that a priest, by receiving orders, receives more grace, if his faith be increased, but otherwise, not.

X. And last of all, he believes, that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; after which the bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him to the sheriffs of London; who burned him in Smithfield, 20th of December, 1531.

The apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.

Edward Freese was apprentice to a painter, and by working for his master in Bearsie Abbey, was known to the abbot, for he was a boy of talent and knowledge, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he would have made him a monk. The lad not liking that kind of living and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away, and came to Colchester in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn in Colchester, and in the upper boarder of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of scripture, and by that he was plainly known to be one of those whom they call heretics.

He was taken and brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with others of Essex; one Johnson and his wife, Wylie and his wife, and his son, and father Bate of Rowshedge. They were so straightly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, he was removed to the Lollard's Tower. While he was at Fulham, his wife being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then with child, the porter lifted up his foot and kicked her on the belly, that at length she died of the same, but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that they were all put in the stocks for a long time, and then they were let loose in their prisons. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal; and because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists, so long, till the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, so that his hair was folded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and he was brought out in the consistory at St. Paul's, and (as his brother reported) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and cruel treatment, and for lack of sustenance, the man could not say anything, but looked and gazed upon the people like a wild man, and if they asked him a question, he only answered, "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had ruined his body, and destroyed his senses, they sent him back again to Bearsie Abbey; but he came away again from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: although he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

His brother, whose name was Valentine Freese and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go into Chancery Lane, to one, whose name (as it is thought) was Master Selyard, and at last she got a letter of Selyard to the bishop, and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband by it. And because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and de-

sirous of his blood, some of her friends desired to see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed: for it was after this manner.

After commendations had, &c. "Look what you can gather against Father Bate, and send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, that I may certify it to the king's majesty, &c." Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband's life than before. But it pleased God soon to deliver him: for he got out in a dark night, and was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.

James Bainham, gentleman, was virtuously brought up by his parents, in the study of good letters, and had a knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. He gave himself to the study of the law, and was esteemed a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of scripture, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or rewards; indeed a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham married the widow of Simon Fish, for which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, and arrested and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in prison a while, till Sir Thomas More, finding he could not prevail on him to recant, cast him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the tree in his garden, called the "Tree of Troth," and afterwards sent him to the Tower to be racked, and so he was, Sir Thomas More being present himself, till he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor shew where his books lay; and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, A.D. 1531, in Chelsea, and there examined upon the following articles and interrogatories:—

1. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed?

He made answer as follows: "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. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." 1 John i. 7—9.

2. Whether saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed to, to pray for us?

He answered: "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." 1 John ii. 1, 2. And further, upon occasion of these words, "All ye saints of God pray for us," being demanded what he meant by these words, "All ye saints," he answered, that he meant by them those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not by those that are dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they who are dead cannot pray for him. Also, when the whole church is gathered together, they pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours. "And I pray," said he, "as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour: 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.'" Matt. xxvi. 39.

3. He was demanded, whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or not?

He answered, that he believed that they are there where it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham, and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

4. It was demanded, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?

His answer was this, that it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession he knew none. And further, he said, that if he came to the sermon, or any other place, where the word of God is preached, and there repented for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith forgiven of God, and that he needed not go to any confession.

5. That he should say and affirm, that the truth of the holy scriptures has been hid, and hath not appeared for these eight hundred years, neither was it known before now.

To this he said, that he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared to the people as it has been within these six years.

6. He was demanded further, for what cause the holy scripture has been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before?

He answered, to say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the true meaning of scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer, and that the New Testament, now translated into English, preaches and teaches the word of God; and that before that time men did only preach that folks should believe as the church believed, and then if the church erred men should err too. "However the church," said he, "of Christ cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of antichrist may and doth err, but the church of Christ doth not."

7. Whether he knew any person that died in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?

He said, he knew Byfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

8. He was asked what he thought of purgatory?

He answered, if any such thing had been mentioned to St. Paul about purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for an heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were an hundred more who thought the same as he did; saying, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed (Acts v.); for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God; and therefore a monk, friar, or nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows are made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally, he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism.

9. He was demanded, whether Luther being a friar, and taking a nun and marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein?

He answered, that he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was immoral or not? he made answer, he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of extreme unction; he said, it was but a ceremony, neither did he know that a man should be the better for such oiling and anointing. The best of it was, that some good prayers were said at it.

Likewise, touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these:—

"That as many as repent, and put on Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith; that is, by keeping the promise made. 'For by grace are ye saved through faith,' saith St. Paul; 'and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.'" Eph. ii. 8.

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it confers grace, being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away?

His answer was, "That matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by which men may take to themselves wives and not sin."

Lastly, for his books of scripture, and for his judgment of Tindal, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tindal within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church at St. Paul's Cross. But for all that he thought the word of God had not forbid it; confessing, moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books:—"The Wicked Mammon," "The Obedience of a Christian Man," "The Practice of Prelates," "The Answer of Tindal to Thomas More's Dialogues," "The Book of Frith against Purgatory," "The Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk;" adding, that in all these books he never saw any errors. And if there were any such in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it very good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know that Tindal was a naughty fellow. And to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination was the fifteenth day of December.

Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was ready there to be read, &c.

To conclude a long matter in few words: Bainham wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer to them that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the bishop requiring him to state his mind plainly as to his answers above declared, and demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or not.

To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the bishop, whether there was any purgatory? he answered and said, he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life.

Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as follows: that he could not judge whether Byfield died in the true faith of Christ or no; that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin; that a priest promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife; that he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven; that Luther did nought in marrying a nun; that a child is the better for confirmation; that it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king; and said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

The chancellor offering to him a bill of his abjuration, required him to read it, he did so.

After the reading of it, he burst out into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the abjuration, which he thought obscure, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. The chancellor asked him why he made that protest. Bainham said, "For fear, lest any man of ill will accuse me hereafter." "Well, Master Bainham," said the chancellor, "take your oath, and kiss the book, or else I will do mine office against you;" and so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed.

Which done, the chancellor receiving the abjuration at his hand put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at St. Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, with a fagot upon his shoulder, on the next Sunday, and to return to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination; and so on the 17th day of Feb. he was released. It was scarce a month when he bewailed his abjuration, and was never quiet in his mind and conscience until he had acknowledged his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness before the congregation, in a warehouse in Bow-lane; and immediately on the next Sunday after he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the "Obedience of a Christian Man" in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did; for," said he, "if I should not return again to the truth (having the New Testament in his hand) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die than to do as he did; for he would not feel such an hell again as he did feel, for all the world's goods. Besides this, he wrote letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London.

In due time he was tried as a relapsed heretic, and then the vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with his learned assistants, read the definitive sentence against him; whereby amongst other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs there present. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried to Newgate, and he was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, A.D. 1532.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fortnight he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for the space of a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and there condemned, and so to Newgate from thence to be burned!

John Bent, a tailor, about this time, or not long before, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying of the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, Martyr.—Also about the same time was burned, in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

The History of three men hanged for the burning of the Rood of Dovercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardiner, who was one of the doers of the same.

In the same year, 1532, there was an idol named the rood of Dover-court, to which there was a great resort of people. For at that time there was a rumour spread abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great, that no man had power to shut the church-door where he stood, and therefore they let the church-door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the greater credit of their rumour. This seemed a great wonder to many ignorant men; but by others, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, especially by those whose names follow:—Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and

Robert Gardiner of Dedham, whose consciences were burthened to see the honour and power of the Almighty God so blasphemed by such an idol. Therefore they were resolved to travel out of Dedham in a goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before and the night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was, from the town of Dedham, to the place where the rood stood, ten miles. They went these ten miles, and found the church door open, which happened well for their purpose; for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open. They took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the idol. Then they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire, and he burned so brightly that he lighted them homeward one good mile out of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place; but it was very untrue, for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterwards confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and tapers. The tapers helped to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one Sir Thomas Rose burned, but they had neither penny, half-penny, groat, gold, nor jewel.

Three of them, however, were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout; which three persons, at their death, through the Spirit of God, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there for a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardiner, escaped their hands and fled; whom the Lord preserved, to whom be all honour and glory, world without end.

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places; as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggleshall, the image of St. Petronilla in the church of Great Horkesley, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronilla in a chapel at Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew the cross in Stoke-park, and took two images out of a chapel in the park, and cast them into the water.

The History, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom of John Frith.

Amongst all other evils there has been none for a long time which seemed to me more grievous than the lamentable death and cruel usage of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man, who had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal among all his companions; and besides he had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he excelled, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But as to his doctrine, by the grace of Christ, we will speak hereafter. Notwithstanding his other singular gifts and ornaments of the mind by which he might have opened an easy way to honour and dignity, yet he chose rather to consecrate himself wholly to the church of Christ, shewing forth and practising the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man; which life, they say, is given to us in such sort, that how much better the man is, so much the less he should live to himself, but that we should think a great part of our birth due to our parents, a greater part to our country, and the greatest part of all bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge. Nature had planted in him, while a child, a great love of learning. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, by which it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became a very learned man. When he had diligently laboured for certain years, with great profit to himself in the study of Latin and Greek, he at last became acquainted with William Tindal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but now named Christ's Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bore to learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name to posterity. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatever excellent things there were in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kind of precious things. He also appointed to it all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge.

These men, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy to the cardinal, and cast into a prison.

John Frith was dismissed from prison, upon condition that he would not pass above ten miles out of Oxford. Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, who bore fagots, went over the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading (as was thought) and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination: where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. Where, after he had sate a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and yet would not declare what he was, at last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Frith, by and by began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition, especially in such misery. Afterwards conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek: in which Frith inflamed the love of that schoolmaster towards him, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad. Upon this the schoolmaster went with all speed to the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they shewed to so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely let out of the stocks, and set at liberty without further punishment. Yet his safety continued not long, owing to the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith being on every side beset with troubles, and not knowing which way to turn, seeks for some place to hide himself in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and his place, he yet could be in safety in no place; not long even among his friends: so that at last, being traitorously taken, he was sent to the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: he had a communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole disputation consisted especially in these four points:—

"1. That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

"2. That forsomuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable to reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

"3. Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary,

that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the scripture.

"4. Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, although that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, do never so much differ from it."

And, as the treatise seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that he would briefly commit it to writing, and give it to him for the help of his memory. Frith, although he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a matter, at the last, overcome by the entreaty of his friend, complied.

There was at that time in London, a tailor, named William Holt, who, feigning great friendship toward this party, urgently begged of him to let him read over that writing of Frith's; which, when he did, the other by and by carried it to More the chancellor. This was the occasion of great trouble, and also of death to Frith.

This was the whole sum of the reasons of Frith's book; first, to declare the pope's belief of the sacrament to be no necessary article of our faith; that is to say, that it is no article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the sacrament should be the natural body of Christ; which he thus proveth. For many so believe, and yet in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body are not thereby saved, but receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his body in the bread is not that which saves us, but his presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, the not believing of his bodily presence in the sacrament, is not the thing that shall condemn us, but the absence of him out of our hearts, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe God's word under pain of damnation: to that he answers, "That the word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintains no such bodily presence as the pope's church teaches, but rather a sacramental presence. And that," saith he, "may be further confirmed thus:—

"None of the old fathers, before Christ's incarnation, were bound, under pain of damnation, to believe this point.

"Now can we not be saved by the same faith that the old fathers were?

"And, therefore, none of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

"The first part," saith he, "is evident of itself. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

"The second part," saith he, "appears plainly by St. Augustine, writing ad Dardanum, and also by a hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saves us also; and, therefore, upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, must the conclusion needs follow."

Again, he argues thus:—

"None of the old fathers, before Christ's incarnation, did eat Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

"Now, we all eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

"And, therefore, none of us eat Christ corporally, but mystically, and spiritually, in our signs as they did.

For the proof of the first part, Frith declares how the ancient fathers, before Christ's incarnation, never believed any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body; and yet, notwithstanding, they did eat him spiritually and were saved: as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eat the body of Christ, and did drink his blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining only to faith, and not to the teeth: "For they were under the cloud, and drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ," which was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made to Adam, when, as it was said to the serpent; "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed," &c. And afterwards again, to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," &c. Adding also the sacrament of circumcision, which was called the covenant; not because it was so, indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the covenant made between God and Abraham, admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that although it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully flows to all the faithful, by his most blessed body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made to Moses, the most meek and gentle captain of the Israelites, who did not only himself believe upon Christ, who was so often promised, but also prefigured him both by the manna which came down from heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both the manna and the water had a prophetical mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the bread and the wine do now declare unto us in the sacrament. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one corporal matter (for they did eat manna, and we another thing) but the self-same spiritual thing that we do, and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: which, nevertheless, signified all one thing in a spiritual sense. How did they drink all one thing? The apostle answers, "Of the spiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Christ." The manna which came down from heaven, was the same unto them that our sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came down from heaven; and yet, notwithstanding, never any of them said, that the manna was the very body of the Messiah, as our sacramental bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For, as the manna which came down from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from heaven, and being given for us, quickens the spirits of the believers unto life everlasting. Then, if the salvation of both people be alike, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add transubstantiation to our sacrament, more than they believed their manna to be altered and changed. Moreover, because they are named sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must needs be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no sacraments.

When More had got a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen to make answer unto this young man (for so he calls him throughout his whole book) but when the book was once set forth, Frith got a copy, by means of his friends, and answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect handling of the matter.

What knowledge and genius, and excellency of doctrine was in him may appear not only by his books which he wrote on the sacrament, but also in those which he wrote on purgatory. In which controversy he withstood the violence of three opponents, viz., Rochester, More, and Rastal, one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the scriptures, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness. Which has always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt.

And would to God that all things in all places were so free from all kinds of dissension, that there were no mention made amongst christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, as neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. I do think that nothing could more grieve those worthy men, than that their names should be so abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions.

But now, as we treat of the history of John Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who maintaining his controversy of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, no less godly than learnedly, yet did it so moderately, that he never seemed to strive against the papists, except he had been driven to it. In all other matters where necessity did not force him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for the sake of quietness.

When More brought against him the authority of Doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered, that he would promise under this condition—that the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be held as ratified—he would never speak more of it: for they agreed with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put it into their hearts; for then there remained no more poison that any man ought or might be afraid of.

After he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester and Rastal, he was at last carried to Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards to Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops in a common assembly at London.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written to his friends, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of John Frith to his Friends, concerning his troubles: wherein after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, he writes thus:—

"I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth greatly vex you to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not be heard. But refer your matters to God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the meantime I have written to you as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that you might understand the matter certainly.

"The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, of purgatory, and of the substance of the sacrament.

"And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I believed there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: for man, said I, consists and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul; the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he lays upon every child that he receives, as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. And last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us; but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if you can shew me a third part of man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant to you the third place, which you call purgatory. But because you cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny to you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or not.

"Secondly, they examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or not.

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body and also our body, as St. Paul teaches us in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many grains of corn, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ, declaring his body to be broken and delivered to death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

"Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that, as verily as the sacrament is distributed to us, so verily is Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed to all faithful people.

"In that it is received it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man received the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

"Well, said they, dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? 'No,' said I, 'I do not think so: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying, which is the negative, any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any article necessary of the faith on your part, which is an affirmative, so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith on our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and one to bear another's infirmity.'

"After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'

"I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he says in another place, 'He was carried as it were in his own hands;' which is a phrase of speech not of one that simply affirms, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And although St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he writing unto Boniface plainly admonishes all men, that the sacraments represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they take their names. And therefore, according to this rule it may be said, he was born in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

Then they alleged a place of Chrysostom, which at the first blush may seem to make much for them, who in a certain homily upon the supper writeth thus, 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remains nor abides: so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body, &c.'

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, which in another homily says on this manner, 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked of the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now compare these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expounds the first plainly. For he saith, dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay, for the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him which is signified by the bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not, that is to say, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do anything else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; but that indeed we do not see that which we go about, not because our mind is fixed on some other thing,

and doth not attend unto that which the eyes do not see. In like manner may it be answered to that which follows, 'Do they depart from thee,' saith he, 'in the draught as other meats do?' I will not so say, for other meats passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voided into the draft: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourishes both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time voided as other meats are."

"Here peradventure many would marvel, that forsomuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament, being separate from the articles of the faith, and binding no man of necessity either to salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the other; but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions: what then is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this, I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the scriptures or doctors) yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, be it ever so true, should be held for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things both in the scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith.

"So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet for all that I will not hold it as an article of faith, but that you may without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

"But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, various reasons lead me thereto.

First, I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the scriptures or of approved doctors.

"Secondly, by my example I would not be an author to christians to admit anything as a matter of faith, more than their necessary points of the creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation consists, especially such things, the belief of which have no certain argument of reason.

"I added, moreover, that their church, as they call it, hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles.

"Thirdly, Because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point, to so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, who altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Oecolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put to for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, should be established for an article of faith."

But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th day of June, (A. D. 1533,) he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln. When he could not be persuaded to recant, or be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence was given against him.

The sentence being read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the city, for receiving John Frith into their charge, who, being so delivered over to them, on the 4th day of July, 1533, was carried to Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tied to the stake, it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the fagots and fire were put to him, he willingly embraced them, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, as it bore away the flame from him to his companion, who was tied to his back; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his companion, than to be careful for himself.

Thus truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy name. Amen.

Andrew Hewet.

Andrew Hewet, a young man of the age of four-and-twenty years, was apprentice with Master Warren, a tailor; and as he went, upon a holiday, into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with William Holt, and being suspected by Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk with him, he went into a bookseller's house to avoid him. Then Holt sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons. Being there a good while, he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, he met with one Withers, who was an hypocrite, as Holt was. Withers pretending a fair countenance to him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so he kept him in the country till Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman, and there left him for the space of two days.

Then he came to Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him; and when they met Andrew they seemed as if they meant to do him much good, so they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat at their own charges. They came at night and brought guests with them. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. Within an hour after the bishop's chancellor, and serjeant Weaver came, and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found John Chapman, and Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes, and so carried them to the bishop's house. But Andrew Hewet they sent to the Lollard's Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, that he should tell another tale, or else he should sit there till his heels should drop from his body; and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but Andrew Hewet, after a long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith.

It was objected against Andrew Hewet, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. So, being demanded what he thought of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he answered, "Even as John Frith thinks." Then one of the bishops asked, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?" "So," he said, "I do not believe." "Why not?" said the bishop, "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly to all men, who say, 'Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ, for many false prophets shall arise.'"

Then the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is an heretic, and

already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." He saith, "I am content." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. He answered, "He would do as Frith did." He was sent to the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, on the 4th day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words, Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words not a little moved the people to anger. Thus, these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

Thomas Benet, burned at Exeter.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and made master of arts, a man very well learned, and of a godly disposition. This man, the more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he disliked and abhorred the then corrupt state of religion; and, therefore, being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he forsook the university, and went into Devonshire, (A.D. 1524.) He came to the city of Exeter, and hiring a house, commenced teaching children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, of which he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion.

But as every tree and herb has his due time to bring forth his fruit, so did it appear by this man; for, daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in his conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind therein. He plainly opened and disclosed how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were by blind guides carried headlong to everlasting destruction; and, therefore, he could no longer endure, but must needs testify against their abominations; and, for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently, as God would give him grace, to die and to shed his blood therein, alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions, when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end; which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on certain scrolls of paper, which he set upon the doors of the cathedral church; in which was written, "The pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the heretic that had set up these bills: and the mayor and his officers were not busy to find out this heretic; but to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should resort to their pulpits every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sate down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they beholding Benet, said the one to the other; surely this fellow by all likelihood is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheless when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a testament in the Latin tongue, were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed and left him reading in his book.

In the meantime the canons and priests, the officers and commons of the city were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means such an enormous heretic, who had put up those bills might be espied and known; but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a way to curse him, whoever he was, with book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort.

One of the priests apparelled all in white, ascended the pulpit. The other priests, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon, which was not so long, as tedious and superstitious: and concluded, "That that soul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was for his blasphemy damnably cursed, and he besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might escape the vengeance."

The manner of the cursing of Benet was extraordinary: the prelate said, "By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whosoever he or she be, that have in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he or she, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles:) and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle:) and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle:) except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent, and shew themselves;" and one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down. But oh, what a shout and noise was there, what terrible fear,

what holding up of hands to heaven, that curse was so terrible!

Now this fond foolish mockery being done and played off, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a long time could not cease, by which the poor man was observed. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he did so laugh. "My friend," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! with that, there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or not. Some say, that upon that he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house.

He was soon after apprehended, and on the morrow the canons and heads of the city examined him. When he confessed and said, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers you are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, who destroys and throws down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day he was sent to the bishop, who first committed him to the prison, called the bishop's prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as if he were a dog. Then the bishop, and others of his clergy and friars, began to examine him and charge him, that contrary to the catholic faith he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. He answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he not only confounded and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them into great admiration of him, the most part having pity and compassion on him. Among other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him.

The principal point between Basset and him was concerning the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom he named antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and murderer of Christ's flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days, where there repaired to him both the Black and Gray-Friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and shewed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed, and said, that the devil tempted him, and spit upon him, calling him heretic: but he only prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly appears by his doings." They asked, "What he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar?" "He doth," quoth he, "sell the sacraments of the church for money, he selleth remission of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise; for there is no day but you say masses for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and you spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions, and foul gains. The whole world begins now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame." "The shame," say they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? What a perverse heretic art thou!" "I am," said he, "no heretic, but a christian man; I thank Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintains the devil." "What is our church?" said they. "It is not my church," quoth Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth." "Dost not thou think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," quoth he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree." "Why," said they, "did not Christ say to Peter, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?'" "He said that," quoth he, "to all the apostles as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devils church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince the supreme governor under God: so to say, that all the churches with their princes and governors are subject to one bishop is detestable heresy, and the pope your God, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore: of whom John in the revelation speaketh."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool," said they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent; That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded and know not the scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," said they, "thou art so malicious that thou wilt confess no church." "Look," said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before God his Father, making intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly without superstition or idolatry administered in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth, of that church will I be." "Doth not the pope," said they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?" "Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock." "And wilt thou not believe, indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?" "No," said he, "indeed." "And why?" said they. "Because," he answered, "he usurpeth a power not given him of Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because he doth by force of that usurped supremacy blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded." "What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment, should he then be his vicar?" "Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would that every bishop did this in their diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the

cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preaches the gospel, and maintains the truth, is a true bishop of the church." "And doth not," said they, "our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?" "Yea," said he, "I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, you bear such a good will to it, that you keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ confidence is none, but only in your popish traditions, and fantastical inventions." Then said a Black friar to him, "Do we not preach the gospel daily?" "Yes," said he, "but what preaching of the gospel is that, when with it, you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemptions through pardons and bulls from Rome, *a pœna et culpa*, as you term it: and by the merits of your orders you make many brethren and sisters, you take money yearly of them, you bury them in your coats, and in confession you beguile them: yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speak of them." "I see," said the friar, "thou art a vile heretic, I will have no more talk with thee."

Then stepped to him a Gray friar, a doctor, and laid before him great and many dangers. "I take God to record;" said Benet, "my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and for my part, I can no longer forbear: I had rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist your pope." "Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God." "I pray you," said Benet, "depart from me, and tell me not of your ways. He is only my way, which saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' In this way will I walk, his doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your false popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer, you shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. You are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you thus, everlasting death should hang over me,—a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company liketh me not."

When these canons and priests with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and had perceived that he would by no means recant; then they proceeded to judgment, and drew out their sentence against him, condemning him to be burned. This christian martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself 'as a sheep before the shearer,' with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, he made his most humble confession and prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him, as also to leave the devises, fantasies, and imaginations of men's inventions, that all the beholders of him were astonished and in great admiration: Insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew, and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and good words, but at length, through threatenings, desired him to revoke his errors, and to call upon our Lady and the saints. To whom he with all meekness answered, "No, no, it is God only upon whose name we must call and we have no other advocate with him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard." With which answer Barnehouse was so enraged, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Ah, heretic, pray to our Lady, or I will make thee do it."

To whom Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir, trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." After which the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord receive my spirit." And so continuing in prayer, he never stirred, but most patiently abode the torments of the fire, until his life was ended. For which let the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

The Marriage between King Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; and Queen Catharine divorced.

After the death of prince Arthur, the lady Catharine, widow of prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, that her dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, who was King Henry VIII.

This marriage seemed very strange for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what in this earth can be so hard or difficult, with which the pope, the omnipotent vicar of Christ, cannot dispense, if it please him? The pope who then ruled at Rome was Julius II., by whose dispensation this marriage, which neither nature would admit, nor God's law sanction, was concluded, approved, and ratified, and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple for the space of near twenty years, till a doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards, A. D. 1523, when the Emperor Charles promised to marry the lady Mary, daughter to the king of England. With this promise, the Spaniards were not contented, objecting, among other causes, that the lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Upon this the emperor married the lady Isabella, daughter to Emanuel, the late king of Portugal, and the sister of John III., A.D. 1526. King Henry, being disappointed thus by the emperor, endeavoured through the French ambassadors, that lady Mary should be married to the French king's son, the duke of Orleans. After long debating, at length the matter was put off by the president of Paris raising a doubt, whether the marriage between the king and the mother of this lady Mary, who had been his brother's wife before, were good or not.

The king, upon this, began to consider the case more deeply, first with himself, afterwards with his nearest council; there were two things which chiefly troubled his mind, the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm safe by succession of the daughter. It happened at the time that the cardinal, who was then nearest about the king, had fallen out with the emperor, for not assisting him to the papacy, for which cause he helped to set the matter forward. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and incited by the cardinal, could not rest, but inquired further to know what the word of God and learning would say to it. Nor was the case so hard, after it began once to become a public question, but that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerks, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon declared to be unlawful.

All these censures, books and writings of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all quarters of Christendom to the king, although they might suffice

to have resolved, and did indeed resolve, the king's conscience, touching this scruple of his marriage; yet he would not straightway use that advantage which learning gave him, unless he had the assent of the pope, and the emperor; in which he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked, and much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or come in any doubt, which was likely to come, if that marriage were proved incapable of dispensation by God's word, which his predecessor through his plenary power, had licensed. Again, the assent of the emperor he thought would be no less difficult, as the lady Catharine was the emperor's aunt, and a Spaniard. Nevertheless, his purpose was to ascertan what they would say to it, and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome to treat with pope Clement. To the emperor he sent Sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador to the court of Ghent. First, pope Clement, not weighing the full importance of the matter, sent cardinal Campegio (as is said into England), joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of the legates, the king, first opening to them the grief of his conscience, seemed, with great reasons and persuasions to have sufficiently drawn the good will of those two legates to his side. Who also, of their own accord, pretended to shew a willing inclination to further the king's object. But yet the mouths of the common people, and especially of the women, and such others as favoured the queen, were not stopped. He, therefore, willing that all men should know his proceedings, caused all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace on the 8th of Nov. 1529, where he openly spoke in his council chamber as follows:—

The King's Oration to his Subjects.

"Our trusty and wellbeloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknown unto you, how that we both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years. During which time we have so ordered us (thanks be to God) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that you nor none of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimation under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward the Fourth, and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was like to have been nearly destroyed.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told us by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief councillors to the French king, said, 'It were well done to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precepts.' Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these things do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom, and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never any thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended (as you well know) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness; yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I these twenty years almost have had the true experience; so that, if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience and saving of our soul, and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart."

Shortly after this oration of the king, with which he stirred the hearts of a number, the two legates, being requested of the king, for the discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen and declared to her how they were deputed as impartial judges between the king and her, to hear and determine whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not. When she understood the cause of their coming, being somewhat astonished at first, after a little pausing with herself, she thus began:

"Alas, my lords," said she, "is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or not, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and never question was made before? Many prelates yet alive, and lords also, and privy counsellors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think very strange; and especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, bore to me, I think that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but that they foresaw what might follow our marriage; and the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a licence and dispensation, that I being the one brother's wife, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence I have in my possession yet to shew; which things make me to say and believe that our marriage was lawful, good and godly. But for all this trouble I have only to thank you, my lord cardinal of York, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable immorality, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore from malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad, and especially for the great malice you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion; because he would not satisfy your ambition and make you pope; and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept your promise; for all his wars and vexations he may thank

you only. And as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth."

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was much against his will that ever the marriage should come in question, but he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause: which he swore on his profession to bear impartially; but whatever was said she believed him not; and so the legates took their leave of her and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by cardinal Campegio's secretary, who was present.

In the next year, 1530, at the Blackfriars of London, was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who coming with their crosses, and all other Romish ceremonies, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the legates on the 31st of May; where (the commission of the cardinals being first read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the king was called by name; who appeared by two proctors: then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four bishops, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, came personally before the legates: who there, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, uttering not many words, but appealed from the legates, as judges not competent, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every-day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitive was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king being desirous to see an end, came to the court, and the queen also, where he standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words in effect as follows:

"My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who are deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth who hath his conscience grieved. For I assure you on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scarcely study any thing which should be profitable for my realm and people: and to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another: and therefore if I would willingly change I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth."

When the king had spoken, the queen departed without saying any thing. Then she was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. Notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides met almost every day and debated this matter, so that at last the divines were all of opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother; which she clearly denied. But to that it was answered, that prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act. And at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the Prince of Wales almost half a year.

Thus when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three reasons: one was, because if it should be broken, the only child of the king would be illegitimised, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation would be a cause of great enmity between her kindred and this realm. And the third reason was, that the continuance for so long a time had made the marriage good. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's counsel, and especially by the bishop of Rochester, who stood firm in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; so they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with this marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw where the end of this question would tend, as men began to dispute the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king cast favour on the lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to rid themselves out of that difficulty in time; and so cardinal Campegio dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome again. The king seeing himself thus deluded by the cardinals, took no little grief:—the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after.

This was in the year 1530. Shortly after it happened that the king by his ambassadors was advertised, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bononia. So he directed Sir Thomas Bullen, created earl of Wiltshire, and doctor Stokesley (afterward bishop of London) and doctor Lee (afterwards archbishop of York) with his message to the pope's court, where the emperor was. Pope Clement fearing what might follow, if learning and scripture should here take place against the authority of their dispensations, and suspecting the emperor's displeasure, avoided the matter, answering the ambassadors, that he would not hastily decide in this case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and would do justice according to right.

Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitration either in this case, or in any other, having both the scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietness sake, and for that he might not rashly break order, he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm.

No man here doubts, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, which his Divine Providence was disposed to work. For as to the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to establish the see of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same see and court of Rome. And therefore intending to seek his divorce from Rome, at the beginning; his device was by Stephen Gardiner, his ambassador at Rome, to exalt the cardinal of York, as we before shewed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that he ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion without any further rumour of the world. Which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English cardinal had once been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see had never been exterminated out of England. But God being more merciful to us, took a better way. For both without, and contrary to the king's expectation, he so brought things to pass, that neither the cardinal of York was pope; and yet nevertheless the king succeeded in his purpose. For he was rid, by lawful divorce, not only from that unlawful marriage which troubled his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm.

Thus God's holy Providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favourable grant of the pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was enforced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely

authority cut the knot. For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords both temporal and spiritual, the king with one sword did so cut off both his swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of England. But first the king, like a prudent prince, following his own proverb, as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie on the top, so he, to prepare his way better to the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him, by the law of præmunire, out of his goods and possessions. Shortly after this, about the year 1532, the king gave forth this proclamation:

"The king's highness straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge, or publish any thing heretofore, within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his highness' indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others."

After this, the king, proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the King's Bench, as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the legantine power of the cardinal, were all entangled in the præmunire, and therefore were called into the King's Bench to answer. But the prelates in convocation at Canterbury concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them of the præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds. And in the province of York eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pound and ten pence. Which offer was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before.

Mention was made a little before of a parliament begun the 15th of January, A.D. 1533, in which the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the straight dealing of the clergy in their proceeding *ex officio*. This complaint, although at the first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and especially of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same. First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that who so did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon holy scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's royal prerogative, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise touching such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the judgment of two-and-thirty persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretion; and further, that all the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise *in verbo Sacerdotii*, never hereafter to presume to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, &c.

Further, in the same parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue out of the king's dominions to the court of Rome, under pain of provisors, provision, or præmunire.

In the same parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of annates and first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome for any bulls, breves, or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also for the investing of archbishops, bishops, or others of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken that the king should send a license under the great seal, with a letter missive to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant; by virtue of which license, or letters missive, they within twelve days should choose the person nominated by the king, and none other, and that election to stand effectual. Which election being done, then the party elect making first his oath and fealty to the king, if it were a bishop that was elect, then the king by his letters patent to signify the election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome.

Moreover, against all other exactions and great sums of money which used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *Perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious to be recited; in the parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence which used to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly cease, and never more be levied; so that the king with his honourable council should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm.

All these things being thus defined and determined in this parliament, and also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented, that the marriage aforetime solemnized between the king and the lady Catharine, being before wife to prince Arthur the king's brother, should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of the king's lawful succession, it was fully by the parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king and queen Anne his wife.

Not long after that, the king, perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the Speaker, and twelve of the commons-house, having with them eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects, we had thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they are but half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, contrary to the oath that they make to us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours;" and so the king, delivering to them the copy of

both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and caused the oaths to be read in the commons-house.

The Oaths of the Clergy to the Pope.

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope, and his successors canonically elected. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel confided to me by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help, and maintain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic going and coming, I shall honourably treat. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented and promoted, I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers; and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept, of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome, was abolished by statute, and a new oath ministered, wherein they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head under Christ in this church of England.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

"I, John B. of A. utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A. that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people; and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power; and your counsel I shall keep and hold, acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only; beseeching you for restitution of the temporalties of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject unto your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life; and the services and other things due to your highness, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help and all saints."

These oaths being thus recited and opened to the people, were the cause that the pope lost all his jurisdiction here in England. The matter falling out more and more against the pope, Sir Thomas More, a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well this oath, was forced to resign his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man incomparable in eloquence and gifts of tongue, also with a godly disposed mind, and favourable inclination to Christ's religion.

These things being done in the parliament, the king within a short time after (November, A.D. 1532), privately married the lady Anne Boleyn, mother to our most noble queen (Elizabeth), who without all controversy was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned.

Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage had been publicly recognised, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long after her coronation, on the 7th of Sept., A. D. 1533, she was delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, and the Friars' church, was hung with tapestry; also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high: it was covered with a fine cloth, and several gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say. Between the quoir and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward, first the citizens, two and two; then the gentlemen esquires, and chaplains. Next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor, followed the king's council. Then the king's chaplains. Then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered gilt basons. After him the Marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrysome, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk with his marshal's-rod, went on the right hand of the duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bare the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child, went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the train. In the midst over the child, was borne a canopy by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussey, the lord William Howard, and the lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came to the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child's name was Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font and christened. This done, garter the chief king-at-arms, cried aloud, "God of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset, three gilt bowls pounced, with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter three standing bowls gilt and graven, with a cover. And so after a solemn banquet ended with hypocras, waters, and such like in great plenty, they returned in like order again to the court with the princess, and so departed.

At the birth of this noble lady, as there was no small joy to all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion; so on the other hand, the papists were not wanting in their malicious and secret attempts, and in their devilish devices, may sufficiently appear by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false hypocrite, who was this year found

out. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, of a devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with king Henry for the divorce of the lady Catharine; and surmised amongst other things, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, that in case the king proceeded in the divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation practised and shewed to the people strange alterations of her visage, and other parts of her body, as if she had been wrapt or in a trance, and in these feigned trances, (as though she had been inspired of God,) she spake many words in rebuking sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy; and uttered many things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to the establishing of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory. Her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death, in April, 1533.

About the same time died also William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose place succeeded Thomas Cranmer, who was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the marriage of lady Catharine.

Ye heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding which act, the queen, now called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act was made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in parliament, but much better in the convocation; and yet, in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books shewed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and other famous councils in the primitive church; yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. Which things were so learnedly opened, and so ably set forth, that every man that had sense, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own opinions, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect; which doctrines and councils were shewn to the lady Catharine, who ever continued trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's truth.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), accompanied by the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and other dignitaries, in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princess dowager lay; and thereby she was cited to appear before the archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the town of Dunstable. And, at the day appointed, she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily every day, fifteen days together, and at last, on the 23d of May, A.D. 1533, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all learned men there present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of none effect; which sentence given, the archbishop, and all the others returned back again.

The Power of the Pope abolished in England.

These things thus finished and dispatched, concerning the marriage of queen Anne, and divorce of lady Catharine, next follows the year 1534, in which was assembled the high court of parliament, after many prorogations, upon the 3d day of February, wherein was made an act of succession for the greater security of the crown, to which every person, being of lawful age, was to be sworn. Every Sunday, during the sitting of parliament, a bishop preached at St. Paul's cross, who declared the pope not to be head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession; to which few objected, except Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle in London. Wherefore, these three persons, after long exhortation to them, made by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were often asked to be sworn; but the bishop and Sir Thomas More excused themselves by their writings, in which they said, that they had written before, that lady Catharine was queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written.

From the month of March, this parliament furthermore was prorogued to the 3d day of November abovesaid. At which time, amongst other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all his college of cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, was now abolished, eradicated, and expelled out of this land, and sent home again to their own country of Rome, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised! Amen!

Act concerning the King's Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same. Cap. 1.

"Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightly is, and ought to be supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet, nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church, belonging and appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought, or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

That no man may cavil or surmise that this fatal fall and ruin of the pope came rashly upon the king's own partial affection, or by any temerity of a few; and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this realm, it shall be requisite to add, that the archbishops and bishops did solemnly and openly swear to the king, as supreme head of the church of England, to the exclusion of the usurped pretensions of the bishop of Rome, giving to the king alone the stile of supreme head, next under Christ, of the church of England, renouncing and abjuring, utterly and voluntarily, the pope's too long usurped jurisdiction in this realm, testifying more-

over the same both with their own hand, and also with their seal.

Besides these confirmations and oaths of the bishops, you shall hear the decree and public sentence of the university of Cambridge, written and subscribed, and signed with the public seal of their university, the tenor of which their letter here followeth:—

A Letter of the University of Cambridge against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.

"To all and singular the children of the holy mother church, into whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents, and not regents of the university of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Whereas of late a question having arisen among us, as to the power which the bishop of Rome claims to himself by the holy scriptures, over all provinces and nations in Christendom, and which he hath now exercised for a long time in England: and as our opinion concerning this question has been required, to wit, whether the bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this kingdom of England, allotted to him by God in the scriptures, more than any other foreign bishop, or not: We thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the truth of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and opinion is, touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that universities were first provided and instituted of princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the law of God be instructed, and also that false errors, if any did rise, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For which cause we in our assemblies and convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with ourselves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned doctors and bachelors of divinity, and other masters, and having committed to them in charge, studiously to search and peruse the places of holy scripture; by the viewing and considering of which places together, they might certify to us what is to be said to the question propounded.

"Forasmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both sides of the question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and agreeing much more near to the pure and native sense of scriptures, which do deny the bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the scripture. By reason and force of which arguments we being persuaded, and joining together in one opinion, have with ourselves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid, and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole University, and for an undoubted conclusion do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome hath no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the scriptures, over this realm of England, than hath any other foreign bishop. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seal to be put to these our aforesaid letters accordingly. At Cambridge in our regent house: A.D. 1534."

Now, for a further declaration of their judgments and opinions, you shall hear what the bishops in their own books, prologues, and sermons, have written and published, touching the pope's supremacy; and we shall begin with Stephen Gardiner's book "on True Obedience," and briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein he not only confutes the pope's usurped authority, but also proves the marriage between the king and queen Catharine his brother's wife, was not lawful, in these words.

"And amongst these, if there is a commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent majesty do otherwise, than that which he did by the whole consent of the people, and the judgment of his church, that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and to use lawful and permitted marriage, and obeying (as meet it was) conformably to the commandment, to cast her off, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take himself to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein, although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed; yet his majesty was content to have the assisting consent of the most notable and grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see that he did both what he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing that the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed to it, and shewing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly."

In his book, he also alleges the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the government of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confutes and derides the distinction, declaring that the sword of the church extends no further, than to teaching and excommunication, and refers all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince: alleging for this the second psalm; "Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed ye judges of the earth."

Also the example of Solomon, who being a king, "appointed, according to the order of David his father, the course of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the priests, as the duty of every day required: the porters also by their courses at every gate: for so had David the man of God commanded."—2 Chr. viii. 14.

Besides this, he alleges also the example of king Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxix. He alleges moreover the example of Justinian, who made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics and others.

Aaron obeyed Moses. Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the first of Maccabees writes to Jonathan; "Now we have made thee this day the high priest of thy people, &c." So did Demetrius to Simon.

And where he reasons of the king's stile and title, being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the church of England, immediately under Christ, &c. thus he adds his mind and censure, saying, that he sees no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the king is called head of the church of England, rather than of the realm of England; and adds his reason thereunto saying, If the prince and king of England be the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect, because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of godliness, as though that God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?

At length he thus concludes with an exclamation saying, "To say that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this!"

"The light of the gospel," saith he, "so spreads its beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel may be known, and the mysteries of Christ's doctrine opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being in England, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, nor with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince in his own dominions is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds."

To these extracts from the books of Gardiner we

shall add a part of the preface to that book, which was written by Bonner, to shew how the judgments of men are changed by the vain glory and pomp of this world.

The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, prefixed before Stephen Gardiner's Book, "On True Obedience."

"Forasmuch as there may be some who think that the controversy which is between the king's royal majesty, and the bishop of Rome, consists in this point, that his majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to wife, but which is far otherwise: we, to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the unanimous opinion and resolute determination of the best and most learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that case of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel: here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kind of learning) entitled 'On True Obedience.' But, as to this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken by me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becomes me here to rehearse. And as for the oration itself (which, as it is most learned, so is it most elegant) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praises itself enough, and requires no recommendation? But yet, in this oration, whoever thou art, most gentle reader, thou shalt, beside other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is, which, as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sort, but it sheweth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also, touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which are for the most part most repugnant to the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaks of the king's highness' marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then, with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent, and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, touching the king's majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, yea, and in some points above him within their own provinces, were before-time bound to the king by their oath.

"But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader, that the bishop of Rome, if there were no other case but only this marriage, would easily content himself, and especially on his having some good morsel or other given to him to chew upon. But when he sees so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea, so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the king's revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the king's majesty's realm (alas! heretofore, too cruel and bitter) nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the Majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the catholic church, and the authority of Peter and Paul (when, notwithstanding, he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants) to the great damage of the christian commonwealth."

In adding to these the judgment and arguments of Bishop Tonstal, we shall see how he agrees with them, or rather exceeds them, in his sermon preached before King Henry VIII. upon Palm Sunday: in this sermon he disputes against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and proves by manifest grounds, out of the scripture, ancient doctors, and councils, that the bishop of Rome has no such authority by the word of God; and he also reproves and condemns him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer, disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him, contrary to Christ and Peter: and, finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he rebukes and defies him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of christian men.

First, by the scripture he reasons, that all good men ought to obey the powers and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts; for so St. Peter plainly teaches us, 1 Pet. ii. saying, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors," &c. So that St. Peter, in his epistle, commands all princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all christian men: and St. Paul, Rom. xiii. saith, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for the powers that be are ordained of God, and whosoever resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and shall receive unto himself damnation."

Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, Luke xxii. who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusses the matter, saying, "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," &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declares that his kingdom is not of this world, and, therefore, saith Tonstal, those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics that expect that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; the Jews believe that Messias is yet to come, and that when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem.

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before nor after his incarnation, (as Tonstal saith) did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word commanded them still to be obeyed by their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time, &c. and for example of the same he alleges, first, the example of Christ himself, Matt. xxii., who, being asked of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar or not, he bade them give to Cæsar the things which are his, and to God the things that are his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God, &c.

Also, it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why? Because he would not change the order of obedience which was due by subjects to their princes.

Another example of Christ he cites out of the sixth of John, where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent to it: for the kingdom, saith he, that he came to set here in earth, was not a worldly and a temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom; that is, to reign spiritually by grace and faith in the hearts of all christian and faithful people, of what degree, or of what nature soever they may be, and to turn all people and nations, who, at his coming, were carnal, and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the Spirit, that Christ, with his Father in heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, farther it is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also humbled himself, and in a manner became servant to his own apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour: for so it appeareth in him, not only by washing the feet

of his apostles, but also, when the apostles, a little before his passion, fell out and contended among themselves, who among them should be superior, Christ sets before them the example of his own subjection, and asks this question: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth," &c.

Again, in Peter, what an example of reverent humility is seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, having commission to go over all the world, yet, nevertheless, he being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go to him, without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven, by which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such primacy over all people and places, nor any such commission above the others, &c.

Peter, being rebuked by Paul his fellow brother, took no offence, but was content, submitting himself to due correction, Gal. ii.

But here, saith Tonstal, steps in the bishop of Rome and saith, "That Peter had authority given him above all the apostles, and alleges the words of Christ spoken to him, Matt. xvi. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,' &c. This, Christ said, saith the pope, and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and I therefore ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and be the porter of the gates of heaven as Peter was, &c. And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep;' which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And, therefore, whoso will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom; for all power is given to me that Christ has, and I am his vicar-general as Peter was here on earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven."

To open, therefore, the true sense of the scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with the sixteenth chapter of Matthew. It is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter answering for them all (as he was always ready to answer) said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Matt. xvi. 16—18. That is to say, upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God I will build my church. For this faith contains the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written, "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved," &c. Rom. x. 8, 9. And this confession being uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, upon this confession of his, and not upon the person of St. Peter, Christ builds his church, as St. Chrysostom expounds that place in the twenty-sixth sermon of the Feast of Pentecost, saying, "Not upon the person of St. Peter, but upon his faith Christ hath builded his church. And what is this faith? This, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' What is it to say, 'Upon this rock?' That is, upon this confession of St. Peter," &c. And with this saying of Chrysostom ancient expositors (saith Tonstal) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is builded upon the person of St. Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ, which is directly against St. Paul, saying, "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," &c. 1 Cor. iii. 11.

And as St. Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, and bold, and hardy in Christ, as appears by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest, and also in his being most vehement in his Master's cause, as appeared by his drawing out his sword; and after the Lord's resurrection, he is declared out of the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Acts, where the Jews withstanding the apostles' preaching the faith of Christ, St. Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugners thereof, and for speaking for all of them unto the people, &c., and therefore have these honourable names been given to him by the ancient interpreters; that sometimes he is called, the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; sometimes the prince of the apostles; sometimes the president of the whole church; and sometimes the name of primacy or priority has been attributed to him. And yet that St. Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, never had a rule or a judicial power given to him above all the other apostles, as is plain by St. Paul, and many others.

First, St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, plainly declareth, "But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal. ii. 7, 8. Hereby it appeareth that St. Paul knew no primacy of St. Peter concerning people and places, except among the Jews. And St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus: "The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to St. Peter, although St. James and St. John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to St. Paul, although St. Barnabas was joined with him, so that St. Peter had no rule over all."

That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, appears by St. Paul, where he saith, "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Eph. ii. 19, 20. Here he saith, that they are builded not upon the foundation of St. Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles, so that all they being in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

In Rev. xxi. 14, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described of the Holy Ghost not with one foundation only of St. Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian gives testimony likewise to the same effect, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ: and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning first came by one, who was St. Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly to himself. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man has not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he has it not wholly, which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the gospel of John, in the fiftieth treatise, speaks of the keys of St. Peter, which he saith were given by Christ to St. Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

St. Cyril expounding the last chapter of St. John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken to St. Peter, "Feed my sheep," &c., thus understands them; that because St. Peter had thrice denied Christ, he thought that he had lost his apostleship, but Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him, and so restored him again to his office, which otherwise he durst not have presumed, saying to him, "Feed my sheep," &c. With which exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastorality over all christian dominions.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith, that Peter,

by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminence above the others, St. Paul, Acts xx. 28, proves the contrary; where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

And Peter himself, likewise, (1 Peter v. 2.) saith, "feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof," &c.

So that by these scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither Matthew xvi. nor John xxi., proves that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given to him of Christ over all the other, nor that they should be under him: and yet, notwithstanding, his primacy still continues, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, in which confession all the other apostles, joined and preached with him. And thus the power of the bishops of Rome over all, which they would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for this purpose, utterly fails, and is not proved. And thus much for the scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, Tonstal cometh to councils and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:—

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, (A. D. 425,) alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his supreme authority, bringing no scripture for him (for at that time no scripture was thought to make for it) but alleged for him, and that untruly, the first council of Nice, to make for his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent to them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After the copy was brought to them, and no such article being found in it, but, on the contrary, in the fifth chapter, that all causes ecclesiastical, should either be determined within the diocese, or else, if any were still aggrieved, then to appeal to the council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes men should go out of their provinces; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time bishop of Rome, That since the council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they therefore desired him to abstain hereafter from making any such demand, denouncing to him that they would not suffer any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon made a law, That no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain of being accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome ever after held himself content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand.

It was determined also in the sixth article of the said council of Nice, That in the East the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome never had meddling in those countries.

And, in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city had been destroyed and lay desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Judea.

By this you see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors, as may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, in whose time was the sixth council general, who, after his election, sent to the emperor at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he could be consecrated, as was the custom at that time so used, (A. D. 479.)

The like did St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory, and other popes before him. During all which time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left to them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

Thus, after that Bishop Tonstal, both by scriptures and ancient doctors, also by sufficient examples from the primitive church, proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God has appointed over every creature in this world to be obeyed.

Now for the confirming this matter, and satisfying the reader, it shall not be much out of purpose to adduce also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then "The bishop's book." In which, although many things were very imperfect, yet as touching the bishop of Rome's regality, we shall hear what was their whole opinion and provincial determination, as by their own words is to be seen as follows, subscribed also by their own names:—

"We think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge; that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church; but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands; and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as he pleases; all which is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave to St. Peter, or unto any of the apostles, or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all christian people, as well priests and bishops as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, even although they were infidels.

And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he has ever usurped more and more. And although some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by conspiracy with great kings and princes; sometimes by training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctity, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to enact laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom; but also unto the emperors, kings, and others the princes and lords of the world; and that under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel. Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word; but they do also, clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For the bishops of Rome always, when they are consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among the which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began; and that by the bishops of the same province, and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province; and divers such other canons were then made

and confirmed by the said councils to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor, as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church, that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the title and name of the universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made either in the scriptures, or in the writings of any authentic doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves; but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. Whatever difference there is now among the bishops, since the time of the apostles, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church, not because it was according to scripture, but for the conservation of good order and unity of the catholic church, and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling," &c.

Judge now for thyself, loving reader, if either Martin Luther himself, or any other Lutheran, could or did ever say more against the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But as we write these things for edification, let us mark their reasons, and let the persons go.

And although the proofs and arguments heretofore alleged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter against the pope's usurped primacy; yet we shall cite a certain epistle sent by bishop Tonstal, and by John Stokesley bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power. About this time Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled to Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal, (of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary.) While remaining at Rome, there was directed to him a certain epistle by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king. It is as follows:—

"For the good will that we have borne to you in times past as long as you continued the king's true subject; we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness heretofore shewed to you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the house that you be come of, nor the wealth of the country that you were born in, should so decline from your duty to your prince, that you should be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the bishop of Rome to wind with him, going about by all means possible, to pull down and put underfoot your natural prince and master; to the destruction of the country that hath brought you up, and for the vain-glory of a red hat to make yourself an instrument to set forth his malice, who hath stirred up, by all means that he could, all such christian princes as would give ear unto him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm, where the office and duty of all good christian men, and namely of us that be priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing contrary, we would shew ourselves to be but the ministers of Satan and not of Christ, who ordained all us that be priests to use in all places the legation of peace, and not of discord. But since that cannot be undone that is done, second, it is to make amends, and follow the doing of the prodigal son spoken of in the gospel, who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of them, who little care what come of you so that their purpose by you be served. And if you be moved by your conscience, that you cannot allow the king your master to be supreme head of the church of England, because the bishop of Rome hath heretofore for many years usurped that name universally over all the church, under pretence of the gospel of St. Matthew, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church;' surely that text many of the most holy and ancient expositors take to be meant of the faith, then first confessed by the mouth of Peter; upon which faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, the church is builded, Christ being the very lowest foundation stone, whereupon both the apostles themselves, and also the whole faith of the church of Christ, by them preached through the world, is founded and built: and no other foundation can there be, but that only, as St. Paul saith, 'For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,' 1 Cor. iii. 11.

"And where you think that Luke xxii. 32, proves the authority of the bishop of Rome, when Christ says, Peter, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren;' surely that speaks only of the fall of Peter, known to Christ by his godly prescience, of which he gave an inkling, that after his fall Peter should not despair, but return again and confirm his brethren, as he ever, being most fervent was wont, to do. The place plainly opens itself that it cannot be otherwise taken but with this meaning, and not to be spoken but to Peter; for otherwise his successors must first fail in the faith, and then convert and so confirm their brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the gospel of John, 'Feed my sheep' was spoken only to Peter, and that those words make him shepherd over all, and above all; St. Peter himself testifies the contrary in his canonical epistle, where he saith to all priests, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is among you,' which he bad them do by the authority that Christ had put them in as follows: 'And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the incorruptible crown of eternal glory.' The same likewise St. Paul in the Acts testifies, saying, 'Take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood,' Acts xx. 28. Where, in the original text, the word signifying to govern, or oversee, is the same that is spoken to Peter, feed, for it signifies both in the scripture. And that by these words he was not constituted a shepherd over all, is very plain by the fact that St. Peter durst not commence such intercourse among the Gentiles, but eschewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by God's law, until he was admonished by the revelation of the sheet, mentioned in Acts xi. 5—7; whereas, if Christ by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' had given such an universal government to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent than any other of the apostles to execute Christ's commandment, would of his own accord have gone before without any such new admonition, or having been sent for by Cornelius; except peradventure you would say, that Peter did not understand the words of Christ, for lack of the light which the later men have obtained, and thereby understand the words of Christ to Peter better than Peter himself did. And strange also it were to condemn Peter as a high traitor to his Master after his ascension; as if he indeed were worthy, if his Master had signified to him that the bishops of Rome, by his dying there, should be heads of all the church; and he knowing the same by these words 'Feed my sheep,' yet notwithstanding his Master's high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from Rome, until his Master encountering him by the way, with terrible words, caused him to return."

After many references and arguments connected

with the ancient history of the church, the letter thus concludes:—

"Christian kings are sovereigns over the priests, as over all their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices, as well as they do others; and ought by their supreme office to see that all men of all degrees do their duties, whereunto they are called either by God or by the king; and those kings that so do chiefly do execute well their office. So that the king's highness, taking upon him, as supreme head of the church of England, to see that as well spiritual as temporal men do their duties, doth neither make innovation in the church, nor yet trouble the order thereof; but doth as the chief and best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good christian kings ought to do. Which office good christian emperors always took upon them, in calling the universal councils of all countries in one place and at one time to assemble together, to the intent that all heresies troubling the church might there be extirpated, calling and commanding as well the bishop of Rome as other patriarchs and all primates, as well of the East as of the West, of the South as of the North, to come to the said councils: as Marcian the emperor did in calling the great council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, one of the four chief and first general councils, and in commanding Leo, then bishop of Rome, to come unto the same. And although Leo neither liked the time, and would have wished it deferred for a season, nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy; yet the emperor by his own command summoned the council to meet at Chalcis, in Asia: yet Leo answered the emperor, that he would gladly obey his command, and sent thither his agents to appear there for him, as appears in the forty-first, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth epistles of Leo to Marcian, and in the forty-ninth epistle to Pulcheria the empress. Marcian likewise desires Theodosius, the emperor of the West, to summon a council of bishops to be called in Italy, for taking away such contentions and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietness of the churches. And in many epistles of Leo it manifestly appears, that the emperors always assembled general councils by their command: and in the sixth general council it appears very plainly, that at that time the bishops of Rome made no claim, nor used any title to call themselves heads universal over all the catholic church, as appears in the superscription or salutation of the aforesaid synodical preamble, which is in these words:

"'To the most godly lords and most noble victors and conquerors, the well-beloved children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine the great, emperor, and Heraclius and Tiberius, Cæsars: bishop Agatho, the servant of the servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the council of the see apostolic, sendeth greeting.'—And he expresses what countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it followeth, that those were under his assembly, which were in the North and East parts, so that at that time the bishop of Rome made no such pretence to be over and above all, as he now does by usurpation, vindicating to himself the spiritual kingdom of Christ, by which he remains in the hearts of all faithful people, and then changes it to a temporal kingdom over and above all kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirit, and an earthly kingdom for an heavenly, to his own damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of St. Peter in his first epistle, saying, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. Again, St. Paul, 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers.' Rom. xiii. 1. With other things before alleged. So that this his pretended usurpation as being above all kings is directly against the scriptures, given to the church by the apostles, whose doctrine whoever overturns, can be neither the head, nor yet the least member of the church.

"Wherefore, although ye have hitherto adhered to the wrongfully usurped power, moved as you write, by your conscience; yet since now that you see further, if you wish to regard the pure truth, and such ancient authors as have been written to you of in times past, we would exhort you, for the health of your soul, to surrender into the hands of the bishop of Rome your red hat, by which he seduced you, trusting so to make you, being come of a noble blood, an instrument to advance his own vain glory; whereof by the hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

"In which doing you shall return to the truth from which you have erred; do your duty to your sovereign lord from whom you have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose laws you have transgressed: and in not doing so you shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God, and your natural sovereign lord, whom chiefly you ought to seek to please. Which thing, for the good that we heretofore have borne you, we pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not. Amen!"

When all the king's subjects and the learned of the realm had taken the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refused to be sworn: therefore they were committed to the Tower, and executed, A. D. 1535.

Among other acts of Fisher, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before. For his learning and other virtues this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatever his learning was, it was a pity that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; and the more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty. But this we commonly see come to pass, as the Lord saith, "That whoso striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword," and they that stain their hands with blood seldom bring their bodies unbloody to the grave; as commonly appears by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as were persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number of whom was this bishop and Sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitton, Byfield, with other saints of God were brought to their death. It was said, that the pope, to recompense bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon was cut off before the pope's hat could come to it.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been said before. He was accounted a man both witty and learned; but whatever he was beside, he was a bitter persecutor of good men, and a wretched enemy to the truth of the gospel, as by his books may appear, wherein he most slanderously and contumeliously writes against Luther, Zuinglius, Tindal, Frith, Barnes, Byfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, and the articles and doctrines which they professed.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in the defence of the gospel, so on the other side he had such a blind devotion for the see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over until he brought himself to the scaffold.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the charter-house, Ermew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the same year in the month of June were arraigned at Westminster for speaking traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.

In the same year and for the same treason, with the like punishment, were executed John Houghton, prior of the Charter-house in London, Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail, Austen Webster, prior of the charter-house of Hexham.

Besides, and with these priors, suffered likewise two other priests, one called Reignold, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth.

Shortly after the pope's supremacy was rejected, the

ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England began to follow in a right order and method, by God's divine providence. For the fall of the monasteries could not have followed, unless the suppression of the pope's supremacy had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had taken place.

Upon which, in the same year, in the month of October, the king having then Thomas Cromwell in his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all others that were under the age of four-and-twenty years; providing that such monks, canons, and friars as were dismissed, should have given to them by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, a secular priest's gown, and forty shillings of money. And likewise the nuns to have given to them such apparel as secular women then commonly used, and also suffered to go where they would. At which time their chief jewels and reliques were taken from the abbeys and monasteries.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were quieted within the realm, he like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall by other countries, which were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome; save only a few German princes; and not doubting the malice of the pope, he thought it good to keep in by all possible means with other princes, and accordingly he sent ambassadors to the king of Scotland, the king of France, and to the emperor, to justify his proceedings respecting his marriage, and the suppression of the pope's supremacy.

But that we may be able to go forward with our history, we shall now relate the history of the good martyr of God, William Tindal, who was betrayed and put to death, (A.D. 1536.) Which William Tindal, as he was appointed a special organ of the Lord, to shake the inward roots, and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought to craftily entrap him, and falsely to betray him, and maliciously to take his life, as by the following process of his history here may appear.

The Life and History of the true Servant and Martyr of God, William Tindal, who, for his notable pains and travail may well be called the Apostle of England in this our later age.

William Tindal, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he grew up, and increased in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, but more especially in the knowledge of the scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted; so that in Magdalen-hall he read privately to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college some divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scripture. His life and conversation were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode some time, and being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he left that university also, and resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children. To this gentleman there resorted abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other doctors and great beneficed men, who, there together with Master Tindal, sitting at the same table, used often to enter into communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus; also of other controversies and questions upon the scripture.

Then, Master Tindal, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to shew simply and plainly his judgment; and when they, at any time, varied from Tindal in opinion and judgment, he would shew them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for some time reasoning and contending together, until at length they entertained a secret dislike in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these great doctors had invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance. Then Master Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindal, began to reason with him about those matters, which the priests had talked about at their banquet. Master Tindal, answering by scripture, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor who could expend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds; and what, is it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tindal gave her no answer at that time, and after that he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book, written by Erasmus, called "The Manual of a Christian Soldier," which he delivered to his master and lady. After they had well perused it, the doctors and prelates were not so often invited to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as they had before.

As this grew on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to storm against Tindal, and railed against him in alehouses and other places. They raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding to his sayings more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tindal was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given to him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but he prayed heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word.

Then when the time of his appearance before the chancellor came, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, though no accuser could be produced. Master Tindal, after this examination, escaping out of their hands, departed home.

There dwelt not far off a doctor, who had been chancellor to a bishop; he had been a familiar acquaintance with Master Tindal, and favoured him well. To him Tindal went and opened his mind upon some questions of the scripture, for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. To whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say, for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life;" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after, that Master Tindal happened to be in the company of a certain divine, and in disputing with him, the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words:—"We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws," and added, "That if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the scripture than he did."

After this, the dislike of the priests increasing still more and more against Tindal, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, that he was an heretic in sophistry, an heretic in logic, and an heretic in divinity.

To be short, Tindal being so molested and vexed, by the priests, was constrained to seek another place, and so coming to Master Welch, he requested that of his good will he would permit him to depart from him, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry

long in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spiritualty; and, also, what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for which I should be right sorry." So that, in fine, Tindal, with the good will of his master, departed, and soon after came up to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the city of Bristol. At length he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, especially for the great commendations of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extols him for his learning, that Tindal thought that if he could attain to his service, he would be a happy man. And so, coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English; he desired him to speak to the bishop of London for him, which he did, and desired him to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with it. But God, who secretly disposes the course of things, saw that this was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight. And so he remained in London almost a year, marking the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers; how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things which greatly displeased him. Insomuch, that he understood not only that there would not be room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England; and, therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, given to him by Humphrey Mummuth, above recited, and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany; where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal for his country, refused no travail nor diligence, so that by any possible means he could convey to his brethren and countrymen of England, the same understanding of God's holy word as the Lord had endued him with.

Whereupon considering in his mind, and partly also by conferring with John Frith, he thought no way more likely to conduce to this, than by translating the scriptures into the vernacular tongue, that the poor people might also read and see the plain simple word of God. He perceived, by experience, how it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the meaning of the text; for otherwise, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without scripture; or else juggling with the text, and expounding it in such a sense, as would never be received, if the right order and meaning were seen.

Again, he perceived and considered that this only, or chiefly, was the cause of all the mischief in the church; that the scriptures of God were hid from the peoples' eyes; for then the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be seen, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep the scriptures down, so that it should not be read at all, or if it were, that they should darken the sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle them, who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom.

For these, and such other considerations, this good man was moved, (and no doubt stirred up by God,) to translate the scriptures into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple common people of the country, first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he translated (A.D. 1526) After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, to which he added most learned and godly prologues prefixed before each book worthy to be read again and again by all good christians, as he did also with the New Testament.

He wrote also other works under various titles, among which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," by which, with singular dexterity, he instructs all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; also other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates," with expositions upon certain parts of the scriptures, and other books, answering Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries.

The books of William Tindal having been published, and sent over into England, it cannot be described what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation.

At his first departing out of the realm, he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as also into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther, and other learned men, where, after he had continued a certain season, he came into the Netherlands, and mostly lived in Antwerp, till the time of his apprehension.

When these godly books of Tindal, especially his translation of the New Testament, began to come into men's hands, they wrought great profit to the godly; so the ungodly, envying and disdaining that the poor people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned, began to bestir themselves. But especially Satan the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set his might also, to impeach and hinder the blessed labours of that man. For when Tindal had translated the fifth book of Moses, intending to print it at Hamburgh, he sailed for that place; but by the way upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings and copies, and was compelled to begin all again. Thus having lost by that ship, his money, his copies and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburgh. There Master Coverdale waited for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December, A.D. 1529.

When God's will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindal the translator added to the end a certain epistle, wherein he desired the learned to amend it, if ought were found amiss. Therefore if any such default had been in it, deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have shewed their learning therein, and to have corrected it. But the spiritual fathers then, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed! Some said it was not possible to translate the scriptures into English; some that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. And to induce the temporal rulers also to their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel and rise against the king. All this Tindal himself, in his own prologue before the first book of Moses declares, shewing what great pains were taken by them in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, they might have translated themselves a great part of the bible: shewing that they examined every tittle and point in the said translation so narrowly, that there was not one (i) in it, but if it lacked a point over its head, they noted it, and numbered it to the ignorant people for an heresy! So great were the devices of the clergy (who should have been the guides of light to the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor yet suffer it to be translated by others; to the intent (as Tindal saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might live in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their wishes, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour, above king and emperor, yea and above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, against the Old and New

Testament of the Lord as translated by Tindal, and conspiring together with all their beads and counsels, how to suppress it, never rested, till they had brought the king to consent. A proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth, that the testament of Tindal's translation, with other works of his and of other writers, were prohibited. This was about the year 1527. And yet not contented with this, they proceeded to entangle him in their nets, and to deprive him of his life.

William Tindal, when at Antwerp, lodged in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman. And there came out of England, one whose name was Henry Phillips, having the appearance of a gentleman, and accompanied by a servant, but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent, no man could tell.

Tindal was often invited to dinner and supper amongst the merchants; by means of which this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him, and in a short time Tindal had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper. Through the means of this Henry Phillips was William Tindal betrayed. After dining together at the house of Thomas Pointz, as they were leaving it, Tindal was seized by two officers whom Phillips had brought there for that purpose, and then this traitor delivered him up to the emperor's partizans, his books were all seized and himself cast into prison. Tindal being brought to his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor, but he refused, saying, that he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and brought forth to the place of execution; he was there tied to the stake, and then strangled by the hangman, and afterward consumed with fire in the town of Vilvorde, A.D. 1536, crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said, he converted his keeper, his daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were conversant with him in the castle reported of him, that if he were not a good christian, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left his testimony of him, that he was "a learned, a good and a godly man."

As to his translation of the New Testament, at which his enemies carped so much, and pretended that it was full of heresies, thou shalt hear what faithful dealing, and sincere conscience he used in the work, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in his epistle to John Frith.

The Testimony of John Frith in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning William Tindal.

"And Tindal, I trust, lives, well content with such a poor apostle's life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as ye are yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in scripture, he was more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters he writes this:—

"'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given to me. Moreover I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c.

"Judge, christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that, I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; although no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart."

And thus being about to conclude the life and history of William Tindal, it remaineth for us to present to the reader certain of his private letters, which he wrote to John Frith; one under his own name, and the other under the name of Jacob, written and delivered to John Frith, being then a prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter sent from Tindal, unto Master Frith, being then in the Tower.

"The grace and peace of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great matter which prevented them, or at the least have stopped it, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, may that come, and his glory reign over all.

"Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord: fear not men that threaten, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

"Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, who choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and speak nothing against that. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none that will not abjure rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come back again after they have once abjured, though it be accepted with God, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say, he must needs die, and abjuring will not help. But if it might have helped, they would have abjured five hundred times, but seeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride, and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths what their conscience knoweth to be false. If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his power be in you and make you strong, and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, in that which should be to another instant death; and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise: he shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. To look for no man's help, brings the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carries us hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thanks.

"Fear not the threatening, therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words; with which the hypocrites shall as-

sail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

"WILLIAM TINDAL."

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tindal, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

"The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

"Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus, is that you arm yourself with patience, and be bold, sober, wise and circumspect, and that you bow yourself to the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners; and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I mean the law of God, and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

"Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There are some in Antwerp that say, that they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to that purpose: My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, and let them talk what they will. For to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within the heart, in spirit and verity: even so to believe that the body of Christ is every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

"I guessed long ago, that God would send a madness into the head of the spiritualty, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if aught be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth none in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep slow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: in fear, and not in boldness: in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or not, in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till others agree with you) methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you will be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift at hand, that could help and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted; your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spiritualty hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached to you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

"My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head, and was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen: whither he is gone as a secret ambassador I do not know.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

"WILLIAM TINDAL.

"I hope our redemption is nigh."

The Deaths of Lady Catharine, and of Queen Anne.

In the same year in which William Tindal was burned, died the lady Catharine, princess dowager, in the month of January, 1536.

After whom, in the same year, in the month of May, followed the death also of Queen Anne, who had been married to the king about three years. In certain records we find, that the king being in his justs at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and the next day after Queen Anne his wife was conveyed to the Tower, with the lord Rochford her brother and others; and on the nineteenth day after was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian lady at her death were these:—

"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for, according to the law, and by the law I am judged to death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God to save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge for the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul." And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul; Jesus, receive my soul." Repeating the same several times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was struck off.

And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, whatever the cause was, or charge objected against her. Her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such queens before her borne the crown of England. Principally this one commendation she left behind her, that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature; how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatever they saw in her amiss. Also how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate; insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed up to have amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides the great sum of money which her grace intended to have sent into four sundry quarters of the realm, as for a stock there to be employed for the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ's gospel, all the world knows, and her acts do and will declare to the end of the world.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the parliament held this year, that is, in the twenty-eighth year of the king (which parliament three years before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and annul the marriage again as unlawful. But in this act of parliament lay (no doubt) some great mystery; which I will not pause to discuss, but only that it may be suspected that some secret practising of the papists was in it, considering what a mighty check she was to their purposes, and what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christ's gospel.

All this seems to be the drift of the wily papists, who seeing the pope repulsed out of England, by means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage, thought to prevent that peril by whispering in the king's ears.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy to the lady Elizabeth) being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not in his letters still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he ever be in security, unless he repealed the acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession. Which when they had now brought it to pass after their own desire and had got both now the queen beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disinherited, they thought all things were for ever sure. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for after the suffering of queen Anne, the king within three days after married lady Jane Seymour, of whom came king Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

In the mean time, when these things were doing in England, Paul III., bishop of Rome, was not slow to help forward his own advantage. Who seeing his kingdom and seat darkened in Germany and in England, thought it high time to bestir himself; and therefore to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua, in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, so as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of six-and-twenty cardinals, and set up in the great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world. To this bull the protestants of Germany answered; that as the council was to be convened at Mantua, in the pope's own country; that that alone would be a sufficient cause why they should refuse to resort to it. Our king also entered his protest against this council, and declined to attend it. This protest was as follows:—

A Protestation in the name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Council at his call.

"Seeing that the bishop of Rome is convening learned men from all parts, inducing them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinks meet, and ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with ourselves, what so great a preparation should mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his wishes to be laws; we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, has called a council, to which he knew well either few or none of the Christian princes could come. Both the time that he convened it, and also the place where he appointed it, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish bulls? whither go they not astray? what king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not perceive that Paul, the bishop of Rome, goes sooner about to make men believe that he pretends a general council, than that he desires one indeed? No, who can less desire it, than they that despair of their cause, except they are judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We who greatly against our will at any time leave off the procuring to the realm any advantage, need neither come ourselves, nor yet send our proctors there, nor yet make our excuse for either. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, who has no authority to call us?

"But for a moment let us grant that he may summon us, and that he has authority so to do, yet (we pray you) may not all men see, what avails it to come to this council, where you shall have no place, except you are known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to

confirm and establish errors? Do not all men perceive as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit Christendom may look for, when Mantua is chosen as the place to hold his council in? Is there any prince not being of Italy, yea, is there any of Italy, prince, or other differing from the pope, that dares come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for truth, none that will venture his life; is it strange if the bishop of Rome being judge, and no man repining, no man gain-saying; the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority, now which is quailing and almost fallen, to be set up again?

"Is this the way to help things afflicted? to redress troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men in this way know, whether the Roman bishops (who in very deed are, if ye look upon either their doctrine or their life, far under other bishops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and so to use no other power; or else, whether they may make laws, not only for other bishops, but also for kings and emperors? O boldness, meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul, that now lords it, or any of his partizans go about in earnest to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the church, and are bolstered up in it, by such councils as now is likely to be at Mantua?

"Is it very likely, that those who prowl for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy were called in question, would either in despite of God's law maintain their dignity, or to say better, their intolerable pride: is it likely that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people; the one doth not traffick with the other; at the least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will have none of their merchandize, none of their stuff. We will receive them into our council no more. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have no other place with us, than all bishops' decrees have, that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest men shall think that we follow our own senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to shew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we protest before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, are all so dear to us, that we should much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of his faith, neither will we depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in England. We who, in all this cause, seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trampled truth, and troubled religion, in their place again; and to do all that shall lie in us, to finish such controversies as have too long vexed Christendom. Only we wish all Christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they should be esteemed willing to take away errors, who, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about that no man, under pain of death may speak against any error or abuse.

"We would have a council, we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we wish that it be such as christian men ought to have, that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be an holy council, where every man may go about to set up godliness, and not apply all their study to oppressing the truth. We wish it to be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man who seeks the glory of God may be present, and there frankly open his mind. For how can it seem general, when either every man that dissents from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that are present are hindered by terror, from saying boldly what they truly think; for who would not gladly come to such a council, except it be the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, as to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? if he, who indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, be evermore made his own judge and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth than general councils?

"And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy, by what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In time past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent and commandment of the emperor, kings and princes; why now takes the bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, it is more likely that bishops will more attend to the cause of religion, and be more glad to have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, and princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man sees how faithfully they have handled religious matters! Is there any man that does not see how virtuously Paul now goes about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it likely that he who chooses such a time as this is to keep a council, much intends the redress of things that are amiss? that he seeks the restoring of religion who now calls a council, while the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, are so bent on wars that neither they, nor any other christian prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome; the occasion long-wished-for offers herself to you; take her, she opens a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, shew them that this is a jolly time to deceive princes in."

And so the king, proceeding in his protestation, declared how the pope, after he had summoned his council first at Mantua, shortly after directed out another bull proroguing the same council to the month of November, pretending for his excuse that the Duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the town, and the king thus concludes:—

"No, we will the pope and his adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say, he nor his hath neither authority nor jurisdiction in England. We give him no more than he has, that is, none at all. That which he has usurped against God's law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will say, we gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we gave it you indeed! If you have authority upon us as long as our consent gives it you, and you will make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it began; we consent no longer, your authority must needs be gone. If we being deceived by false pretence of evil-alleged scriptures, gave to you what we ought to have refused, why may we not, our error now perceived, and your deceit espied, take it again? We princes wrote ourselves to be inferior to popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the laws civil, and also the

laws of God be on our side. For a freeman born does not lose his liberty, nor hurts the plea of his liberty, though he write himself a bondman.

"Again, if they lean to custom, we send them to Saint Cyprian, who saith, that custom, if truth be not joined with it, it is nothing, but 'An old error.' Christ said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' He never said, 'I am the custom.' Wherefore, seeing custom serves you on one side, and scripture us on the other; are ye able to match us? In how many places does Christ admonish you to seek no primacy? No, but to be obedient to all creatures? Your old title, 'Servant of servants,' agrees badly with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters so plain: we only desire God, that Cæsar, and other christian princes, would agree upon some holy council, where truth may be tried, and religion set up, which has been hurt by nothing so sore, as by general not general councils; errors and abuses grow too fast. Get you learning, you that judge the earth, and invent some remedy for these so many diseases of the sick church. They that be wisest, do despair of a general council. Wherefore we think it now best, that every prince call a council provincial, and every prince redress his own realm. We make all men privy what we think best to be done, for the redress of religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that princes may enjoy their own, and priests of Rome content themselves with what they ought to have. Princes, as we trust, will no longer nourish wolves' whelps; they will subscribe no more to popish pride, to the papacy, &c.

"Favour our doings, O christian princes. Your honour and ancient majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a prince's honour, as to set forth truth, and to help religion. Take you heed that their deceits work not more mischief than your virtue can do good; and everlasting war we wish all princes had with this papacy. As for their decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan assembly things be well done, you take them, but not as authorised by them; but that truth and things that maintain religion, are to be taken at all men's hands. And even as we will admit things well made, so if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of kings, we protest to the whole world that we neither shall allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

"You have, christian readers, our mind concerning the general council. We think you all see, that Paul and his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, friars, with the rest of the rabblement, do nothing less intend, than the knowledge and search of truth. You see that this is not a proper time to meet, and that Mantua is no place for a general council. And though they were both meet, yet except some other authority call this council, we neither need to come, nor to send. You have now heard how every prince in his own realm may quiet such things as are amiss. If there be any of you that can show us a better way, we promise with all hearty desire, to do that which shall be thought best for the settling of religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man show us better. Which mind of ours, we most heartily pray God that gave it to us, not only to increase in us, but also to send it to all christian princes, all christian prelates, and all christian people."

A little before the death of Queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, in which was given to the king by consent of the abbots, all such houses of religion, as were under three hundred marks. Which was a shrewd omen of the ruin of greater houses, which followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived by many, who then said, that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well please the pope's friends in England, yet they began to take some comfort, when they saw Queen Anne dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose. For the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son King Edward. And also the Lord Cromwell at the same time began to grow in authority. Who, like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him life.

Shortly after this marriage of the king with Queen Jane Seymour, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, by the consent of the clergy holding then a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul's, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; in which they treated specially of three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the Lord's supper. Other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, as that certain holydays were forbidden, and many abbeys suppressed. For which cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had been so long fostered, rose up in great commotion, to the number of near twenty thousand, having for their captain a monk called Doctor Mackerel, calling himself then Captain Cobler; but those rebels being repressed by the king's power, and desiring pardon, soon dispersed.

After this, followed a new insurrection in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation of seditious persons, especially monks and priests, making them believe, that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels and other ornaments, should be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be allowed to be married, or to eat any good meat in his house, but should first give tribute there for to the king. But their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other councillors.

The number of these rebels was near forty thousand, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and Jesus written in the midst.

This their devilish rebellion they termed by the name of a holy pilgrimage, but they served a wrong and a naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy, pretending thereby to fight for the faith, and holy church.

As soon as the king was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed the duke of Norfolk, duke of Suffolk, marquis of Exeter, earl of Shrewsbury, and others with a great army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble captains and councillors being well furnished with munition of war, approaching towards the rebels, and understanding both their number, and their intention to give battle, first with policy went about to appease all without bloodshed; then by the great wisdom and policy of the captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains, and chief doers of this insurrection, and they promised that in such things as they found themselves aggrieved with, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted, and that their articles should be presented to the king, that by his highness' authority, and the wisdom of his council, all things should be brought into good order and conclusion; and with this order every man quietly departed.

In the time of this commotion in Yorkshire, and while the king was at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshiremen, whom he called God's people, did fight in God's cause; for which both he and the priest were apprehended and executed.

Other priests also, with other persons, about the same time committing like treason against the king, suffered execution. Such a business had the king then to rid the realm from the servitude of the Romish yoke. But God's hand did still work in upholding his gospel and truth, against all seditious stirs, commotions, and rebellions.

In the following year, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also and gen-

tlemen; amongst whom was the lord Darcy, the lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer, and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the Abbots of Gerney, and of Rivers, &c. In the month of October, 1537, was born prince Edward. His mother, queen Jane, died a few days after his birth, and left the king again a widower, in which estate he continued for the space of two years.

Here by the way it is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperors, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates (who were yet in subjection under the pope) bore him no great good favour inwardly, whatever they pretended outwardly.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Lord defended his cause against them all. For although the French king was for a long time set on by the pope, yet hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by queen Jane, and understanding also by the death of queen Jane that the king was a widower, and perceiving that the king might join in marriage with the Germans, he began to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors for the king, resident then in France, were Stephen Gardiner, with doctor Thirleby, &c. What Stephen Gardiner wrought secretly for the pope I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he did so, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certain, that when doctor Bonner, then archdeacon of Leicester, was sent into France by the king to succeed Stephen Gardiner in the embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found such dealing in the bishop of Winchester, as was not greatly to be trusted.

It is long to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels, and bitter dissensions between these two, and especially what despiteful contumelies doctor Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader, that this doctor Bonner all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced only by the lord Cromwell. He was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Bladon, of Dereham, Cheswick, and Cheriburton. Then he was made bishop of Hereford, and at last preferred to be bishop of London. The chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred upon him only by means of the lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron; as Bonner himself in all his letters protests and declares.

This doctor Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, shewed himself a good man, and a steadfast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings: and on the other hand Stephen Gardiner halted then both with God and with the king. The contention between these two was very great, when the king sent Bonner to be his ambassador in France instead of Gardiner.

Which being so, we wonder greatly what should be the cause, that Bonner, seeing all his advancement was by the gospel, and by those of the gospel's side, and being then so hated by Stephen Gardiner, and being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel, could ever be so ungrateful and unkind as afterwards to join with Gardiner against the gospel, and now to persecute so vehemently that which he defended before so openly.

But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed in this Bonner's legation. Being now ambassador at the court of France, Bonner had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled, and for the king's pension to be paid, &c. Bonner employed his diligence to the satisfaction of the king, and in discharge of his duty, save only that the French king one time took some displeasure with him, for bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor.

So that the French king, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another.

The king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home bishop Bonner, giving unto him about the same time the bishoprick of London, and sent in supply of his place Sir John Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner. Which was in February, about the beginning of the year 1540. Here now follows the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The Oath of Doctor Edmund Bonner, when he was made Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.

"You shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion, but you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and from henceforth you shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head on earth of the church of England, and to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, you shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority, and other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head on earth of the church of England: and this you shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be, and in nowise do nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or openly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence: and in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you, to any person or persons, in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, you repute the same as vain and annihilated: so help you God," &c.

Ecclesiastical Matters, A. D. 1538.

It will be judged, that I have lingered perhaps too much in these affairs of princes and ambassadors. Wherefore I purpose to put my history in order again, shewing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the benefit of his subjects. The king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had transferred it to himself, then was a full prince in his own realm, (although he perceived, by the wisdom and advice of the Lord Cromwell and his council, that the corrupt state of the church had need of reformation in many things), yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, he durst not reform all at once, but proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord Cromwell had lived) and therefore he began with a book of articles bearing this title: "Articles devised by the King's Highness to establish Christian quietness and unity among the People," &c.

Articles devised by the King.

In the contents of this book, he first set forth the articles of our christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface, follows the declaration of the three sacraments; of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar. In drawing up which, he alters nothing from the old trade and system received from the church of Rome.

Then, proceeding to the cause of our justification, he declares, "That the mercy and grace of the Father promised freely to us for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, and for the merits of his passion and blood, are the only sufficient and meritorious causes of our justification: yet good works, with contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, are necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification; and afterwards we being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c.

As to images, he desires all bishops and preachers to teach the people how they may be safely used in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: That they represent virtue and good example, and also may stir up men's minds and make them remember themselves, and lament their sins; so far he permits them in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding idolatry, he charges all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry to them, in incensing of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other similar worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

And, likewise, for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers are commanded to inform the people how saints hence departed ought not to be reverenced or honoured. That is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ is to be praised in them for their excellent virtues, and for their good example left to us, in teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ. And also as assistants of our prayers, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour was to be given to them, as is only due to God: and so charging the spiritual persons to teach their flock that all grace and remission of sins and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but from God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who is a sufficient Mediator for our sins; that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other.

From that he comes to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church, as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the book doth not repeal, but admits them for good and laudable, so far as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things.

And so concluding with purgatory, he makes an end of those articles, thus saying: "That because the book of Maccabees allows praying for souls departed, he therefore disproves not so laudable a custom, which has so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place expressed in scripture, he therefore thinks it necessary such abuses should be put away, which, under the name of purgatory, have been advanced: as to make men believe, that, by the pardons of the bishop of Rome, or by masses in any place, or before any image, souls might be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven, and such other like abuses, &c.

These were the contents of that book of articles devised, and passed by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In which book, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any truly reformed church, yet the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, till better should come.

And so, not long after these articles, some other injunctions were given out about the year 1536, by which the number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest time: the keeping of which greatly hindered the gathering in of the corn, hay, fruit, and other such necessary commodities.

The King's Injunctions.

"Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more by men's *de*votion, yea, rather superstition, was likely to increase further, that the same was and should be not only prejudicial to the commonweal, because it is an occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as of decay of good trades and arts, profitable and necessary for the commonweal, and loss of man's food, being frequently destroyed through the superstitious observance of the holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather in time of harvest, but also pernicious to the souls of many men, who (being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days) do commonly use and practise then more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity of the same whenever the occasion shall occur, much rather ought any other holy-day instituted by man: it is therefore by the king's highness authority, as supreme head on earth of the church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

"First, That the feast of dedication of churches shall in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October for ever, and upon none other day.

"Also, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the church holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore have been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery, and truly to exercise and occupy the same upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of church-holy-day be such as must be for other causes universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

"Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall, or occur, either in the harvest time, which is to be accounted from the first day of July, unto the twenty-ninth day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as those wherein the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment. All which shall be kept holy and solemn of every man, as in time past have been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful to all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days, now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches; so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high holy-days, nor command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

"Finally, That the feasts of the nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

"And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter Term beginneth always the eighteenth day after Easter, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

"Trinity Term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

"Michaelmas Term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of November.

"Hilary Term beginneth the twenty-third or twenty-

fourth day of January, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of February.

In Easter Term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity Term, upon the nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas Term, upon Allhallow-day; in Hilary Term, upon Candlemas-day; on which days the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday."

After these articles and injunctions were thus given out by the king and his council, then follow as time served, other injunctions concerning images, relics, and miracles; and for abrogating pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and the Bible to be translated into English, with other points necessary for religion: The words of which injunctions here ensue:—

Other Injunctions given by the authority of the King's Highness, to the Clergy of this Realm.

"In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1536, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign Lord Henry VIII. king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in the earth supreme head of the church of England, the twenty-eighth, &c. I, Thomas Cromwell, knight, lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness' honour, the public weal of this realm, and increase of virtue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resident or having cure of souls, or any other spiritual administration within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

"The first is; that the dean, parsons, vicars, and others, having cure of souls any where within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all others, all and singular the laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open for the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and after that at the least twice every quarter of a year, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished; and that therefore they owe to him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is within his dominion the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by God's commandment owe most loyalty and obedience before and above all other potentates in earth.

"Also, whereas certain articles were lately devised and set forth by the king's authority, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation assembled, whereof part were necessary to be held and believed for our salvation, and the other part concerns and touches certain laudable ceremonies, rights, and usages of the church, which are meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic order in the same. It is ordered that the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates shall so open and declare, in their sermons and other collations, the said articles unto them that are under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them are necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation; and what are not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politic order of the said church: according to such commandment and admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by the authority of the king in that behalf.

"Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as are under their cure the articles likewise devised, set forth and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain superfluous holydays, according to the effect and purport of the said articles: and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and public authority for the benefit of this realm.

"Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, which hath crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, it is decreed that they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any encouragement to make pilgrimages to any saint otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this realm in convocation assembled: as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this or that commodity, seeing all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they shall exhort as well their parishioners, as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercise of their bodily labour, travel, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their souls' health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

"Also in their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters, and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, the Lord's Prayer, the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments in their mother tongue: And the same being taught, that they shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent that this may be more easily done, the said curates shall, in their sermons, deliberately and plainly recite the Lord's Prayer, articles, or commandments, one clause or article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or shew where printed books containing the same are to be sold to them that can read, or will desire the same; and that the fathers and mothers, masters and governors, do bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry; exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations, as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth be in nowise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers able-bodied men fall to—some to begging, some to theft and murder; who after being brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governors, who suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; when if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should, besides being rulers of their own families, have profited as well themselves as divers other persons, to the great benefit of the country.

"Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's majesty, that they

are absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude or unlearned person, but to an honest well-learned and expert curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err; and always let them see, that neither they nor their vicars do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

"Also, that every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall on this side the feast of St. Peter next coming, provide a book of the whole bible both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire, for every man that chooses to look and read therein, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in nowise stifly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same; but refer the declaration of those places that are in controversy to the judgment of them that are beter learned.

"Also the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner and supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at tables or card playing, or any other unlawful game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of holy scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise; and that they always do those things which appertain to good behaviour and honesty, with profit of the commonweal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all others to live well and christianly.

"Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same; all parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may expend yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices; lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable to them.

"And to the intent that learned men may hereafter increase the more, for the executing of the said premises: Every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to expend in benefices or other promotions of the church, an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may have to expend, to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching as otherwise; in the execution of their offices, or may when need shall be otherwise, profit the commonwealth with their council and wisdom.

"Also that all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they shall be fully repaired; and the same so repaired they shall always keep and maintain in good state.

"All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said deans, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerks and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duties according to these injunctions."

These injunctions and articles were given in the years 1536 and 1537; and in the following year other injunctions also were published for the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of religion, by which both the parsons of churches, and the parishes together, were enjoined to provide in every church a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and to say the Lord's prayer and creed, in their own vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful injunctions, as follows:

Injunctions exhibited, A.D. 1538.

"In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith; lord of Ireland; and in earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England, I, Thomas Lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you N. these injunctions following to be kept, observed and fulfilled upon the pains hereafter declared.

"First, that ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king's injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my name, by his grace's authority; not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straightly extended towards you by the king's arbitrament, or his vicegerent aforesaid.

"Also, that ye shall provide on this side the feast of N. next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the church, that you have cure of, where your parishioners may most conveniently resort to the same and read it. The charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

"Also, that ye shall discourage no man privily, nor openly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved, admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquiry into the true sense of the same, and to refer the explanation of the obscure places, to men of higher judgment in scripture.

"Also, that you shall every Sunday and holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need require, one article or sentence of the Lord's prayer or creed in English, to the intent that they may learn the same by heart, and so from day to day, to give them one like lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Lord's prayer and creed in English by rote; and as they are taught every sentence of the same by rote, you shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do; and that done, you shall declare unto them, the ten commandments, one by one, every Sunday and holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

"Also, that you shall in confessions, every Lent examine every person that cometh to confession to you, whether they can recite the articles of our faith, and the Lord's prayer in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, you shall declare to them, that every christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed sacra-

ment of the altar; and admonish them to learn the same more perfectly by the following year, or else, that they ought not to presume to come to God's Board without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls),—so you shall declare unto them that you look for other injunctions from the king, by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's Board, as shall be found ignorant; wherefore do you thus admonish them, to the intent that they should avoid the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

"Also, that you shall make, or cause to be made, in the church, and every other cure you have, one sermon every quarter of a year at the least, wherein you shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in other works devised by men's fancies besides the scriptures; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics, or images, or kissing, or licking the same, saying over a number of beads, or such like superstition; for the doing of which you not only have no promise of reward in scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

"Also, that such feigned images as you know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, you shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which, for the adorning of the church and divine service, you shall suffer to remain still, admonishing your parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose, but as the books of unlearned men, that can read no letters, whereby they might be admonished of the lives and conversation of them, that the images represent. Which images if they abuse, for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls; and therefore the king's highness, graciously tending to the good of his subjects' souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter travel for the abolishing of such images, as might be the occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

"Also, that in all such benefices or cures as you have, whereupon you are not yourself resident, you shall appoint such curates in your stead, as both can by ability, and will also promptly execute these injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, that you are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with declaration of the word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same, if they do otherwise.

"Also, that you shall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's highness, or his grace's authority, or the bishop of the diocese, and such as shall be so licensed, you shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

"Also, if you have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages to feigned relics or images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly before the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them, as the truth is, that you did the same upon no ground of scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse which had crept into the church, through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

"Also, if ye do or shall know any man within your parish, or elsewhere, that is an opposer of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these injunctions; or a favourer of the pretended power of the bishop of Rome, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected and extirpated; you shall detect the same to the king, or to his honourable council, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

"Also, that you and every parson, vicar, or curate, within this diocese, shall for every church keep one book of register, wherein you shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time, and so for every man succeeding you likewise, and also therein set every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried; and for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure coffer with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book you shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings, and buryings, made during the previous week; and that done, to lay up the said book in the said coffer as before, and for every time the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed for the repair of the church.

"Also, that you shall once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former injunctions given unto you by authority of the king, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

"Also, forsomuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay the tithes; no man shall by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, and be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their parsons and curates without any restraint or diminution; and such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their ordinaries and other superiors' hands, who upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

"Also, that no parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is commanded, and indicted by the church, nor of any prayer, nor of divine service, otherwise than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the king's authority: the evens of such saints, whose holy-days are abrogated, only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting days, except also the commemoration of Thomas à Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be entirely omitted, and instead thereof, the Ferial service used.

"Also, that the knolling of the Aves after service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the bishop of Rome's pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

"Also, where in times past men have used in divers places in their processions, to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following; as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached, that it would be better to omit it, and to sing the other suffrages, being more necessary and effectual. All which singular injunctions, I minister to you and to your parishioners, by the king's authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the king or his vicegerent for the time being shall seem convenient."

By these articles and injunctions thus coming forth

one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear, how well the king then deserved the title of his supreme government, given to him over the church of England; by which title and authority, he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion in England, in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates had done in the previous three hundred years. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and his council, that they were desirous by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation. He provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people; but also procured the bishops to help forward the cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as you have before heard, that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at St. Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

By the king's injunctions, A.D. 1538, all such images and pictures as were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry were abolished: by virtue of which injunctions, several idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down in the same year; as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the lady of Willesdon, Thomas à Becket, with many others, which had machinery to make their eyes open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false jugglings, with which the simple people had been a long time deceived. All which were detected, and destroyed.

Among these foul idols, there was also a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvel Gatheren: which in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield. With the idol also was burnt at the same time and hanged for treason, Friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly made before in the history of Cardinal Wolsey.

Friar Forrest.

This Forrest was a friar, and had secretly in confessions declared to many of the king's subjects that the king was not supreme head of the church; and being apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not the supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "That he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereto." And being accused of many damnable articles, and convicted; he submitted himself to the punishment of the church. Upon his submission, having more liberty than before to talk with whom he chose, he departed as far as ever from his submission. And when his abjuration was read to him, he refused it, and persevered in his errors: wherefore he was condemned, and fastened up in Smithfield, upon a gallows, by the middle and arms, and fire was put under him, and so he was consumed.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by scripture, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance. But he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the image, called Darvell Gatheren, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the friar, was set on fire: the Welchmen much worshipped it, and had a prophecy among them, that this image should set a whole forest on fire. Which prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold of the ladder, and would not let it go; he so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God had done at any time. So in that manner he ungodly and unquietly ended his life.

In the month of October and November in the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God) were suppressed—they having been granted a little before by act of parliament unto the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions also distributed among the nobility; so that all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemed, by God's grace, no possibility left for the generation of those strange weeds to grow any more; according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, "Every plant which my Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out," &c.

The History of the worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, as well before the archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other bishops: as also before King Henry VIII., by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A.D. 1538.

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, followed the condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge. Where after that he had sufficiently profited by the study of Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into English: being forced at last by violence of time, he departed beyond the seas to Tindal and Frith, and there remained for the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp; till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas. More, and by the accusation of one Barlow. He was carried from Antwerp to London, and brought to examination first at Lambeth; then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries, and had five-and-forty articles exhibited against him, to which he gave answers in writing. As the answers contain great learning, and give some light to the better understanding of the common questions of religion now in controversy, we shall here give them.

The Answer of John Lambert.

To your first article, wherein you ask whether I was suspected of heresy? I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me, perhaps some better, some worse; as the opinions of the people were never united, but thought variously of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appears in St. John, when Christ came into Jerusalem there arose a great noise, some saying, "That he was a very good man," others said, "nay," and called him a deceiver, because he led the people away from the law of Moses. Seeing therefore that all men could not speak well of Christ, who is the author of verity and truth, yea the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants: why should I regard it, if at some time, some person for a like cause should suspect me amiss, and report evil of me. It is said in the gospel, "Woe be unto you, when all men speak well of you: for so did their fathers to the false prophets." If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded it, that I have forgotten it. And even though I did remember any such charge, yet I would be more than twice a fool to tell you of it: for it is written in your own law, "No man is bound to betray himself."

To your second article, where you inquire whether I

had any of Luther's books, since they were condemned; and how long I kept them, and whether I have spent any study in them? I say that I have indeed had them, and that both before they were condemned and also since, but I never will, nor can tell you, how long I have kept them; but the truth is, that I have studied them, and I thank God that I did so, for by them has God shewed to me, and also to a multitude of others, such light, as the darkness of those that call themselves the holy church, cannot abide. He covets above all things, as all his adversaries well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages; that all people might see and know, what is said on every side, by which men should the better judge what is the truth. And in this, I think, he requires nothing but equity; for the law would have no man condemned, or justified, until his cause were heard and known.

To your third article, wherein you ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and of what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and of the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

To the fourth, wherein you demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife? I say that it is lawful. yea, and necessary for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife, and that both Christ and St. Paul shew. In the nineteenth of Matthew, Christ speaking to the Pharisees that came to tempt him, saith, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." Matt. xix. 9. To that his disciples say unto him, if the case of the man be so with his wife, it shall be hurtful and not expedient to contract matrimony; Christ answers, "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given," Matt. xix. 11.; meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such only to whom it was given of God by a special grace so to continue.

To this St. Paul assents, when he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life; he concludes thus: "This I speak for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you." 1 Cor. vii. 35. And a little before, "I would," says he, "that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." 1 Cor. vii. 7.; shewing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continent, and to others to engender and procreate children. He proceeds further, and would have all men, none excepted, to marry, who want the gift of continency. "I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn." 1 Cor. vii. 8, 9. And again, "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." 1 Cor. vii. 2. He saith here, "every man and every woman," and not "some man or some woman;" he excepts neither priest nor nun, but every one both man and woman is bound, for avoiding of fornication, to marry, not having the gift of chastity.

Unto the fifth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that whatever is done by man, whether it be good or ill, comes of necessity; that is, whether man has free will, so that he may deserve joy or pain? I say, that to the first part of your riddle, I neither can, nor will give any definitive answer; as it surmounts my capacity, trusting that God shall send, hereafter, others that shall be of better learning and wit than I, to answer it. As concerning the second part, where you interpret; whether man has free will or not, so that he may deserve joy or pain; as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very little or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God; and that am I taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus: "But which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, Go and sit down to meat? And will not rather say unto him, Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me, till I have eaten and drunken; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." Luke xvii. 7—10.

In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, even when we have done what is commanded by God; but rather reckoning ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, for so much as he has no need of our well doing for his own advancement, but only that he loves to see us do well for our own sake: and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify, either our self, or our own free will, but praise him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his will and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit; whereby only is done all that in any wise is acceptable to him. And thus if we ought not to see merit in doing the commandments of God, much less should we look for merit, for observing our own inventions or traditions of men, to which there is no benefit promised in all scripture, which Paul calls the word of truth and of faith.

But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that observe the precepts of God. Still such reward shall never be attained by us, except by the grace and benefit of him who worketh all things in all creatures.

Whereas in your sixth article, you inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation; and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine; I neither can nor will answer one word, otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit then to this point, knowing so much as I do now, till you had brought forth some person that would have accused me to have erred in the question; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any one that is honest and credible.

As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you the same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and none other. That is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same; unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I ought to do so. But as to the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far as my rudeness will serve; I hold that such as are duly elected ministers in the church ought to baptize; except necessity require otherwise: and that the form used in the church is in mine opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless it would edify much more, if it were uttered in the English instead of the Latin language; and it would cause people in the baptism of children more effectually to thank God for his institution of it, and for the high benefit represented in it.

In like manner, I also deem the same of the ministration in all the others; that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the English language, for the edifying of the people.

As touching private auricular confession, I say, that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christ's law that is written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority from it, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all to any man. I never said, nor will say, but that men seeing themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, may go to those whom they know and trust to be of steadfast credit, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief to them, that they may have thorough advice, some ease, and remedy.

But in this, I mean not that they ought to go to their curate, or to any other priest, whose credit they deem not at all trusty, or their counsel sage, but to any person whom they know to be wise and discreet.

To the other part of your question, where you ask whether a priest may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance? I say that Christ only looses a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise; and the priest does nothing but shew and declare the word: Neither does declaration or ministry of the priest avail to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence to the word ministered and shewed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called "The word of reconciliation," or atonement between God and man. And this testified St. Paul, where he saith, "God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ." 2 Cor. v. 18. See how it is God that looses us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ whom he caused to die for that purpose. "And he hath given unto us the ministry of reconciliation." See how Christ's apostles called not themselves *the authors* of binding and loosing, but *ministers*: "For he (that is, God) reconciled the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." Where you may know what reconciling is. "And hath committed (saith Paul) unto us the word of reconciliation," or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

Also that the power, by which men are loosed from sin, is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not, but that I can shew the same in the decrees, which is thus, "Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins."

Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin, except it be renovation of living in casting away old vice, and taking them to new virtue; which every true penitent intends, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to shew and perform.

Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given to them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church, but whether by them or not, that I cannot define; for God sends his grace where he pleases, either with them, or without them, and when he pleases; so that it is at his will, and how and when. Moreover, many a person receives the sacrament that is destitute of grace to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receiving of the sacraments, I suppose and think that God gives grace to them that so take them, as he does to all good persons, even without them.

Whereas, in your twelfth article you ask, whether all things necessary to salvation are in holy scripture; and whether things there only are sufficient; and whether some things are to be believed and observed as necessary to salvation, which are not expressed in scripture. This is the question which is the head of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended to impugn.

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had Saint Cyril's works by me, I should not need to shew any other answer in this, than he hath shewed aforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John, "There are many things more which Jesus did." Notwithstanding, forsomuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shifts; I hold that the first part of your question is very true, and therefore is to be affirmed, to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation, are mentioned in holy scripture; and that those things only which are there, are sufficient for the soul's health.

But why should I treat of this, except I would recite all scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast to this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel? Which God, I beseech, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also to Colossians, chap. ii., and in the epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine, for the salvation of our souls; and this, because learned men call it the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying, whatever shall happen to me, for the truth is so, that hereon hangs the sum of all. Therefore, I shall recite it once again. I say, "That in holy scripture, and in it only, is contained the doctrine which is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls." God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith steadfastly upon it.

As to the latter part of your question, I say, that there are many things both to be observed and to be believed, that are not expressed in scripture; as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil government of the body, and all others; so that they are not hurtful to faith or charity, I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience sake, although such ordinances are not expressly and particularly required in scripture.

To the thirteenth article, where you ask whether I believe that there is a purgatory, and whether souls departed are there tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, which the scripture, and also the holy doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all christians shall pass, as testifies St. Paul, in the second chapter of the second epistle to Timothy, whose testimony is notable and true, although few know it, and fewer, perhaps, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people, and know, that the words are his, and not mine: "All that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution." In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand. God enable me to persevere to his honour! Of this speaks also St. Peter, in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people;—"You," saith he, "who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations: that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ," &c. 1 Pet. i. 5—7.

To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles and confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed to? I answer, with the words of St. Augustine, in his book "On True Religion," in his last leaf, where he says, "That we should worship no departed men, be they never so good and holy, for they seek no such honour, but would have us worship God alone; no, nor yet an angel, nor honour them, but only in the imitation of them; following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name, or to the honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them; it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels wish not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but wish that we should honour the original maker and performer of all." Thus saith St. Augustine, "We shall follow their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that consider the thing well. But whoever shall truly and duly follow it, shall feel it as the burden of Christ's cross was to him, right weighty and grievous, when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation."

As to invocation, that is, calling upon them, we learn in scripture how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. As in the Psalms every where, as in this, "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I shall deliver you." Mark, how he saith here, "Call upon me," appointing neither one saint nor another. And also, in another place, "The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly."

And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort to the head Fountain, who is of grace infinite, as is shewn in many places in this wise. "In my trouble I called upon the Lord," saith David,

"and he heard me graciously; when I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me;" also, I lift mine eyes unto the mountains, but from whence shall help come unto me? "Mine help," said he, "shall come from the Lord that made both heaven and earth."

Also, it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, "Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." And mark, it is said, "upon the name of the Lord," without sending us either to St. Christopher, or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, or yet to any other saint; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he bears to Christ, who is always our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins.

You argue that when one should desire to come to our sovereign to obtain some boon of him; he must first purchase the favour of his chamberlains or officers to bring him to the king's presence. In like manner it is betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first go to the saints, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors. But I answer that I think such reasoners are deceived, in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince, yet he is not in graciousness to be compared with God; and though he were as gracious as possible, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needs no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king needs. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my good; as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Therefore I take me to the sample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and authority of scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort to Christ himself, and his holy father, forasmuch as he bids us to do so, saying, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Mat. xi. 28. Mark how he bids us resort to himself without fear. For he and his Father, who are all one, gives abundantly of all goodness to all men, and upbraideth no man for their unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of him, we must lay all doubtfulness apart, and with a sure confidence in his mercy, ask of him that which we would have; so that I leave to others what they choose to do, praying Jesus that we all may wish for that which is most pleasing to him.

To the fifteenth article, you demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us? I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know, generally, that all men living upon earth are wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they themselves also were. But I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth are intangled with; therefore I believe that they pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators, so far as I can see. For scripture speaks but of one Mediator, which I think signifies a maker of peace, or atonement betwixt God the Father and man. "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."

In the sixteenth article, you demand whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints? I say that, what they may be, I cannot tell; for God can so work, that to those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul, "All things shall work together for good to them that love God." Rom. viii. 28. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or not, I will not define, God knoweth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing as pilgrimages in the New Testament, which is the truth and rule for all christian people to follow and believe.

As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said before, what I think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Norwich and other places, with such other things, with which I trust you do what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office requires, shewing example to other prelates to follow your lordship in good doing; as it is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as St. Paul saith, "the time is short," and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Finally, holy Moses when he died would be so buried, that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in Deuteronomy; and, as the expositors testify, that the Jews, who were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, on account of the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics are meritorious works, or that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by scripture. If you think otherwise, I would desire to know for mine instruction, what part of scripture should make against me.

In the seventeenth article you ask, whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law, and received in the common usage, are to be observed? I say, that they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly is commendable.

Yet the breaking of these fasts shall not make a man a deadly sinner, except in his mind there be some other malicious affection, because no law of man, made without foundation of scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking it, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man is the fast of Lent; and other days ordained in your laws without authority of scripture, which wills us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking only when need requires (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done) yea, and that sparingly, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed "with drunkenness or surfeiting," as is commanded by our Saviour.

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God; and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so great a multitude of laws and constitutions.

To the eighteenth article you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful images should be set up in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints? I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, such as are made by the hand of men; for, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols." Psalm xcvii. 7.

And as concerning the exciting of men's memory; I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so shewn and opened by preaching and teaching that people might clearly understand it, (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates) I think we should have little need of any other images, than that which should by wholesome doctrine be shewn to us by word of mouth and writing: Nothing is so effectual to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers.

So that I suppose if this lively doctrine of God has aforetime been diligently opened to the people, as curates ought to have done, we should not have needed to contend for setting up or taking down dumb stocks and lifeless stones, carved or made by men: and if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word (which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and despised; so that many are not ashamed to say, I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors; for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics, with such other grievous words) if this doctrine were yet set up in churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear; I think we should not greatly need the profit that comes by images made by men, to excite our remembrances to live to christianity.

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written by them that wrote and spake

by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, shows perfectly his will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcated, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of St. Paul, who, writing to the Colossians, says, "Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." Col. iii. 9, 10.

Unto the nineteenth article you ask, whether I believe that prayers of men living profit souls departed, and in purgatory? I made answer in the thirteenth article.

Unto the twentieth article you ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion? I have shewn what I think thereof, in the fifth article.

In the twenty-first article you ask, whether I believe that men prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion? I say, that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never believed such errors, as men by false suspicion deem them to believe; or else, when men, by sinister judgment think that to be an error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah, "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness." Isaiah v. 20. As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called St. Paul, saying thus before Felix, we "pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy clemency a few words. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who also hath gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come unto thee: by examining of whom thyself mayest take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him." Acts xxiv. 4—8. This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy; men being thus suspected ought in no wise therefore to cease either from preaching or teaching.

We have another example of this in Acts, when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom, by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased,) the people hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think that he or his companion St. John, had done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees; who being sore displeased that they should teach the people, and preach that men should arise from the dead by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified; and they therewith laid hands upon them, and put them in prison until the next day. On the following day they sent for the apostles, and demanded by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? "Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, if we this day be examined of the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he is made whole; be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole. This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner." Acts iv. 8—12.

These great men wondered that Peter should speak so freely, seeing that he and his fellow, John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, and being unlearned men. At last they commanded them to depart out of their council-house, until they should commune more freely of the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach or teach in the name of Jesus. "But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." Acts iv. 19, 20. Then the head priests threatening them sore gave them straight charge not to break their precept, and so let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the apostles, for the people gave glory to God for the miracle shewn by them.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people; doing them to show that glory ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done. Wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever they went.

The primate of the priests, and all that were about him, on hearing of this, were filled with indignation, and laid hands upon the apostles, putting them into the common prison. But the angel of God in the night opened the prison doors, and brought them out, saying, "Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life." That is to say, Christ's doctrine; and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom they used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent to the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone from thence, they returned to their masters, saying, we found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without fail diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find no body within.

Then as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, Behold the men that you put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in this form: Have we not straightly commanded you (said he) that you should not preach in the name of Christ? And see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us? "Then Peter, and the other apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." Acts v. 29—32.

These great rulers hearing this, were cut to the heart, and consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their number advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, and causing them to be scourged, commanded them not to preach and teach in the name of Jesus, and so allowed them to depart.

Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not; for such practice is shewn in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or accused of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought not for man's commandment to leave or stop, though

they never purge themselves before them, for such will not admit any just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they please.

In the twenty-second article you demand, whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or not; and that in all places, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they are not sent? I say, that priests are called in scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri* and *sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, or presbyters, and by that word the secular judges, or such like head-officers, are sometimes also called; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called who defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna; that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as those to be called *presbyteri*; but it is generally applied to those who are set in the church to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine.

The others are called priests in the New Testament, by this word, *sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus, as Christ was called king and priest, so all christian men in the New Testament are called kings and priests. The words in Rev. i. 5, 6. are, "Unto Jesus Christ that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen." Thus saith St. John, speaking of all christian people. In like manner it is said, (1 Peter ii. 9.) where he writes unto all christian men, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people."

But this may seem a strange thing, that all persons should be called priests, and that in scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to some, as it did to me and many others, when we read it first, because we never read or heard of it before; and so did Christ's doctrine seem new to his apostles and to his audience, when he himself first preached it.

In the twenty-third article you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God? I say, that it is meet for none to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calls himself in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writes thus, "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead." Also to the Romans, "How shall men preach, except they be sent?"

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by support of God's law, and also of laws written in the decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach, both men and women.

As concerning sacrificing, I say that it is lawful for all men and women to sacrifice; but I mean not by sacrifice to say mass as priests do; but, as christian people who are *sacerdotes*, that is to say, sacrificers; so ought they to offer spiritual sacrifices, as writes St. Paul to the Romans, saying, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God," Rom. xii. 1, 2.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requires is, that we should always offer to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the "fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name;" or, as Hosea calls it, the sacrifice of "the calves of our lips," giving praise unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be serviceable to our neighbours; for in such sacrifices, saith he, God is well pleased.

In the twenty-fourth article you ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, obliges and binds them before God? I say, that it binds them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounces them with the consent of others, gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behalf of Christ's church.

The same declares the gospel, (Mat. xviii. 15—20,) "Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again, I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." So that such excommunication ought to be done, as I think, by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

And thus is it convenient to be done. For the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men, and therefore he may sometimes judge wrong; cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other prelates, judging the christian to be heretics, and the heretics christian.

In the twenty-fifth article you ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and evening-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin? I say that prayer in scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shewed to ensue therefrom, that men should the more give themselves to it. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this we read in Exodus, when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels; I believe their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites; but in long holding them up, at last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands lagged downward; and as his hands grew heavy, which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold, the infidels prevailed; but as he kept them upward (whereby was meant the intent prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, who endited the law to the people, and were the interpreters, stood with Moses; who always, as they saw his arms to faint, did hold them up, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

But no promise is made by God to them that daily say matins. Neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall be blessed by him for saying matins; no more than we are certain that for repeating the fifteen O's once every day during the whole year, we shall see our Lady aid us before our death; as is testified in the scripture of the primer, but not by the scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying her psalter upon the ten beads, that comes from the crossed friars; or upon the five beads, hallowed at the charter-house; or fasting the ladies' fast, as men call it; or for fasting on the Wednesday; as is shewed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read, for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

In the twenty-sixth article you ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give to the people the holy scriptures in their mother language? I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy scripture, and I do not know how that can be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated into the mother tongue; that they may have it by them at all times to pass the time godly, whenever they have leisure.

I think it were profitable and expedient, that the holy scriptures were delivered by authority of the head

rulers to the people, truly translated into the vernacular tongue. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to give them to the people? I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say that they are bound, by right and equity, to cause it to be delivered to the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying and consolation

In the twenty-seventh article you demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advice, to ordain that the scripture should not be delivered to the people in the vulgar language? All men may here see, that whoever devised these questions, thought that it is good for the people to have the scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and that I so saying could not be well reproved; and therefore they have laid out all these additions as it were to entrap me. "Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people?" and "whether they may restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advice?"

The scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is shewed to be true in many places of scripture; like as other meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father that keeps bodily meat away for the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our bishops are not gentle pastors or fathers if they would keep away the food of men's souls from them, especially when others offer it, both for months, years, and ages. Neither do I see any opportunity of time or reasonable advice that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary; for it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their meat when they are hungry, and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teaches to know him and do his pleasure at all times.

In the twenty-eighth article you ask, whether I believe the consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I know not all of them, and therefore I will not dispraise them, neither can I speak very much for them, seeing I know them not; such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, are in my opinion good; such as this—when the priest having consecrated the holy bread; he saith, "Lord bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health," &c. Which I would wish every man might say in England, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: "The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and shew forth his blessed gospel." Which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing that all people might know what they mean, that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 19, where he wisheth, in the church rather to speak five words with understanding that by his voice he might teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.

In the twenty-ninth article you ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all christian men, to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin; so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God? I say, if it be true that is written in the decrees, that laws are never confirmed, until they are approved by common consent of them that shall use them, then the pope's laws cannot bind all christian men, for the Greeks and the Bohemians never admitted them; but refuse them utterly: so that I do not find that his laws may bind all christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws; which will bind men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, any more than has the king or the emperor. On the contrary, I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made than it has been since. May God repair it, and restore it again to its ancient purity and perfection.

In the thirtieth article you ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests, and lay-people, that are disobedient, from entering the church; and to suspend them from the ministration of the sacraments? I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law. For such are separated from God. And the prelates should pronounce of sinners as they find them; that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to administer any sacraments, or to be in communion with christian folk, who will not amend.

I am not certain that prelates generally have any such power. And though they had, I doubt whether charity should permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches the word of God ought to be declared and preached; that the sturdy who come thither and hearing it, may soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment.

Moreover, when you speak of prelates' deputies; I think that such prelates are of little use to Christ's flock. It is necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, that they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left undone.

In the thirty-first article you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice to a man who has fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of scripture to say, faith only justifies and works salvation, before a man can do any other good works. And truly I do think in this matter, that a man fallen into sin after baptism shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion; although he does no more good deeds; as when a man having a short life, lacks leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity comes, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity; which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith. This declares St. Augustine, "Good works make not a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified doth good works."

In the thirty-second article you ask, whether a priest marrying a wife, without the dispensation of the pope, sins deadly? I say, that he doth not so much offend as those who give dispensations for money to priests to take concubines. Neither does he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they clearly commit fornication and adultery, which is utterly forbidden by *God's* law; and the priest of whom your demand speaks, offends only *man's* law.

In the thirty-third article you ask, whether a priest, being sore and oft troubled with incontinence, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy, do sin deadly? I cannot see but that a priest may marry. Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer that I made before of all priests; that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry.

In the thirty-fourth article you ask, whether I ever prayed for John Wickliff, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, who were condemned of heresy at the council of Constance, or any one of them, since they have been dead; and whether I have openly or secretly done any such deeds of charity for them; and affirming them to be in bliss and saved? I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far as I can remember. And though I had, it follows not, that in so doing I should be an heretic. For you know well, that there is a great country called Bohemia, where the people follow that same doctrine which their ancestors were taught by John Huss and Jerome of Prague; whom (as I know) neither the pope nor you consider as heretics and infidels.

In the thirty-fifth article you ask, whether I have ac-

counted them or any of them to be saints; and worshipped them as saints? I say that in secret things, which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, who desires that we should not judge too soon; but to abide to the coming of the Lord, who shall illuminate and shew forth clearly things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore have I neither judged with them, nor against them; but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment is infallible.

And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy, at the council of Constance; if the council did right, God shall allow it. So that it is not need to ask of me, whether the acts of the same are commendable or not? Neither can I give any direct answer; for I do not know them. And although I did, yet am I not persuaded, because the council hath condemned them, that I must therefore believe them to be damned; for a council, as I believe, may sometimes decide erroneously.

In the thirty-sixth article you ask, whether I believe that every general council, and the council of Constance, represent the universal congregation or church? I say, that what such councils represent, I cannot certainly tell; and therefore believe neither yea nor nay. I know of no scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. The church I take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation; whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreads throughout the universal world, wheresoever any call upon the name of Christ; and there they most grow and assemble, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared.

In the thirty-seventh article you ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve for the maintenance of faith and souls' health, is to be approved and held of all christian people; and that that which the same council hath condemned and doth condemn, to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatever the same council or any other have approved, being worthy of approbation, is of all christian people to be likewise approved. And again, whatever the same or any other has condemned, being worthy of condemnation, ought to be condemned by all christian people.

In the thirty-eighth article you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done? I answer, that it passes my knowledge, and I cannot tell; and I and all christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

In the thirty-ninth article you ask, whether I believe that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague; were heretics; and their books and doctrines to be perverse; for which they were condemned by the holy council of Constance as heretics? I say, that I know not whether they be heretics or not; nor whether their books be erroneous or not; nor whether they ought to be called heretics or not.

In the fortieth article you ask, whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear? I say, that I neither so believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

In the forty-first article you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful at the command of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth; or any other oath, for purgation of infamy? I answer, that I never said to the contrary; but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge; to say the truth, if the judge so require it; and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, upon which they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge cannot otherwise arrive at the truth; he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon, to avoid the crime of murder; which the one had committed in pressing her child to death; and would have done the same upon the other, if Solomon had not by his wisdom otherwise discovered the truth. Solomon might, I suppose, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear. In this case the women would have been bound to obey him; but judges have need to be careful in requiring of oaths.

In the forty-second article you ask, whether a christian person despising the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnising of matrimony, do sin deadly? I say, the same of the receiving of the sacraments themselves, as I have said before of the third article, and none otherwise.

In the forty-third article you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, and having power on earth to bind and loose? I say, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term "vicar;" for Christ never called St. Peter, nor any other so in scripture. If you mean, that after the departing hence of Christ, when he arose from the dead in his immortal body, and so went into heaven; that, he so being away, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not true that St. Peter was his vicar, in any other manner than was St. Paul, or the other apostles. The one was no less a vicar than the other.

I think that St. Peter and all the rest of the apostles were Christ's vicars: if you mean by this word vicar, a deputy; or such like to preach his gospel, to minister sacraments, and to do divine service in God's church. And thus they were worthy to be called, as the scripture names them; Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, &c.

In the forty-fourth article you ask, whether I believe that the pope is the successor of St. Peter? I say, that it seems to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or not. I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith; however, I will shew my rude thought on it, which is this:—

The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same duly in diligently feeding Christ's flock, and shewing virtuous example of living; and so in doing, he may and ought to be thought and named, a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions, with other properties requisite to your order and duty: yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop. But otherwise the pope cannot be called the successor of St. Peter; merely because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding what is requisite, nor following the track of virtue, but the contrary. Why should men call St. Peter's successors those that play the pagans, and follow Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such, verily, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night can claim to be the successor to the day. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, forsomuch as they do not do his will, which is shewn by his own acts and writings, but work against the same.

So, the pope is the successor of St. Peter, if he follows St. Peter's godly living.

In the forty-fifth article you ask, whether I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, which seemed to you right and consonant to the faith? I say, that I do not remember that I ever made pact or confederacy with any person or persons; nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, which seemed to me and others right and consonant to the faith; unless it hath chanced to me to say in this form, that I would never, with the aid of God, forsake or decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shewed; the sum of which I reckon to be concluded in two propositions; which both are written in the New Testament.

The first in the Acts of the Apostles:—"This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner; neither is there salvation

in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," Acts iv. 11, 12. This is one of the propositions wherein is comprehended my saying, which St. Paul thus expresses, "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption," 1 Cor. i. 30. And in another place, "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. iii. 11.

The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour in the gospel of Mark, in these words: "Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; for, laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition," Mark vii. 7, 8, 9. Of this writes St. Paul very largely in divers places; among others in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them; to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

Thus I certify to all of you the opinions and conclusions which I intend, or have intended to sustain, being contained in the above two propositions. Other hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the creed; both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other creed, that all people say every day. Finally, you require to know the names and surnames of them that were adherents to me. I say, that I know of none particularly that I remember, without I should note a great multitude, which you may know and hear of through all regions and realms of Christendom; and though I did, I would not detect nor betray any one of them; for I am bound to obey God rather than man. May God be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen!

These answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles, had been directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeared, about A.D. 1532, when Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Oxford. But so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within a short space after, (Aug. 1532,) the archbishop Warham died; whereby, it seems, that Lambert for that time was delivered. In the meantime, Cranmer was sent over on an embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Karne, Dr. Benett, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly; first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor. Where, after sundry promises and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them on these two propositions—first, that no man could or ought to marry his brother's wife; secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

After the death of William Warham, Cranmer succeeded to that see. Lambert, in the meantime, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned to London, and there exercised himself in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongues.

Thus then after that John Lambert had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, it happened, (A.D. 1538) that he was present at a sermon which was preached in St. Peter's church, in London, by Dr. Tailor; a man in those days not far from the gospel; and afterwards, in the time of King Edward, made bishop of Lincoln, and at last in the time of Queen Mary deprived, and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert having gotten opportunity, went gently to the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Tailor excusing himself at that time for other business, desired him to write his mind; and to come again when he had more leisure.

Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a short time after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing; partly by the scriptures, and partly by good reason, and by the doctors. The arguments men reported to be of great force and authority.

If, saith he, these words, "This cup is the New Testament," do not change either the cup or the wine corporally into the New Testament, it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

Another reason was this,—that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time; wherefore, it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body; or else truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once; and much less in many, that is to say in heaven and in earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch, as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and, finally, no appearance at all of flesh, who doth not very plainly perceive that there is no substantiated body of his in the sacrament? And to reason by the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore, we must of necessity confess the bread to be there. He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Tailor, the preacher, willing and desiring, as is supposed, to satisfy Lambert in this matter, conferred with Dr. Barnes. Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing it would breed some hinderance among the people to the preaching of the gospel, which was now in a good forwardness. He persuaded Tailer to put up the matter to archbishop Cranmer.

In this manner Lambert's affair first began, and was brought to this point, that it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter. For he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly; for the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, of which afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said, that Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king; but however the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how king Henry, for two years past, shewing the part of an hard husband, had beheaded queen Anne, his wife (A.D. 1536); which not only greatly displeased the German princes, who, for that only cause had broken off the league with him, but also many good men in England.

Moreover, how that, after abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, so that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time, Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority among the king's counsellors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to hinder the gospel. He went to the king privately, admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in all places.

First, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority, then for subversion of the monasteries, and also for the divorce of queen Catharine; and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest to the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour, he would extinguish all other former rumours, and also discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The king, giving ear more willingly, than prudently or godly to this, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm, to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, upon which the king himself would sit in judgment.

These preparations being made, a day was set for Lambert to appear, and a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, even as a lamb to fight with many lions, and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was; so that now they tarried but for the king's coming.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, and covering by that colour all bloody judgment.

On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order, behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which although it was terrible enough to abash any innocent man, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation, far unworthy such a prince; especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was seated on his throne, he looked at Lambert with a stern countenance; and then turning himself to his counsellors, he called Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this assembly and judgment.

The whole effect of his oration tended to this purpose, that the king would have all estates, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure; that no man should conceive such an opinion of him, as that the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being now utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the churches of England without punishment; and, that they should not think that they were assembled to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that the heresies of Lambert, and the heresies of all such, should be refuted, or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king standing up, and leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, and turning himself towards Lambert, with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words; "Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although by many I am called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother." "O, most noble prince!" replied Lambert, "your bishops forced me to change my name." And after much talk in this manner, the king commanded him to go to the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he would not disdain to hear the controversies of religion, because it happened often through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men were privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge.

But now, forsomuch as that high and eternal king of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, especially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration, "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly to go to the matter without any more circumstance." This he spake in Latin.

But Lambert being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, paused a while, considering.

But the king being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. "I answer with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner."

The King. "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no?" These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert. "Then I do not deny it to be the body of Christ."

The King. "Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, 'This is my body.'"

Then he commanded Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury to refute his assertion: who, first making a short preface to the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us impartially, that if I shew your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly refuse it; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the scripture, I promise that I will willingly embrace it."

The argument was taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared to St. Paul: disputing that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once; who being in heaven was seen by St. Paul at the same time on earth; and if it may be in two places, why may it not be in places?

Lambert answered, saying, that it was not proved, that Christ's body was in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place. For the scripture does not say, that Christ being upon the earth did speak to St. Paul: but that suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," &c. Here this place proves nothing but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak to St. Paul, and be heard upon earth.

The archbishop said, St. Paul himself witnesses, Acts xxvi. that Christ did appear to him in the vision.

But Lambert again said, that Christ witnessed in the same place, that he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the gentiles: yet we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear to him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself, that the king seemed greatly moved; and the bishop himself that disputed, seemed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed; then the bishop of Winchester alleged the twelfth chapter of the Corinthians, where St. Paul saith, Have I not seen Jesus? And again, in the fifteenth chapter: he appeared unto Cephas: and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles, but last of all he appeared unto me as one born out of due time.

Lambert answered, he did not doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v. 16. "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more."

Lambert answered, That this knowledge is not to be understood as a bodily knowledge, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who speaking of his own revelation, saith, "I knew a man, (whether in the

body or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth;) which was caught up into the third heaven; and whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth." Whereby, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to shew them to him: especially, because it was said by the angel, That even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, Whom the heavens must receive, it behoved to dwell in the heavens. And moreover appointing the measure of time, he addeth, "Until the times of the restitution of all things," &c.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tonstal bishop of Durham, spoke much of God's omnipotency, and saying, That if Christ could perform what he spake, touching the converting of the body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing, but that he would perform.

Lambert answered, That there was no evident place of scripture, wherein Christ at any time says, That he would change the bread into his body: But this is a figurative speech, every where used in the scripture, when the name of the thing signified is attributed to the sign. By which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover, besides six hundred such other.

Now it remains to be settled, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, "to be straightway changed into another nature." Then they began to rage against Lambert; so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert; so that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy, for his ten arguments, which were delivered to Tailor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous were it to do so, especially as they were all but common reasons.

Lambert, compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place and the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with standing no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night, chose rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to pass that these bishops, who last disputed with him, spoke what they chose without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he remained silent.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men: Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered; "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert. "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "if you do commit yourself to my judgment, you must die; for I will not be a patron to heretics;" and by and by turning himself to Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him." This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers, than gospellers themselves, Tailor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell, who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the same for the gospel's sake.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, who desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should have incurred the like danger. But to be short, Cromwell, at the king's command, took up the schedule of condemnation, and read it.

Thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when as before the tribunal seat of that great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved. *Ex testimonia cujusdam αυτηπτου*, A. G.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight of the clock in the morning to the house of the Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his chamber; and it is reported by many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness, for what he had done. There Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered; and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sate down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution; where he should offer himself to the Lord a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

As to the terrible manner of the burning of this blessed martyr there is to be noted, that of all which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire was left under him, then two that stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his finger's ends flaming with fire, cried to the people in these words, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" and so being set down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before the disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to king Henry.

In that treatise he confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by testimonies of the scriptures; by which he proves the body of Christ, whether it rises or ascends, or sits, or is conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then gathering the opinions of the ancient doctors, he proves and declares the sacrament to be a mystical matter. Yet he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood; and that moreover his natural body and blood were in those mysteries, but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors interpret it. His argument is as follows:

"Christ is ascended bodily into heaven, and sits upon the right hand of the Father; that is to say, is with the Father in glory; that by the infallible promise of God, he shall not return before the general doom, which shall be at the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so I cannot see how he can be corporally in the sacrament. And yet I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood, in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter with your grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, who when instituting the same holy sacrament, says,

'Take, eat; this is my body.' And again, 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Matt. xxvi. 26—28.

"The scriptures for the confirmation of my opinion, are these: 'He was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them,' &c. Here it is evident that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify: 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.' Acts i. 9—11. Here we see that Jesus is taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that which we read, John xvi. 28. 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.'

"It is showed further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, 'He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.' Which is, as you did visibly see him ascend to heaven, a cloud embracing him and taking him from among you: even so shall you visibly see him come again in the clouds, as we read, Matt. xxvi. 64. 'Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.' And again, Matt. xxiv. 30. 'And they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.'

"My sentence is this: that Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. All this I do believe is done in the natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; which died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so taken up into heaven, we may soon prove; forsomuch as the godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth; and besides that, is infinite and interminable or uncircumscriptible, so that it neither can properly either ascend or descend, being without all alteration, and immutable, or immovable.

"So that now his natural body being taken up from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence to the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth, Acts iii. 21. 'Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' And the same doth the article of our creed teach us, which is, from thence (i. e. from heaven) shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead. Which time St. Paul calls the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, (1 Tim. vi.)

"Seeing then that this natural body of our Saviour, which was born of his mother the Virgin Mary, is wholly taken up into heaven, and departed out of this world; and so saith St. Peter, he must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calleth the time when all things must be restored; this I say, seen and believed according to our creed and the scriptures, I cannot perceive how his natural body can be in the world, and in the sacrament. And yet notwithstanding is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ's body, and blood, as after shall be declared."

The Death of Robert Packington.

Among other matters done this present year, (A.D. 1538,) was the lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, caused by the enemies of God's word. The story is this: Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to pray at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers' Chapel. When, one very misty morning, such as has seldom been seen, as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly shot with a gun, but the murderer was a great while unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein; till at length by the confession of Doctor Incent, dean of St. Paul's, on his death-bed, it was made known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author, by hiring an Italian, for forty crowns, to do the deed.

The cause why he was so little favoured with the clergy, was, that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them; and it was thought that he also had had some talk with the king, for which he was the more had in disdain with them; and murdered by Doctor Incent, as has been declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Augustine Packington, who deceived Bishop Tonstal, in buying the new translated Testament of Tindal. This piteous murder, although it was privy and sudden, yet has it pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is there here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime a lawyer and a gentleman, who also suffered this year in Smithfield, (A.D. 1538.) Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the church of Rome did condemn and burn him for an heretic: but rather do recount him as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At least this case of him and of his end, may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning without all discretion this man, being mad and deprived of his perfect wits, as the following will shew.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but notwithstanding of so light behaviour and unchaste conduct (nothing corresponding to the grace of her beauty) that she forsook her husband; who loved her entirely, and betook herself to another. Which, when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily to heart; and at last being overcome with exceeding grief and heaviness, he became mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus deprived of his wits, by chance he came into a church, where the priest was saying mass; and when he came to the place where they use to hold up and show the sacrament, Collins seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people; he, in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs and held him over his head, showing him to the people. And for this he was by and by brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, in the same year in which John Lambert was burned.

The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, A.D. 1538.

With this Collins may also be associated the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either in the same or the next year following condemned by Longland bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire at Oxford. What the opinions and articles were wherewith he was charged, it is not necessary here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, who said he could not tell what. And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his dialogues declares them to have been, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to have been sent to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require

reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

About the same time, one Puttedew also was condemned to the fire, for having gone into a church; and there merrily telling the priest, that after he had drunk up all the wine, he blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice. He was immediately apprehended and burned.

William Leiton, was a monk of Eye, in Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds.

In the burning of another man, named Peke, at Ipswich, I find it recorded, that when he was bound to a stake, and the furze set on fire about him: that one Doctor Reading who was standing there, with Doctor Heyre and Doctor Springwell, and having a long white wand in his hand, knocked him upon the shoulder, and said, "Peke, recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it, and here have I authority in my hand to absolve thee of thy unbelief;" and holding up a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, "I reject it, and thee also;" and he spit blood, for his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when Peke had so spoken, then Doctor Reading said, "To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others there present, rose from their seats, and with their swords cut down boughs, and threw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

In the year before this, which was 1537, it was stated how Pope Paul III. called a general council, to be held at Mantua. The king of England, among other princes, refused either to go or to send at the pope's call; and for defence of himself put out a public protestation, rendering just and sufficient reasons, why he would not, nor was bound to obey the pope's command. Which protestation is before to be read. This council, appointed to begin the 23d of May, was stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would protect the city with a sufficient army, &c. For which cause the pope prorogued the council to the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Trivirence, in the Venetian territory; to which, when the king was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort thither, either by himself, or to send; he again refused (as he had done before), and sent his protestation to the emperor and other christian princes.

"Henry VIII., by the Grace of God, King of England and France, &c. saluteth the Emperor, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, desiring Peace and Concord amongst them.

"Whereas, not long since, a book came forth in our and all our council's names, which contained many causes why he refused the council, then, by the bishop of Rome's usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the three-and-twentieth day of May, after prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept: and, whereas, the same book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt; neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men addicted to one sect, nor in any other council called by his usurped power; we think it unnecessary, so oft to make new protestations, as the bishop of Rome and his courts, by subtlety and craft, do invent ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because that some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being known to the world, may do much good, we thought we should do but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christ's faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that book, neither yet we would this epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general council than any other prince or potentate; but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think, that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we; such a one we mean, as we spoke of in our protestation made concerning the council of Mantua.

"Truly as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian commonwealth, to the faith, to our religion, than general councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gain, to the establishment of errors. They are called general, and even by their name admonish us, that all Christian men, who dissent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure say their mind. For seeing such things as are decreed in general councils, touch equally all men that give assent to them, it is meet that every man may boldly say there what he thinks. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a general council, where only those men are heard who are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the quarrel of the bishop of Rome, though it were against God and his scripture. It is no general council, neither ought it to be called general, where the same men are both advocates and adversaries, accusers and judges; no, it is against the law of nature, either that we should condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should suffer ourselves to be left without all defence, and being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succour ourselves at. The bishop of Rome and his are our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

"He desireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm; do not we then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honour, first gotten by superstition, after increased by violence, and other ways as evil as that; his power set up by pretence of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God; his primacy, born by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of scripture falsely understood; these three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realms shortly, shall they not be established again, if he may decide our cause as it pleases him? If he may at his pleasure oppress a cause most righteous? Certainly he is very blind that sees not what end we may look for of our controversies, if such our enemy may give the sentence.

"We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a council, where there would be some hope that those things shall be restored, which now, being depraved, are likely (if not amended) to be the utter ruin of the Christian religion. And as we do desire such a council, and think it meet that all men in all their prayers should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it appertains to our office, to provide that these popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects, and also to admonish other christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not by their consent abuse the authority of kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of scripture, (that now beginneth to spring, to grow, and spread abroad) or to the troubling of princes' liberties, to the diminishing of kings' authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely majesty. We doubt not but an impartial reader will soon approve such things as we here write, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the papists, and also how much we desire that controversies in matters of religion may once be taken away.

"What other princes will do we cannot tell; but we

will never leave our realm at this time; nor will we trust any proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our realm stands, but rather we will be at the handling thereof ourself. For except another judge be agreed upon for those matters, and a more commodious place be provided for the debating of our causes; although all other things were as we would have them, yet we may lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended council. We will in no case make him our arbitrer, who, not many years past, (our cause not heard,) gave sentence against us. We require that such doctrine, as we, following the scripture, profess, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning.

"We will not suffer them to be abolished before they are discussed, or oppressed before they are known; much less will we suffer them to be trodden down, being so clearly true. No, as there is no jot in Scripture but we will defend, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our realm; so there is nothing that oppresses this doctrine, or obscures it, but we will be at continual war with it. As we have abrogated all old popish traditions in this our realm, which either helped his tyranny, or increased his pride; so if the grace of God forsake us not, we will foresee that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent, to bind us or our health.

"If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see even by a due and evident proof in reason, though grace doth not yet by the word of Christ enter into them, how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place. For if the bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keep a council at Mantua, and hath power of the law by God to call princes to what place he liketh: why hath he not also authority to choose what place he listeth? The bishop chose Mantua: the duke kept him out of it. If Paul the bishop of Rome's authority be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel Frederick the duke of Mantua, that the council might be kept there? The duke would not suffer it. No, he forbade him his town.

"How chanceth it, that here excommunications flee not abroad? Why doth he not punish this duke? Why is his power that was wont to be more than full, here empty? Wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a council, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to the which he calleth them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other princes order him as the duke of Mantua had done, what place shall be left him, where he may keep his general council?

"Again, if princes have given him this authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without the which he cannot exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye hinder him to find a place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his own cities, a place to keep the council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly towards others, that seldom he desires princes to be his guests."

The protestation then concludes as follows:—

"Whether these our writings please all men or no, we think we ought not to pass much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by partial men shall not move us, or else very little. If we have said aught against the deceits of the bishop of Rome, that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices than with him and his; our prayer is, that it may please God at the last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting glory of the ever-living God.

"Thus, mighty emperor, fare you most heartily well, and you christian princes, the pillars and state of Christendom, fare you heartily well. Also all you, what people soever you are, who desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare you heartily well."

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel; so, on the contrary side, Satan had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to put back the same. Who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking under the name of heresies, sects, anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books, and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought upon the king, that the next year, which was A.D. 1539, he gave out these injunctions.

Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King, against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also, with putting down the Day of Thomas à Becket.

"First, that none, without special licence of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England any manner of English books; neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned, so long as it shall please the king's majesty.

"Also, that none shall print, or bring over any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books be before examined by the king's privy-council, or others appointed by his highness: and yet not without these words be put thereto, *Cum Privilegio Regali*, and also, *Ad imprimendum solum*. Neither yet to imprint it, without the king's privilege be printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated book, without the plain name of the translator be to it, unless the printer is to be made the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof at the king's pleasure.

"Also, that none of the occupation of printing shall within the realm print, utter, sell, or cause to be published any English book of scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king's highness, or one of his privy-council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall therein be expressed; upon pain of the king's most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

"Also, those who are in any error, as sacramentaries, anabaptists, or others, shall not sell any books having such opinions in them; otherwise on being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent to have them punished without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

"Also, that none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar; upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without any favour: only those excepted that be learned in divinity, and they to have such liberty only in their schools and other places appointed for such matters.

"Also, that the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter-day, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrysomes, keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the king to change or abrogate any of them. (This article was made because many of the people were not satisfied or contented with the ceremonies then used.)

"Finally, that all those priests that are married, and such of them as are openly known to have wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any of the duties of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity, in anything appertaining to the clergy; but from thenceforth shall be taken, had,

and reputed to be lay-persons, to all purposes and intents; and those that shall after this proclamation marry, shall expose themselves to his grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure.

"Also, he chargeth all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them in their own persons, within their cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God, and the truth of his word; and also considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and minds of many, by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them upon pain of imprisonment, at his grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly; but also sincerely and purely declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further suspicion.

"Also, forasmuch as it appears now clearly, that Thomas à Becket, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's noble progenitor King Henry II., for the well-being, rest, and tranquillity of this realm, did, of his froward mind, flee into France, and thence to the bishop of Rome, who was a maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm. His death they untruly call a martyrdom; but that happened upon a rescue having been attempted, and on which occasion (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen, who then counselled him to give up his stubbornness and to avoid the commotion of the people, who had risen up to attempt a rescue; and he not only called one of them by a bad name, but also took Tracey by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such a manner, that he had almost thrown him down on the pavement of the church; so that in this affray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that this canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome; because Becket had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and an encourager of the iniquity of the clergy.

"For these, and for other great and urgent causes, which it would be too tedious to recite, the king's majesty, by the advice of his council, had thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation, whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

"Therefore his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas à Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be pulled down and thrown out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days which were used to be a festival in his name, shall not be observed; neither shall the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers, be read in his name, but razed and put out of all their books; and that all the festival days, already abrogated, shall be in nowise solemnized, but his grace's ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past; upon pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisoment at his grace's pleasure.

Finally, his grace straightly charges and commands that his subjects keep and observe all and singular these injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained."

Here followeth how Religion began to go backward.

To many who are yet alive, and who can testify to these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometime to one, sometime to another; so one while it went forward, at another time as much backward again, and sometimes altered and changed for a season, according as those could prevail who were about the king. So long as Queen Anne lived, the gospel had success.

After, by sinister instigation of some about the king, she was made away with, the course of the gospel began again to decline; but the Lord then stirred up the lord Cromwell to help it, who no doubt would have done much for the increase of God's true religion, and had brought much more to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of which adversaries it came to pass that lord Cromwell was accused of high treason by the duke of Norfolk, in the king's name, and arrested and sent to the Tower. He was hated by the popish party, for it was through him that many of the most important reforms were made. A bill of attainder was passed against him in June, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, 28th July, 1540.

Among these adversaries, the chief was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, with his confederates and adherents, dissatisfied with the state of the lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, (who, in the beginning of the year 1540, was married to the king), as also grieved at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought all occasions to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose.

It happened that the lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion, had devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the lady Anne of Cleves, whose other sister was already married to the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance would be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in the way for the king to stumble upon. For when the parents of the noble lady were conferred with for the furtherance of the marriage, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, disliked the marriage. The crafty bishop of Winchester, taking advantage of this, so alienated the king's mind from the duke, that he brought the king at length out of credit with that religion and doctrine which the duke had maintained for many years before.

This wily Winchester, with his crafty assistants, and also by other pestilent persuasions, ceased not to seek all means to overthrow religion. First, bringing the king, in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scotland, and other foreign powers; but especially of civil tumults and commotions within his own kingdom; which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of these innovations of religion, and the dissolving of abbeys, and the abolishing of rites, and other customs of the church, which had so fast a hold on the minds of the people, that it was to be feared that their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were provided. The bishop exhorted the king for his own safeguard, and tranquillity of his realm, to see how and by what policy so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. He suggested that no other way or shift could be better devised, than to shew himself sharp and severe against the new sectaries, the anabaptists, and sacramentarians (as they called them); and that he should also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient catholic faith, as might recover his credit with christian princes, and that all the world might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. By these and such suggestions the king was too much led away; and he then began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing to procure to himself more safety in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers as might happen by other princes. And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind

opinion of the world then did esteem them) he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then he gave out those injunctions above prefixed, and now to increase this opinion with all men, in the year following, which was 1540, he summoned a parliament at Westminster, on the twenty-eighth day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

In this parliament, synod, or convocation, certain articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certain prelates, to the number of six, commonly called The Six Articles, to be received among the king's subjects for the purpose of unity. But what unity followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of many, both in the days of King Henry, and of Queen Mary, can so well declare, that as I pray God the like may never be felt hereafter.

The doctor of these wicked articles is worthy of no memory among christian men, but rather deserves to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet the office of history compels us, for the light of posterity, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well at one time as at another, this we shall do briefly, and recapitulate the sum of the six articles as they were given out

The First Article.

The first article agreed upon in this present parliament was this, that in the most blessed sacrament of the altar by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as conceived of the Virgin Mary, and after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

The Second Article

Secondly, that the communion in both kinds is not necessary for salvation to all persons by the law of God, and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh as well separate as they were both together.

The Third Article.

Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

The Fourth Article.

Fourthly, that the vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of christian people, which otherwise they might enjoy.

The Fifth Article.

Fifthly, that it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation, and in them good christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits, and it is agreeable also to God's law.

The Sixth Article

Sixthly, that auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained and continued in the church of God.

After these articles were concluded, the prelates perceiving that such a foul and violent act could not prevail, unless straight and bloody penalties were set upon them, caused to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament

"That if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance of Christ, God and man; or after the time abovesaid, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, That in the flesh, under the form of bread is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means abovesaid, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be any other substance than is abovesaid, or by any means contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament, that then every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form underwritten, by the authority abovesaid) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged as manifest heresy, and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered; and also should forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatever they were, through any such offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in any case of high treason."

And as to the other five articles, the penalty devised for them was this: "That every such person or persons that preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of July of the said year, any thing contrary to the same; or if any being inorders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing they should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in the case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary," &c.

Also, "That every such person or persons, who after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or otherwise, do publish, declare or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods, and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king's pleasure; and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted, should suffer as in the case aforesaid of felony."

Also, "If any within the order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved."

Also, "That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying wives, should also redound to women who are married to the priests"

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament, "That full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially appointed; that such persons, three at the least (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary be one) should sit four times at least in the year, having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their

sessions. And also that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power by the oaths of twelve lawful men to inquire likewise of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present act," &c.

"Provided that no person or persons thereupon accused, indited or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empanelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of felony, &c.

"Provided moreover, that every person that should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The Oath of the Commissioners.

"You shall swear, that you to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help and all saints."

And thus much is briefly collected out of the act and originals, which are to be seen in the *Stat. Anno* 31. *Reg. Hen.* 8. concerning the six articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called "The Whip with six strings," set forth after the death of queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by king Henry.

These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all scripture and learning; yet such was the miserable and unhappy state of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing that the king wished to have these articles passed, few in all that parliament would either appear to perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true; save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then being married (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the defence of that truth, which was so oppressed in the parliament, and for three days together continued disputing against these six wicked articles.

Cranmer behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience, towards his prince, and protesting that the cause was not his, but the cause of Almighty God, that his courage was not disliked of the king, and his reasons and allegations were so strong, that they could not well be refuted. The king, (who ever bare special favour to him) admired his zealous defence, and only desired him to depart out of the parliament house into the council chamber, for a time, (for safety of his conscience) till the act should pass; which Cranmer, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeal of the archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons by which he had confirmed the same; sent the lord Cromwell, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth: where they signified to him, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his highness' behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that in that parliament had declared himself, both greatly learned, and also a man discreetly wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

Cranmer most humbly thanked, first the king's highness for his singular good affection towards him, and then all of them for their pains; adding, moreover, that he hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities would be employed for the glory of God, and the advantage of the kingdom. Which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the six Articles.

In the meantime, forasmuch as these heretical articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction, and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our forefathers' days; I thought, therefore, (the Lord thereunto assisting) so much as antiquity of histories may help to the restoring again of the truth and doctrine which is now decayed, to annex some allegations out of ancient records, which may throw some light for understanding of these new-fangled articles and heresies.

And first, as to the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament enacts, that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the self same which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that there remains no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration, but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine: here it is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs was never obtruded, received, or held, either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, for a catholic article of doctrine, until the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent III., (A. D. 1215.)

And as it has been commonly understood by most people, that this article has ever been, since the time of Christ, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the scriptures and doctors, with the consent of all ages to this present time; therefore, that the contrary may appear, and that the people may see how far they have been beguiled, we will here make a little pause in our history, and examine this article.

This monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never received publicly in the church before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent III., A. D. 1215, or at most before the time of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 1070.

In the time of this Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come into controversy, and was reasoned upon, among certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or authorized in the church for a general law or catholic doctrine of all men, necessarily to be believed, before the time of Innocent III., may be proved to be false.

And though our adversaries allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes, as if this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this: yet if the old doctors' sayings be well weighed and examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation had no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any heresy or treason was made of denying of transubstantiation before the time of Innocent III., or at the farthest of Lanfranc.

But in our church of England it is most certain, that transubstantiation was unknown till a very late period, as is most evident from the epistles and homilies of Elfric. This Elfric was made archbishop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 996, in the time of king Ethelred II., and of Wulfsine, bishop of Sherborne.

Elfric was of such estimation in those days amongst the most learned, for his learning, authority, and eloquence, that his writings were accepted and authorized amongst the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear; for where the bishops

and priests before the coming of William the Conqueror had collected a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alcuin, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c.—among the canons and constitutions are placed two epistles of Elfric.

Besides this he translated two books containing eighty sermons out of the Latin into the Saxon language, which used then generally to be read in churches on Sundays and other festival days of the year.

An Epistle of Elfric to Wulfstane, touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"Christ himself blessed the eucharist before his suffering; he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, 'Take eat; this is my body.' And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and also said unto them, 'Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' The Lord who hallowed the eucharist before his suffering, and said, that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, hallows daily by the hands of the priests, bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. Yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor so that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily things; but in spiritual understanding. Both are truly; that bread is his body; and that wine also is his blood; as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed for forty years God's people in the wilderness. And the clear water which did then run from the Rock in the wilderness was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his epistles: All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink; they drank of that spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ. The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same spiritual meat; that they all did drink the same spritual drink. He saith not bodily, but spiritually; as Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat, and drink of that Rock. The Rock was not bodily Christ, though he said so. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they did spiritually signify that spiritual eucharist of our Saviour's body which we consecrate now."

Besides the epistles of Elfric, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was also made of certain sermons, to the number of eighty, translated by Elfric out of the Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue. Of which eighty sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, as homilies or treatises to the people.

There was one appointed to be read upon Easter day; which sermon being translated by Elfric, we have here exhibited it in English, that the christian reader may judge how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received nor known in the church of England.

The following are the words of this sermon for Easter-day, so far as relates to transubstantiation:—"He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, 'Take eat; this is my body: this do in remembrance of me.' Also he blessed the wine in a cup, and said, 'Drink ye all of it:' 'For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' The apostles did as Christ commanded, that is, they blessed bread and wine for the eucharist, and gave it to be received in remembrance of him. Even so also their successors, and all priests by Christ's commandment, do bless bread and wine for the eucharist in his name with the apostolic blessing. Now men have often searched, and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through the heat of fire baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned through one blessing into the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men, some things are spoken of Christ by signification, and some are things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a Virgin, and suffered of his own accord, and was buried, and on the third day arose from death. He is said to be bread by signification; and a lamb; and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angel's life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so notwithstanding after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy eucharist called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and wine which in the supper by the priest is hallowed, show one thing without to human understanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without, there is seen bread and wine both in figure and in taste; and they are truly after their hallowing Christ's body and blood, through spiritual mystery. An heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font sinful through Adam's disobedience, howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the well-spring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water through the priest's blessing, and it may after wash the body and soul from all sin, through spiritual might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature; after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after spiritual mystery, hath wholesome virtue. So also if we behold the holy eucharist, after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein spiritual might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy eucharist, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and is by might of God's word truly Christ's body and blood; not so notwithstanding bodily, but spiritually. Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body which is hallowed for the eucharist. The body truly that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary; with blood and with bone; with skin and with sinews; in human limbs; with a reasonable soul living; and his spiritual body, which we call the eucharist, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is spiritually to be understood. Whatsoever is in that eucharist, which giveth substance of life, that is of the spiritual might, and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy eucharist called a mystery, because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and that we do there understand hath spiritual might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and incorruptible. That eucharist is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and divided into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless after spiritual might it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet notwithstanding it is whole in every part after spiritual mystery. Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might notwithstanding in the most part, than in the less; because it is whole in all men after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically, until we come to the truth itself, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, as we before have said, Christ's body, and his blood; not bodily, but spiritually. But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. St. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithful men, 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual

meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: (for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ.)' Neither was that stone, then, from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it signified Christ, who called thus to all believing and faithful men: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink;" and "out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith, that the Israelites did eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink, because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the rock did flow, had signification of Christ's body, and his blood that is now offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but spiritually."

After the time of Elfric, transubstantiation began first to be talked of among a few superstitious monks; so that as blindness and superstition began to increase, this gross opinion more and more prevailed; and about the year 1060, the denying of transubstantiation began to be accounted heresy.

Berenger, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Anjou, of all christian men was the first called and accounted an heretic for denying of transubstantiation.

This Berenger lived about the year 1060. The substance of his history is this; that when Berenger had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in the open confession of it, according to the ancient doctrine received before in the church, he was so handled by superstitious monks, that, by evil entreaty, and for fear of death, he began to shrink and recant the truth. Of these malicious enemies against him, the chief troubler was Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and Hildebrand, afterwards bishop of Rome.

By these and other monks, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended. The first that began to set up that faction in writing seems to be Paschasius, who lived a little before Berenger, about the time of Bertramn; and Lanfranc was the first that brought it into England.

On the other hand, the first that was openly troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berenger; with whom Lanfranc was supposed at first to hold and take part, but afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against him in the council, and wrote against him.

It follows in the act of the council, when the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were assembled together, the greater number held that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Others there were who held the contrary with Berenger, but at last were driven to give over. Berenger, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last submitted to their wills, and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seems to William of Malmesbury) his first giving over. Afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, he was driven again to recognize the truth, which he had denied.

The pope, perceiving this, would not leave him so; but sent his cardinal chaplain, Hildebrand, into France, who so handled Berenger that he recanted again.

Again, Pope Nicholas II., congregating a council at Rome, (A. D. 1059,) sent for Berenger, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause; but all would not serve. Berenger being borne down on every side, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again, desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would have of him, besides that which he had confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lotharing, and afterwards a cardinal, that he should draw out in formal words the order of his recantation, which he should read and publicly profess before the people. The form of which words is registered in the decrees to the following effect:—"That he pretendeth with heart and mouth to profess, that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, doth execrate all heresy, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been defamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remain only a sacrament, and are not the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; neither can be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a sacrament: consenting now to the holy and apostolical church of Rome, he professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord Pope Nicholas, with his synod here present doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are the very true and self-same body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say to the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the canons," &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berenger, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the other party no little triumph.

Some time after this, Pope Hildebrand summoned a new council at Rome in the church of Lateran, to revive again the affair of Berenger, about the year, as some hold, 1079.

Thus Berenger, being tossed by these monks and pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side; that partly for worldly fear, restraining him on the one side; partly for shame and grief of conscience that he had now twice denied the truth; he (as is reported) forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.

The opinion which Berenger maintained, touching the sacrament (as by his own words in Lanfranc's book may appear) was this:—"The sacrifice of the church consisteth of two things: the one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the sacrament. Which thing (meaning the body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being lifted up into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, until the time of restitution of all things (as St. Peter saith) it cannot be called down from thence. For the person of Christ consists of God and man; the sacrament of the Lord's table, consists of bread and wine; which, being consecrated, are not changed; but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments," &c.

By these words of Berenger's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy scriptures, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church; that in the holy supper all faithful believers are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life.

The rude and mis-shapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as we have heard when and by whom it first began to be broached; so if we would now know by what learning and scripture they confirmed and established it, we must understand that their chief ground to persuade the people was at this time certain miracles forged by them and published both in their writings and preachings.

Many fabulous miracles are to be found in popish histories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names; some referred to Gregory; some to Paschasius, and others; to recite which would fill a whole volume full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented by Paschasius. There was a priest named Plegildus, who saw and handled with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar, and after he had embraced and kissed him, it returned again to the likeness of bread

When this miracle was objected against Berenger, he merrily deriding the fable answered, "A godly piece of a varlet, that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew-boy, who, upon entering the church with another lad who was his playfellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards in portions distributed among the people. When the young Jew coming home told this to his father, he was condemned to be burned.

Being inclosed in a house, and the door fast where he was to be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the christians, not only alive, but also not having one hair of his head hurt with the flames. Being asked by the christians how he was so preserved from the burning fire: "There appeared," said he, "to me a beautiful woman sitting in a chair, whose son the child was which was divided and distributed in the church among the people, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her gown kept the flame from me; so that I was preserved from perishing," &c.

And these were then commonly the arguments of the monks, wherewith they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return to Berenger. Malmesbury reports of him, that after he had once or twice recanted, yet this doctrine of the sacrament remained still in the minds of his hearers.

Although in the time of Berenger, which was about A.D. 1060, this error of transubstantiation began to grow in strength, by the support of certain monks; as Lanfranc, Guimund, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert (of whom it is said in histories, that, when he was sick, our Lady gave him suck with her own breasts), and others; yet all the while transubstantiation was not decreed for public law, or doctrine to be held by any general consent, either by the church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III., who, A.D. 1215, made the decree, as follows:—

"There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved; in the which church the self-same Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God. So that to the accomplishing of this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a priest lawfully ordained, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his apostles, and to their successors," &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of transubstantiation, and the doctrine intruded for an article of faith into the church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of heresy!

But yet all the while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood; yet this body was not elevated over the priest's head; nor adored by the people till the days of Pope Honorius III., who, by his council, commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation, as one idolatry commonly brings forth another.

Again, the sacraments of the Lord's Supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead; nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory; nor for a merit *operis operati, sive bono motu utentis*, &c., before other popes, coming afterwards, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus we have the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass, which first began with consecration. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent; and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and last of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato!*

Which things being thus constituted by the usurped authority of the church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the christians; first beginning with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, about the time of Pope Innocent.

The second Article

As to the second article, which debars from the laypeople one-half of the sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained (as the world well knows that this article is but young invented, decreed, and concluded no longer since, than at the council of Constance, A.D. 1414,) I shall not need to dwell long upon the matter; especially as sufficient has been said before in our discourse on the Bohemian history.

First, let us see the reasons of the adversaries in restraining the laity from the cup of this sacrament.

When they allege the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread, &c. citing, moreover, many other places of scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread; we answer, although we do not utterly deny but that some of these places may be understood of the sacrament: yet that being granted, it follows not that only one part of the sacrament was ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither does it follow that because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed to them. For we find by the words of St. Paul, (1 Cor. xi. 26), that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate not only in breaking of bread, but in participating of the cup also.

It can be proved and demonstrated that this new-found custom differs from all antiquity and prescription of use and time; and even although the custom were ancient, yet no custom may countermand the open and express commandment of God, which saith to all men, "Drink ye all of this," &c.

Again, seeing the cup is called the blood of the New Testament, who is he that dare or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of scripture before alleged, of breaking of bread, whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: in answer we say, first, it may be doubted whether all those places in scripture are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, admitting the same, yet they cannot infer, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, "Deal thy bread to the hungry," do signify as well giving drink as bread, &c. And thirdly, however these places be taken, yet it makes little for them, but rather against them. For if the sacrament were administered "in breaking of *bread*," then they must needs grant, that if bread was there broken, there was *bread*; forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken; neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any breaking by the scripture, which saith, "a bone of him shall not be broken." &c.

They object further and say, that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer. The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. He divided the bread severally from the cup, and afterwards the cup severally from the bread. This he did to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the end of the world. And

besides this example, he added an express commandment, "Do this," and "Drink ye all of this," &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church nor council of men, nor angel in heaven has any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned, "If any preach unto you any other gospel besides that ye have received, let him be accursed," &c.

Among other objections, they allege certain perils as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking upon men's beards, &c. For which they say it is well provided that the half communion shall suffice.

To this it is soon answered, that as these causes were no hindrance to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church; but that in the public assemblies they received all the whole communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither are these causes so important now, to annul and make void the necessary commandment of the gospel; if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices; to strain at gnats; to stumble at straws; and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are growing in our own fantasies, than there where they are sought.

The Third Article.

Private masses, trental masses, and dirge masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, so they are against our christian doctrine. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied to men for meriting of grace, *ex opere operato*, in which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up as a sacrifice for remission of sins *(à pœna et culpa)*, for the quick and the dead. This definition agrees not with the rules of christian doctrine.

1. The first rule is, sacraments are instituted for some end and use, out of which use they are no sacraments. As the sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins to the person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and shewed to others, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

2. A sacrament or ceremony profits them only who take and use them.

3. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his sacrifice upon the cross is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation of his soul. Besides this, to apply any action or work of priest, or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducible to salvation, or to remission of sins, is derogatory to the covenant of God, and prejudicial to the blood of Christ.

4. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, is idolatry.

5. Every good work that a man does profits only himself, and cannot be applied to other men.

6. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.

7. The passion of Christ once done, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; by the virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind for ever. Amen.

8. The passion of Christ once done, is the only object of that faith of ours which justifies us. And therefore whoever sets up any other object, beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teaches damnable doctrine, and leads to idolatry.

Against all these rules private mass is directly opposed. For, beside that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ (which divided the bread and cup to them all) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use to which it was ordained. For whereas that sacrament is instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transfers it to another purpose; either to make of it a gazing idol; or a work of application meritorious; or a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins; or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass suffers the priest alone to eat and drink up all, and when he has done, to bless the people with the empty cup.

2. Whereas sacraments properly profit none but them that use them; in the private mass the sacrament is received in the behalf not only of him that receives it, but of them also who are far off, or the dead in purgatory.

3. When nothing is to be applied for remission of sins, but only the death of Christ, the private mass comes in as a meritorious work done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available *ex opere operato*, both to him that does it, and to them for whom it is done.

4. Private masses and all other masses now used of the sacrament make an idol; of commemoration make adoration; instead of a receiving, make a deceiving; in place of shewing forth Christ's death make new oblations of his death, and of a communion make a single supping, &c.

5. Whereas in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest in his private mass takes upon him to merit both for himself, and for many others.

6. It stands against scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by faith. Wherefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, by the mere act of its being offered.

7. Whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying stands by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; the application of these popish masses stops the freeness of God's grace, and makes that this benefit first comes through the priest's hands to us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the scripture saith, *Unica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum*, "With one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified;" the private mass proceeds in a contrary doctrine; makes of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished now to be done again; and finally, that which was instituted only for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once offered, the popish mass maketh an oblation and a new satisfaction daily to be offered for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, both the private and public masses of priests turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ crucified, to the body of Christ in their masses. And where God annexes the promise of justification but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission from both the guilt and punishment of sin, to their masses by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions, which spring of their private and public masses.

The Fourth and Fifth Articles,—of Vows and Priests' Marriage.

As we have discoursed before of the antiquity of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now coming to the article of vows, and of priests' marriage, the reader will wish to be satisfied in this likewise, and to be certified from what time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued. For the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the recitation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what more is to be added. And that the world may see the law and decree of priests' single life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing in this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege the words of Henry Huntington, here following:

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm,

the archbishop of Canteroury, held a synod at London; in which synod he prohibited priests here in England to have wives, which they were not prohibited before to have. Which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others, again, it seemed very dangerous, lest, while men should seem to take upon them such celibacy more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of the christian profession," &c.

I deny not that before the time of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, in the days of king Edgar, (A. D. 963,) as they were all monks themselves, so were they great opposers of the marriage of priests. Yet the priests who were then married, were not constrained to leave their wives, or their preferments, but only at their own choice. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriages, was never publicly established for a law here in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, (in the days of William Rufus, and king Henry I.) who wrote in these words: "Boldly I command by the authority which I have by my archbishoprick, not only within my archbishoprick, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was about the same time, when Hildebrand, at Rome, began the same matter; and others, till Calistus II.; by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought to full perfection, and so has continued ever since.

It were tedious to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, who have been married since that time; but as to the time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, it is to be noted that in the year of our Saviour, 1076, when pope Hildebrand occupied the papal chair, this oath first began to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same. This was, as I said, about the year 1076. Whereby the prophesy of St. Paul appears truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) where he writes in these words: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth."

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; First, the matter which he prophesieth of; that is, the forbidding of marriage; and forbidding of meats, which God generally has left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy, is the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurs right well with these years of pope Hildebrand, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul thus standing, as it does, firm and certain, that is, the forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs follow, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life,—than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests. Which may soon be proved to be true.

1. For, at the council of Nice, it is notorious that this devilish law for restraining marriage was stopped by Paphnutius.

2. Before this council of Nice, in the year 197, we read of Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who dissenting from pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, alleges for himself that his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that seat, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same; using this his descent from his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

3. Pope Sericius, about the year of our Lord 390, wrote to the priests of Spain about the matter of putting their wives from them, if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who answering to Sericius, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Sericius replied again, (if his writing is not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and for the defence of his cause, alleging this sentence of St. Paul, "If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die," &c. Whereby may appear not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the scriptures, who shewed themselves so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

4. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer we come to the ancient and primitive time of the church, the less ancient shall we find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst christian ministers; beginning even with the apostles, who, although they were not all married, yet many of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives; witness St. Paul, where he writes of himself; "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as also the other apostles have?" Whereby it is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did.

It can be sufficiently proved, and indeed is admitted, that the deprivation of priests' lawful marriage did not enter into the church, either Greek or Latin, at least it took no full possession, before pope Hildebrand's time, 1075; and especially pope Calistus' time, 1120; these were the first open objectors to priests' marriages.

Aventine, a faithful writer of his time, concerning the council of Hildebrand, has these words; "In those days priests commonly had wives, as other christian men had, and had children also; as may appear by ancient instruments and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses: In which instruments both the priests, and their wives also with them, (which there be called Presbyterissæ), I find alleged as witnesses." It happened moreover at the same time, (saith Aventine,) "that the emperor had the investing of divers archbishopricks, bishopricks, abbeys, and nunneries within his dominions. Pope Hildebrand disdaining both these sorts, that is, both them that were invested by the emperor, and also all those priests that had wives, provided so in his council at Rome, that they who were promoted by the emperor to livings of the church, were accounted to come in by simony; the others, who were married priests, were counted for Nicholaitans. Whereupon pope Hildebrand, in writing to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates, namely, to Berthold Zaringer, to Rodulph of Suevia, to Welphon of Bavaria, to Adalberon, and to their ladies, and to divers others to whom he thought good; also to bishops, namely, to Otto, bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people,—willed them in his letters to refuse and to keep no company with those simoniacs, and those Nicholaitan priests (for so they were termed then), who had either any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or who had wives; to avoid their masses; neither to talk; nor to eat or drink with them; nor once to speak to them; nor to salute them; but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, even as they would eschew the plague or pestilence.

"By this there ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ: For the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy. Briefly, all fell into confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister, and to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people contemned the priests who had married wives, despised their religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been with holy water. Also such was the mischief, that they

would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: For so had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no priests, neither were they sacraments which they consecrated. So that by this occasion many false prophets arose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, wresting the scriptures as best served their own purposes."

To this testimony of Aventinus, above mentioned, we will also add the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testify that in the time of the emperor Henry IV. (A. D. 1057,) the number of twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, as well as the clergy also of their dioceses.

Of these Spanish bishops we read also in Isidore (who died about A.D. 636), in his book, *De Clericorum Vita*, that they ought either to lead an honest, chaste life; or else to have kept themselves within the bands of matrimony, &c. By this it is evident that the single life of priests was either then voluntary, or else that their marriage was not then restrained by any law.

Thus, if either the voice of scripture might have weight with these men; or if the examples of the apostles might move them (whom St. Ambrose witnesses to have been all married, except only St. Paul and St. John); or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them; it may be here stated:

That Tertullian was a married priest, as witnesses Jerome.

Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had a wife and children.

Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, was also married.

Gregory, bishop of Nyssa; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzem; Prosper, bishop of Rhegium; Cheremon, bishop of Nilus. All these were married bishops; and also Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops.

Epiphanius, bishop of Constanti ople in the time of Justinian, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors had been married priests and bishops.

Jerome saith, that in his time many priests were married men.

Pope Damasus recites a great number of bishops, or popes of Rome, who were priests' sons, during the first ten centuries after Christ: as, Felix III.; Gelasius I.; Boniface; Agapetus; Silverius; Theodorus, whose father was bishop of Jerusalem; Adrian II.; John X. John XV.

And besides these bishops of Rome, many other bishops and priests in other countries might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure was such as to admit our making a roll of them all.

The law forbidding priests to marry was never generally received in the church of Rome until the time of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), that is, since A.D. 1073.

This pope Hildebrand was, of all others, the chief and principal enemy against the marriage of priests. For whereas all other approved canons and councils only enacted, that any clergyman, having a wife before his entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so that he married not a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or were twice married: now comes in pope Hildebrand, making the marriage of priests to be heresy, and further enacting, "That whatever clerk, deacon, or minister had a wife, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his ministry," &c.

And thus much for the antiquity and the bringing in of the celibacy of the priests. It first began, about the time of pope Nicholas 1058, and Alexander II. 1061, to be a custom; and afterwards it was made into a law by pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other countries, and at length also into England.

Whilst pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, in introducing that practice, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury was likewise engaged in bringing about the same matter in England, although he did not begin altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did, as it appears by his council held at Winchester: where, though he prohibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet he did permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, and had wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separated from them; and that they who had none, should be prohibited from marrying; enjoining moreover the bishops to take care hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into order any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession not to marry.

Then after Lanfranc succeeded Anselm in the see of Canterbury, who fiercely and eagerly laboured in this matter, abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the clergy generally; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great penalties, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also, (which is against the council of Lateran,) who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual celibacy.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the priests did not give much heed to these unlawful injunctions, but still kept their wives almost for two hundred years after, refusing and resisting for a long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising; as may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaks, in writing to Anselm, in these words:

"I much desire the purity of my clergymen: yet, except it be in a very few, I find in them the deafness of the adder, and the inconstancy of Proteus. With their stinging tongues they cast out sometimes threats, somewhile taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that are further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they who are of mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and prebendaries of mine own see, contemn our canons, and argue like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries, who irregularly have been taken into orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make profession to me. And they that are priests or deacons, having before openly married wives or concubines, will not be removed from them by any admonition from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive orders, they obstinately deny to profess celibacy in their ordering," &c.

Thus, for all this rigorous austerity, Anselm, was unable to enforce his decree made at London, against the marriage of priests; nor had the same monk greater success, either in his life time, or after his death. For although sundry priests, during his life-time, were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many refused to obey him.

Many were contented rather to leave their benefices than their wives. A great number were permitted by king Henry VIII. for money to enjoy their wives; but this became so chargeable unto them, (saith Edmer, in his fourth book,) that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king's palace, crying to him for mercy; and especially making their suit to the queen, who, though moved with compassion towards them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

It is therefore evident, that this violent restraint of the lawful marriage of priests, within this realm of England, is of no such antiquity as hath been thought by many ignorant of the course of history. A brief summary will enable the reader to comprehend the whole matter.

First, about the year 946, the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage, began to come into practice in England by reason of St. Benet's monks, who then began to increase very much about the time of king Edgar, and especially by means of Oswald, bishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester; so that in divers cathedral

churches and bishops' sees, monks with their professed singleness of life crept in, and married ministers (who were then called secular priests) with their wives, were dispossessed out of sundry churches, not from their wives only, but from their places also; and yet not in all churches, but only in those which have been mentioned.

Not long after that, about the time of pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1060, of Alexander II. and Hildebrand, there came into the see of Canterbury another monk called Lanfranc, who also, being a promoter of this professed celibacy, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries of any churches who were married should be displaced; yet that the priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they wished to do so; and last of all followed the monk Anselm, A.D. 1106, who made the laws which we have stated before.

I shall now conclude my observations on these articles with some remarks on the sixth article, touching auricular confession:—

Of confession three things we find expressed and approved in the scriptures. The first is our confession privately and publicly made to God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive," &c.

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession also has place when any thing is committed, which gives a public offence and slander to the church of God.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when we have injured our brother. Whereof the gospel speaks, "Go and reconcile thyself first to thy brother," &c. Also St. James says, "Confess your faults one to another," &c. Or else this confession may also have place, when any thing lies on our conscience, in which we need the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But we must use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition. First, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we are not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we bind not ourselves to any one person more than to another, but that we use our free choice, whom we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But as there is nothing in the church so good which through superstition may not be perverted; so this confession also has not lacked abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it has been counted insufficient; so has it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation has been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else has been bought off for money. The secret opening of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, has been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for absolving of his sins.

Now, after having discussed these matters which refer to the six wicked articles, it follows next, in returning to the order of our history, to declare those events which ensued after the setting out of these articles. This brings us to the time and history of the lord Cromwell, a man whose great fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.

Thomas Cromwell, although born of a simple parentage, and of an obscure house, through the singular excellency of wisdom, united with industry of mind, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority. By steps of office and honour, he ascended, at length, that not only he was made earl of Essex, but also secret counsellor to King Henry VIII., and vicegerent to his person.

In the simple estate and beginnings of this man, we may learn that the excellency of noble virtues and heroic prowess which advance to fame and honour, stand not merely upon birth and blood, but proceed from the gift of God, who "raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill; that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people."

Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was, at the beginning, a great hindrance for virtue to shew herself, yet such was the activity and ripeness of nature in him; so full and ready in wit; in judgment, discreet; in tongue, eloquent; in service, faithful; in spirit, courageous; in his pen, active; that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long neglected; nor yet be unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was there any place or office for which he was not qualified. Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass; neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatever he had attained; which well appears in his repeating the whole text of the New Testament, as translated by Erasmus, without any book, in his journey in going and coming from Rome.

Thus in his growing years, as he increased in age and ripeness, he derived a delight in visiting foreign countries, that he might see the world, and to learn experience. In this manner he learned such tongues and languages as might the better serve for his use hereafter.

He spent his youth at Antwerp, in the situation of secretary, or in some such condition, to the English merchants.

It happened then that the town of Boston thought good to send to Rome, to renew their two pardons; one called the great pardon, the other the lesser pardon; which although it should stand them in great expenses of money, (for the pope's merchandise is always dear ware,) yet they had felt such sweetness thereof, that they like good catholic merchants, and the pope's good customers, thought to spare no cost, to have their pardons renewed. Yet all this was good religion then; such was the lamentable blindness of that time!

It being thus determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston, to have their pardons renewed from Rome, one Geoffrey Chambers, with another, was sent, well supplied with writings and money, and with all other things considered necessary for so chargeable and costly an exploit; who, coming in his journey to Antwerp, conferred and persuaded with Thomas Cromwell to associate himself in that legation, and to assist in the contriving of it. Cromwell, having some skill of the Italian language, and as yet not grounded in religion in those his youthful days, was content to undertake the adventure, and took his journey to Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money, and perceiving that the pope must be served with some present or other, (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome,) began to think with himself, what to devise wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

At length having knowledge how that the pope greatly delighted in new fangled delicacies, and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best English fashion, which to them of Rome was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell observing his time, as the pope had returned to his pavilion from hunting, approached with his English presents brought in with a song in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty handed, desired them to be called in. Cromwell there shewing his obedience, and offering his junkets, such as kings and princes only, said he, in the realm of England use to feed upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors to his holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded, by and by, his cardinal to try them, who in tasting liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that knowing what their suits were, and requiring them to make known the way for making that meat, he, without any more ado, sealed both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the pardons of the town of Boston obtained. The copy of which pardons (which I have in my hands) comes to this effect: That all the brethren and sisters of the guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, should have free licence to choose for their confessor or spiritual father whom they would, either secular priest, or religious person, to assoil them plenarily from all their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

Also that they should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say mass, or other divine service where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day; yea, and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time.

Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, which should resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in the octaves of them; the feast of St. Michael; and first sunday in Lent; should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

Provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, at his first entrance should give to the support of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a grammar school, six shillings and eight-pence; and for every year after twelve-pence.

And these premises being before granted by pope Innocent, and pope Julius II., these pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other hindrance, could not resort personally to the chapel, yet he should be dispensed with, as well for that as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella excepted, &c.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission *a pœna et culpa*, once in their life; or in the hour of death.

Also, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered: and also being departed, that they might be buried with christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his grant to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady, and giving support to the chapel, at every such school festival day to have full remission of their sins. Or, if they could not be present at the chapel, yet if they came to their own parish church, and there said one Pater-noster, and an Ave Maria, they should enjoy the same remission; or whoever came every Friday to the same chapel, should have as much remission, as if he went to the chapel of our Lady, called, "the Ladder of Heaven."

Furthermore, that whatsoever christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

Also, to all brothers and sisters of the guild was granted free liberty to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their spiritual father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

Also, that all partakers of the guild, who, once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the chapel in St. Botolph's church, or in any other chapel, shall say a Pater-noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or shall say or cause to be said masses for souls departed in purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to them who visit the chapel of "The Ladder of Heaven," or of St. John Lateran, but also the souls in purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their pains.

Also, that all the souls departed of the brothers and sisters of the guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, almoses, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant for ever, &c.

These indulgences, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by Nicholas V. Pius II. Sixtus IV. and Julius II.; of which Julius II. it seems that Cromwell obtained this pardon about the year 1510; which pardon afterwards, through the request of king Henry VIII. in 1526, was confirmed by pope Clement VII. And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by the means of Thomas Cromwell.

All this while it appears, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont ofttimes to declare to Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geoffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston every where in churches as he went; and so continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament translated by Erasmus in his going and returning from Rome, he began to be touched and called to a better understanding.

In the meantime cardinal Thomas Wolsey began to bear a great name in England, and to rule almost all under the king, or rather with the king.

In his establishment Thomas Cromwell was advanced, and there was about the same time in the household of the cardinal, Thomas More, afterwards knight and chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of the same standing; their ages were also not greatly discrepant; nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancement greatly different. And though in More and in Gardiner there was more skill of learning, yet there was in this man a more heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, equal eloquence, and more heroical and princely disposition.

It happened that Cromwell was solicitor to the cardinal, who had then in hand the building of certain colleges in Oxford now called Christ's church. By reason whereof certain small monasteries and priories were suppressed, and the lands seized into the cardinal's hands. The doing of this was committed to Thomas Cromwell, who shewed himself so very forward and industrious, that he procured to himself much grudge with the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set to work by the cardinal to suppress religious houses; which was about the year 1525.

After the fall of Wolsey, Cromwell was for a time in disgrace with the king, but finding that none could so well serve him against the pope, he sent for him, willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

Cromwell being informed that the king wished to talk with him, and thereupon providing before hand for the interview, he had in readiness a copy of the oath, which the bishops use to make to the pope at their consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster, which was about A.D. 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance to the king, made his declaration in all points; especially making manifest to his highness that his authority was abused in his own kingdom by the pope and his clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn anew to the pope; so that he was but half a king, and they but half his subjects, in his own land: which, said he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Declaring thereupon in what manner his majesty might accumulate to him-

self great riches, so much as all the clergy in his realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could give any evidence for that which he spake. All this, he said, he could establish; and that he had the copy of the oath to the pope there present to shew; and that no less also he could prove, if his highness would give him leave; and therewith shewed the bishops' oath to the king, and also their oath to the pope.

The king, following the spirit of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first admitting him his service, sent him to the convocation house among the bishops. Cromwell, having the authority of the king, boldly went into the clergy house; and there placing himself among the bishops (William Warham being then archbishop) began to make his oration; declaring to them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen to the public laws, which were necessary to provide for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, and falling under the law of præmunire, in that they had not only consented to the power legatine of the cardinal, but also in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatever livings they had. The bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had shewed to them the very copy of the oath which they had made to the pope at their consecration; the matter was thus so plain that they could not deny it; and they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, and desiring time to pause upon the matter. The end of it was, that to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, they had to pay to the king no less a sum than one hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds, (A.D. 1531.)

After this, A.D. 1532, Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favour with the king, was made knight and master of the king's jewel-house; and shortly after was admitted also into the king's council, which was about the coming in of queen Anne Boleyn. Within two years after the same, (A.D. 1534,) he was made master of the Rolls, Dr. Tailor being discharged.

Cromwell increasing in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1537, a little before the birth of king Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England. Besides all which honours, he was constituted also vicegerent to the king, representing his person. Which office, although it stands well by the law, yet seldom has there been seen in it any besides this Cromwell.

Now somewhat should be said of the noble acts, the memorable examples and worthy virtues that were in him. Among which his worthy acts and manifold virtues, in this one thing above all others rises his commendation for his singular zeal and labour in restoring the church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist, the abbeys, I mean, and religious houses of the friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length all the abbeys in England, both great and small were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. These acts of his, as they may give a precedent of singular zeal to all christian realms, which no prince yet to this day dare follow; so to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit, as the fruit yet remains, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it.

But here I must answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen. For so I hear of many who speak of the subversion of these monasteries, as evil and wicked. The buildings, say they, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning; the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poor, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither do I deny but that these things are well spoken, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider a more secret meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush appears to all men.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all vice, which were found out by the king's visitors, and in their registers recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that it is no marvel if God's vengeance from heaven would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be left.

Whosoever finds himself aggrieved with Cromwell's suppressing these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider, First, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men, whom we shall find in rebellion against the religion of Christ; pernicious to our salvation; derogatory to Christ's glory; and full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him well consider the horrible and execrable lives of the cloisterers, as appears in the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in the time of king Henry VIII.; which cannot here be spoken of, unless we speak as Matthew Paris speaks of the court of Rome, "Whose filthy stink," saith he, "did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even to the clouds of heaven," &c.

Then all things being considered, what marvel is it, if God in his just judgment did set up lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as to the dispersing of their lands and possessions, if it was agreeable to the king, to bestow these abbey lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, or to restore them again to them from whom they came, or otherwise to gratify his nobility; what was that to Cromwell? But, you say, they might have been much better employed to other more useful purposes. To this I answer, that in such a kingdom as this, where laws and parliaments are very much subject to the disposition of the prince; and where it is not certain always what princes may come; the surest way to get rid of monkery and popery was to pack it out of the realm; or at once to do with their houses and possessions as king Henry then did. For otherwise, who cannot see that in queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had not been otherwise disposed of into the hands of such as they were, that then many of them had been restored and replenished again with monks and friars? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility were scarce able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeys, which had been distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary,—who sought again to build the walls of Jericho,—what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlikely, but that God's heavenly providence did foresee and dispose these things before, in the destruction of these abbeys. Or, otherwise we might have had such numerous swarms of friars and monks in their nests again before this day in England, as that ten Cromwells afterwards could not have unhoused them.

After the power and authority of the bishop of Rome was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion either to restore it again, or at least to keep upright the things which remained. It happened, that after the abolishing of the authority of the pope that certain tumults began about religion; when it seemed good to king Henry that an assembly of learned men and bishops should be appointed, who should soberly and modestly consider and determine those things which pertained to religion. All the learned men, but especially the bishops, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong, having assembled, Cromwell purposed also to be present himself at this convocation, and meeting by chance with Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, brought him with him to the convocation house, where all the bishops were assembled together, (A. D. 1537.) The bishops and prelates, who were waiting for the coming of Cromwell, as he came in, rose up and did obeisance to him as to their vicar-general;

and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sate down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and after him every bishop in his order, and doctors. First over against him sate the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York; the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king, (whose secret councillor he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm) spake these words as follows:—

"Right reverend fathers in Christ: The king's majesty gives you high thanks that you have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And you are not ignorant that you are called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time are moved concerning the christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studies day and night to promote quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies are fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and his whole parliament. For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe, and he himself by his excellent learning knows these controversies well enough; yet he will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and his whole parliament. By which you may perceive his high wisdom, and also his great love towards you. And he desires you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, you will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves of the controversies moved in the church, and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without any brawling or scolding; neither will his majesty suffer the scriptures to be wrested and defaced by any glosses; any papistical laws; or by any authority of doctors or councils; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the scriptures, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as you were wont to do. You know well enough that you are bound to shew this service to Christ, and to his church, and yet his majesty will give you high thanks, if you will establish and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and means, if you will determine all things by the scriptures, as God commands you in Deuteronomy; which thing his majesty exhorts and desires you to do."

When Cromwell had finished his speech, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks to the king's majesty, not only for his great zeal towards the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, so worthy of a christian prince.

Then they immediately commenced the disputation; when Stokesley, bishop of London, the first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities,) endeavoured out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church; the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich, also favoured his part. On the contrary part, was the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

After much communication on both sides, and after a long controversy about the testimony of the doctors, who, as it seemed to them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury, at last, spoke as follows:

"It becomes not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them who should seek the glory of Christ; and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There are weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel; of the manner and way how sins are forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God; seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Also, which are the good works, and the true service and honour which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which have not the word of God to confirm them; whether these, I say, are right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man, or not? Also, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, bind men's consciences, or not? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such others (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or not?

"These are no light matters, but even the principal points of our christian religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' And St. Paul, writing unto Timothy, commands bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which are profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and admonishes him especially, that he should resist with the scriptures, when any man disputes with him of the faith; and he adds a cause where he says, 'Doing this thou shalt save both thyself, and them who hear thee.' Now, if you will follow these counsellors, Christ and St. Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and you must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the scriptures. Wherefore in this disputation we must first agree on the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament signifies by the holy scriptures; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, we must decide what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples' feet and other things, sacraments, which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his speech, Cromwell commanded Alesse, who stood by, to give his mind and opinion, declaring first to the bishops that he was the king's scholar, and therefore desired them to hear him.

Alesse, after he had first done his obeisance to the lord Cromwell, and to the other prelates of the church, then spoke as follows:

"Right honourable and noble lord; and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church; although I come unprepared to this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, who promises to give both mouth and wisdom to us when we are questioned of our faith, I will utter my judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that you should first agree on the signification of a sacrament, and whether you will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted of Christ in the gospel, or merely to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel, and of godliness (as St. Paul names remission of sins to be); or whether you mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token, or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For according to this latter signification, I will not object to grant to you that there are seven sacraments, and more too, if you will. But yet St. Paul seems to describe a sacrament after the just signification, where he saith, "That circumcision is a seal of the righteousness of faith." This definition of one parti-

cular sacrament must be understood to appertain to all sacraments generally; for the Jews had but one sacrament only. And he describes baptism after the same manner, in Ephesians v. 26, 'That Christ might sanctify the church, and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' For here also he adds the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ also requires faith where he says, 'Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved.'

"And St. Augustine describes a sacrament thus:—'The word of God coming into the element maketh the sacrament.' And in another place he says, 'A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.' And the 'Master of the Sentences' doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: 'A sacrament,' says he, 'is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form; and by this invisible grace I mean remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denies that any man has authority to institute a sacrament. Now if you agree to this definition of a sacrament, it is an easy thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and are instituted by Christ, to signify unto us the remission of our sins."

When Alesse had concluded, after a learned account of the judgment of St. Augustine, the bishop of London, who could scarcely refrain himself all the while, broke out in this manner: "First of all," said he, "where you allege, that all the sacraments which are in the church were instituted by Christ himself, and have either some manifest ground in the scriptures, or ought to shew some signification of remission of sin, it is false, and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesse, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford (who had then lately returned from Germany, where he had been ambassador from the king to the protestants), being moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alesse, desired him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen; forasmuch as they do not all agree; neither are they steadfast among themselves in all points; but vary; and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established. Furthermore, we are commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the scriptures. This he spoke to Alesse. Then turning himself to the bishops, he likewise admonished them in a grave speech, as follows:—

"Think you," said he, "that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man sees? Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay-people do now know the holy scriptures much better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that has been hitherto. Wherefore you must consider earnestly what you will determine in these controversies, that you make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world; and that you bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think that you have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall you lose all your estimation and authority with them, who before took you for learned men and profitable members to the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you hope for, that there was never a heresy in the church so great, but that process of time with the power and authority of the pope, has quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But you must change your opinion, and think, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true; but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood. Truth is the daughter of Time, and Time is the mother of Truth. And whoever is besieged by truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth stands, that ought not to be thought transitory; or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority. For the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defeated with words, nor be overcome by any strength; but after she has hidden herself for a long time, at length she puts up her head and appears, as it is written in Esdras, 'A king is strong; wine is strong; yet women are more strong; but truth excelleth all.'" 1 Esdras iv.

To this effect, and much more, did he speak and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Through whose speech Alesse, being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the bishop with arguments.

When he had spoken, the bishop of London interrupted him, and said, "Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God; yet you are deceived if you think that there is no other word of God. And if you think that nothing pertains to the christian faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then you err plainly with the Lutherans; for St. John saith, 'that Jesus did many things which are not written.' John xxi. 25. And St. Paul commands the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover, he himself did preach not the scriptures only, but even also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils, which, although they are not written in the Bible, yet we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles; and that they are of like authority with the scriptures; and finally, that they may worthily be called the unwritten word of God."

Now, when the lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who defended the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one to another, as they saw him fly off, even in the very beginning of the disputation, to his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesse would have proceeded further to have confuted these sophistries, but the lord Cromwell bade him be content; and so he made an end with this protestation. "Right reverend bishop, you deny that our christian faith and religion leans only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible: which, if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there are no sacraments but those that have the word of God to confirm them." To this he consented, and then immediately the assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next day, when the bishops had met, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his archdeacon, and commanded Alesse to abstain from any further disputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterwards shewed the same unto the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the discussions were brought to this end; that although religion could not then wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this Cromwell was in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care how to advance the right knowledge of the gospel, and to reform the house of God. He caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's prayer and in the apostles' creed in English. He also procured the scriptures to be translated and set forth in the same language, so that they might be read and understood by every Englishman: after that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the grossest places of pilgrimage to be destroyed. And further, for the benefit of the poorer sort, who get their living by their dailly abour, and by the work of their hands, he provided that various idle holydays should be abolished. He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. It was by him also provided, for the better instruction of

the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, to teach and to keep hospitality; as well as many other regulations for the reformation of religion: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of christian doctrine, which were set forth, by his means, in the king's name, may more abundantly appear.

It would require a long discourse to add his private benefits in helping good men and women out of troubles and great distresses; his whole life was full of such examples, being a man ordained of God to do many men good; and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake.

It were long to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy counsellor wrought and brought to pass in the realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established; what wickedness he suppressed; what corruptions he reformed; what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings; what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the church. What will posterity think of the church of the pope, which, for so many years, abused the people's eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rood of Grace) in which were one hundred wires to make the image goggle with the eyes; to nod with the head; to hang the lip; to move and shake his jaws, according to the value of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver he would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then would his jaws go merrily! Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused; their souls seduced; their senses beguiled; and their purses spoiled; until this idolatrous forgery was disclosed by Cromwell's means, and the image, with all its machinery, openly exhibited at St. Paul's cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The same was done with the blood of Hales, which, in the same way, was brought by Cromwell to St. Paul's cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck!

What shall I speak of Darvel Gartheren; of the Rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket; our Lady of Walsingham; with an infinite multitude of the same kind? All which stocke and blocks of cursed idolatry Cromwell removed out of the way of the people, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it does to all good men, that where any virtue appears, there envy creeps in, and where true piety seeks most after Christ, there some persecution follows.

This, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, and helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies was continually employed in hunting out for matter against him, and in this they never ceased, till in the end, by false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favour.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchestar; who, ever envying the state and felicity of the Lord Cromwell, and taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves being a stranger and foreigner, whispered in the king's ears what a perfect thing it would be to the quiet of the realm, and establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and a prince purely English; so that the king's affection, the more it was diminished from Anne of Cleves, the less favour he bare to Cromwell.

After this, in the month of April 1540, was held a parliament, which after divers prorogations was continued till the month of July. In which month the Lord Cromwell being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower. Many good men lamented and prayed heartily for him; so there were others on the contrary that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been of some dignity before in the church, and now by his means were put from it. For such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or false religion under the garb of hypocrisy, and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which while professing deep humility was so elated with pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These prelates he never could abide; so on the other hand they hated him as much, which was the cause of the shortening of his days; for he was afterwards attainted by parliament.

In the attainder many crimes, surmises, and accusations were brought against him; but chiefly and above all others he was charged and accused of heresy, as a supporter of them whom they accounted heretics; as Barnes, Clark, and others, whom, by his authority and letters written to sheriffs and justices, he had discharged out of prison. Also that he did disperse abroad among the king's subjects a great number of books, containing, as they said, manifest heresy; that he caused to be translated into our English tongue books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses who especially charged him with having spoken words against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign (1539); which, if true, there are three things I have much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had such sure matter against him, then what should move them to make such haste to have him dispatched out of the way, and not allow him to come to his purgation? Secondly, if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard the words conceal such treason for the space of almost two years? Thirdly, if the king had known and believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had indeed been such a traitor to his person, why then did the king so shortly afterwards lament his death, wishing to have Cromwell alive again? What prince will wish the life of him whom he undoubtedly suspects to have been a traitor to his life and person?

So long as Cromwell went with full sail of fortune, how moderately and how temperately he always bore himself, hath been declared before. So now the Lord Cromwell, being overthrown by the contrary wind of adversity, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a christian heart; nor yet was he so unprovided with counsel, but that he foresaw this tempest long before it fell, and prepared for it; for two years before, suspecting the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called his servants, and there shewing to them in what a slippery state he stood, and also perceiving some stormy weather to gather already, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their fault any occasion might arise against him. And before the time of his apprehension, he introduced such order among his servants, that many of them, especially the younger, who had little else to take to, had left for them in their friends' hands means to relieve them, whatever should befal him. Cromwell was such a loving and kind master to his servants, that he provided beforehand almost for them all; insomuch that he gave to twelve children who were his musicians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their friends.

When a prisoner in the Tower, it is worthy noting how quietly he bare it; how valiantly he behaved himself; how gravely and discreetly he answered the commissioners sent to him. Whatever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing to him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened and more furnished in every condition than they themselves.

Among the rest of those commissioners who came to him, there was one whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king, who, when he refused, by saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor; then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to convey from him a message to the king. To that the other was content, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell taking witness of the other lords what he had promised, "You shall

commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him that when he has so well tried, and thoroughly proved you as I have done, he will find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote a letter from the Tower to the king; and when none durst take the carriage of it, Sir R. Sadler, whom he had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful to him, went to the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which, when the king granted, Sadler presented the letter, which he commanded thrice to be read to him; so much did the king seem to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill, on the 28th day of July 1540, when he said these words:—

"I am come hither to die, and not to clear myself, as some think perhaps that I will. For if I should do so, I would be a very wretch. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereto, I have offended my prince, for which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. And now I pray you that are here to bear me record, that I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith; no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confess, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the king's grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, prince Edward, that goodly child, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remains in this flesh, I may waver nothing in my faith." And so making his prayer, kneeling on his knees, he spake these words.

"O Lord Jesus, who art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them who die in thee; I, a wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, was born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, which thou hast thyself given for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and fulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting may never decay in me; that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet may my heart cry and say unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Amen.

And thus, his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the executioner.

Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; and of Edmund Bonner preferred to the bishoprick of London, by the means of the Lord Cromwell.

About the time when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, and ambassador to France, was first nominated and preferred by means of the lord Cromwell to the bishoprick of London, it happened, in November, 1539, that Cromwell procured of the king his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to print the bible in English in the university of Paris, because paper was there more meet and apt to be had than in the realm of England, and also that there were more good workmen for the dispatch of the same. And the king wrote to his ambassador, who then was Edmund Bonner, in Paris, that he should aid and assist in the work. The bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the printers; and he was so fervent, that he caused the Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the mean time, while the bible was printing, that king Henry VIII. preferred Bonner from the bishoprick of Hereford to be bishop of London; at which time Bonner, according to the statute law of England took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterwards upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom Bonner said, when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it is, that the king's most excellent majesty has by his gracious gift presented me to the bishoprick of London, for which I am sorry; for if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishoprick of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London; for though they do not know you, yet they have heard so much goodness of you, that they will be glad." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath,) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was, that he vexed and troubled poor men, as Lobeley the bookbinder and others, for having the scriptures in English; and, God willing, he did not so much binder it as I will further it, and I will have set up in the church of St. Paul's at least six of the bibles, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks. But now I have especially called you to witness, that upon this translation of the bishops' sees, I must, according to the statute, take an oath to the king's majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and so think him to be; and I beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his grace. Hold the book, Sir, and read you the oath," (said he to one of his chaplains,) and he laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath: and after this he shewed great friendship to Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

After the king's letters were delivered, the French

king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the work; and so the printer went forward and printed the book even to the last part, and then a quarrel was picked against the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors, and there charged with articles of heresy. Then the Englishmen were sent for that were at the cost and charge, and also such as had the correction of the same, who was Miles Coverdale; but having some warning what would follow, the Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great volume, and never recovered any of them, save that the lieutenant-criminal having them delivered to him to burn in Paris, sold some of them to a haberdasher to fold caps in, and those were bought again; but the rest were burned, to the great loss of those that bore the charge. But notwithstanding the loss, after they had recovered some of the books, and were comforted and encouraged by the lord Cromwell, the Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the printer, and brought them to London; and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never intended,) and printed out the Bible in London, and after that printed several impressions of them; but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Gardiner and his fellows.

Here by the way, let me request the reader to note and understand, that in those days there were two Bibles in English, bearing different titles, and printed in different places; the first was called Thomas Mathews' bible, printed at Hamburgh, about A.D. 1532, the corrector of which was then John Rogers. The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch. In the translation of this bible the greatest helper was William Tindal, who, with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the books, except the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added after. But as William Tindal was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to change the name of William Tindal, because that name was then odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Mathews, John Rogers at the same time being corrector to the press, who had then translated the rest of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes in the margin; and therefore it came to be called Thomas Mathews' Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathews, after it was printed and presented to the lord Cromwell, and the lord Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, who both liked it very well, Cromwell presented it to the king; and obtained that it might be read freely by his majesty's subjects; so that there was printed upon the book one line in red letters, with these words, "Set forth with the King's most gracious Licence."

After the restraint of this Bible of Mathews, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, (A.D. 1540,) which was called "The Bible of the large Volume." The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch, who bore the charges. The lord Cromwell was a great helper. The chief overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tindal compared it with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

After this the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to death; and not long after, great complaint was made to the king against the translation of the Bible; and of the preface; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it; but they never performed their promise. Then Grafton was called, and charged with the printing of Mathews' Bible; but he being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then he was examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was to make. To which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks; and before he came out was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell, nor print, nor cause to be printed, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the remainder of the reign of King Henry VIII.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the printers had lost their Bibles, they continued suitors to Bonner, to be a means to obtain of the French king their books again; but they continued suitors, and Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but doing nothing for them, till at last Bonner was discharged of his embassay, and returned home, where he was welcomed by the lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies: as he was at that time to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell, but used the vilest and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived; and then such as Bonner knew to have been in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight. Insomuch, the very next day after Cromwell was apprehended, Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met him suddenly, and said to him, That he was sorry to hear of the news that was abroad. "What is that?" said he. "Of the apprehension of lord Cromwell," replied Grafton. "Are you sorry for that?" said he; "it had been good that he had been dispatched long ago." With that Grafton knew not what to say; but came no more to Bonner. However, afterwards, Grafton being charged for the printing of a ballad made in favour of Cromwell, was called before the council, where Bonner was present; and there Bonner charged him with the words that he spake to him of Cromwell, and gave a long account of the matter. But lord Audley, who was then lord chancellor, discreetly and honourably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

The History of Doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, and William Jerome, Divines.

As in battles the chief point of victory consists in the safety of the general or captain: even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was taken out of the way, miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued. For Winchester, having now got his full purpose, and free course to exercise his cruelty, it was wonderful to see what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest by delay he might lose the occasion offered, he straightway made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, and William Jerome, whom, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be executed. First of all we will speak of Dr. Barnes, whose particular history here follows:

This Barnes, after he came from the University of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the University. Barnes having a taste for good learning and authors, began to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, he caused the university shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the students learned. After those foundations had been laid, then he read openly St. Paul's epistles, because he would have Christ and his holy word taught there; and thereby in a short time he made some good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, where he disputed with any man in the common schools. The first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the scriptures, was Master Stafford, on being examined for his form to be a bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous

in the sight of the doctors, and joyful to the godly in spirit.

Thus Barnes, with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the scriptures, always preaching against bishops and hypocrites; and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney with others, (as is related in the life of Master Bilney,) converted him wholly to Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge. For that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly and learned in Christ, both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter's House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwel Hall, and Benet College, shewed themselves, and flocked together openly, both in the schools and at sermons in St. Mary's; and at the Austins; and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together.

At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Barnes accused him in the Regent-house before the vice-chancellor; and presented articles against him; to these he promised to make answer at the next convocation. Then Nottoris, a violent enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused to do so, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly there was sent down to Cambridge a sergeant-at-arms, who arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid.

But good Dr. Farman, of Queen's College, sent word to the chambers of those that were suspected of possessing Luther's books, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time that the sergeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber. In the morning he was carried by the sergeant-at-arms to cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster; and there-after waiting all day, he could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Doctor Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, and Master Fox, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What, Master Doctor," said the cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people; but that my golden shoes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so offend you, that you must make us ridiculous amongst the people? We were that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." And he answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors;" and then he delivered him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his statements.

He received them smiling, saying, "We perceive, then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to shew your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." He answered, "I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us; to sell all these things, and to give it to the poor; and to throw away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked?" He answered; "I think it necessary that it be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-axes, but by God."

Then answered he: "Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then they kneeling down, said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he; "Stand you up; for your sakes and the university we will be good unto him. How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am a legate, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said; "I know it to be so." "Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your welfare, and for the welfare of the university?" He answered; "I thank your grace for your good will: I will abide by the holy scriptures, according to the simple talent that God has lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the utmost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then he required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he would have been sent to the Tower; but Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night; and so he returned to Mr. Parnel's house, where he commenced writing again, and slept not; Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers; and in the morning he came to Gardiner and Fox, and was committed to the sergeant-at-arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster.

At the same time, when Doctor Barnes was to appear before the cardinal, there were five men to be examined for Luther's book and Lollardy; but after they saw Barnes they set the other aside, and asked the sergeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they sware him, and laid his articles to him. Then they called the master of the Fleet, and he and five others were committed to the Fleet. Then they called Doctor Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or not; and he subscribed willingly; when they committed him and young Master Parnel to the Fleet also with the others. There they remained till Saturday morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with Barnes.

On the Saturday he came again into the chapter-house, and there remained till five o'clock at night. And after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or be burned. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But afterwards he was persuaded rather to abjure than to burn. Upon that, falling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed it with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church as they termed it. Then they put him to his oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him; and he promised so to do.

They then commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, to be kept close in prison, and in the morning to provide five fagots for Dr. Barnes, and the other men. The fifth man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight provided for him to offer to the rood of Northen in St. Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could muster with bills and glaves, and the knight marshal, with all his tipstaffs that he could gather, should bring them to St. Paul's and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by the hour appointed, in St. Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with thirty-six abbots, and mitred priors, and bishops; and he in his pomp sate there enthroned, with his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected, on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr.

Barnes; and great baskets full of books were standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, to be burned there, and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their fagots.

Now, during the sermon, Dr. Barnes and the others were commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, the catholic church, and the cardinal; and after that he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so horrible and so detestable; and he once again kneeled down, desiring the people to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of St. Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back. Then these poor men being ordered to come down, the bishops commanded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet to carry them about the fire; and after this they were brought to the bishops, and there kneeled down for absolution. Rochester stood up and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there absolved Dr. Barnes with the others.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to convey them to the Fleet again.

Barnes continued in the Fleet the space of half a year; and at length he was committed as a free prisoner to the Austin friars, in London, who complained of him to the lord cardinal; upon which he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, and there to be burned. At last, one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and who was his especial friend, having intelligence that a writ would shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be insane, and that he should write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table, to declare that he was gone to drown himself in a certain place, and then to leave his clothes in the place; and another letter to the mayor to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the cardinal. Upon this they were seven days in searching for him, but he, in the meantime was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and took shipping and went to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had written a book intituled, "*Acta Romanorum Pontificum*," and another book with a supplication to king Henry.

Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ and with the foreign princes in Germany, and was intimate with Luther, Melancthon, and others, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark, who in the time of More and Stokesley sent him with the Lubecks as an ambassador to Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would gladly have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth, and so he departed again with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittemberg to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there to forward his works in print which he had begun, from whence he returned in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne Boleyn, and continued a faithful preacher in the city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleves, to negociate a marriage between himself and the lady Anne of Cleves; he was well accepted in the embassy, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; for, after the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, he never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock.

Not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king at Hampton Court, and there examined. Gardiner sought by all subtle means how to entangle and to entrap them into further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. They were enjoined to preach three sermons; at which Stephen Gardiner was present, with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to entrap them in their words. When these three had thus preached their sermons, Barnes, preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; and Gardiner held up his finger; yet, shortly after, they were sent for to Hampton Court; and from thence were carried to the Tower, whence they never came out till they came to their death.

And thus hitherto concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the history and doings of Thomas Gerrard.

The History of Thomas Gerrard or Garret, as written by Anthony Dalaber.

"About A.D. 1526, Master Gerrard, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the scriptures, with the first part of '*Unio dissidentium*,' and Tindal's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to the scholars in Oxford.

"After he had been there a while, it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others, that Master Gerrard had a great number of those books, and that he was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his books, and himself too if they could. But at that time one of the proctors, Master Cole, of Magdalen College, was well acquainted with him, and therefore he gave secret warning to a friend of Master Gerrard, and advised that he should, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford; for if he were taken, he would be forthwith sent up to the cardinal, and be committed to the Tower.

"I, Anthony Dalaber, having books of Master Gerrard, had been in my county in Dorsetshire, where I had a brother, parson of the parish, who was very desirous to have a curate from Oxford; it seemed good that Master Gerrard, changing his name, should be sent, with my letters, into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself somewhere over the sea. Accordingly, I wrote letters to my brother, for Master Gerrard to be his curate, but not declaring what he was, for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had for the gospel's sake.

"Accordingly, on the Wednesday, Mr. Gerrard departed out of Oxford toward Dorsetshire, with his letters. How far he went, and by what occasion he returned, I know not. But on the next Friday, in the night-time, he came back; and so, after mid-night, in the search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken in his bed by the two proctors, and in the morning was delivered to one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln college, then being a commissary of the university, who kept him as a prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists at his apprehension. I was utterly ignorant of Mr. Gerrard's sudden return, and that he was taken, until he came into my chamber and said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not: but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber, and desired his servant to bring him to me: and so he declared how he was returned and taken that night, and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his

chamber, he hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came away.

"Then said I to him, 'Alas, Mr. Gerrard, by this your uncircumspect coming to me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him, why he went not to my brother with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that he returned again to Oxford. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away, and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priest-like, such as his own was.

"Then we both kneeled down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, we entreated him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if it was his good pleasure and will so to do; and then we embraced and kissed each other, and the tears so abundantly flowed out from both our eyes, that our faces were all wet with them, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another; and so he departed from me apparelled in my coat, being committed unto the guidance of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber-door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; and when I had so done, with prayer I did commit unto God our dearly beloved brother Gerrard, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son, our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so great a burthen, without the help of his Holy Spirit.

"This done, I laid aside my book, folded up Master Gerrard's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel, and so having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber-doors, and went toward Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare to them what had happened. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first to Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. By chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Gerrard was returned again to Oxford, and was taken the previous night, and was in prison with the commissary. I said it was not so. He replied it was so. I told him it could not be so; for I was sure he was gone. He answered, "I know he went with your letters, but he came again yesterday evening, and was taken in his bed at Radleis this night. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was gone, for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did: and then I declared the whole matter to him; how and when he came to me; and how he went his way, desiring him to declare the same to our brethren whom he should meet with; and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance, and to beseech him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies, and I told him that I was going unto Master Clark of Frideswides, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily that he and others there were in great sorrow for this matter.

"Then I went straight to Frideswides; and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there. As I stood there, in comes Dr. Cottisford the commissary, as fast as he could, bareheaded, and as pale as ashes, and he goes to the dean, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully. I went aside from the choir-door, to hear and see more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled. About the middle of the church Dr. London met them, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoner so negligently, so that he wept for sorrow: and it was known abroad that Master Gerrard had escaped; but whither no man could tell. The doctors departed, and sent their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of *Compline*, came out of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened. He was glad, and sent for one Master Sumner, and Master Betts, fellows and canons there. In the meanwhile he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, 'the prudence of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove,' for we should shortly have much need of it, as he thought.

"When we had ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn Hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and as soon as I could get out of the door I went straight towards Gloucester College to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and I had sprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. When I was come to Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut; at which I much marvelled, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then I walked up and down a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the meanwhile my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare anything further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to change myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not do it; by which I perceived that my lock had been meddled with; and yet at last with much ado I opened the lock; but when I came in, I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open. I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Gerrard, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

"Now there was lying in the next chamber to me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Master Gerrard was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my straw bed, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Gerrard. And although his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, to the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to put on another gown; and therefore all dirty as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the prior's chamber, where I found the prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night: I told him I lay at Alborn Hall with my old fellow Fitzjames, but he would not believe me. He asked me if Master Gerrard

were with me yesterday? I told him, 'Yea.' Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came to me. I told him 'I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock. For so,' I continued, 'he had shewed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there was his friend, and had promised him a piece of venison to make merry with at the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none to lend him.' Then he observed on my finger a big ring of silver very well double gilt, with two letters A. D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it to him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: an A. for Anthony, and a D. for Dunstan. When I heard him say that, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

"Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Gerrard came to me, and where he was gone. I had scarcely written three words, when the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men were come to the prior, requiring him to bring me away to Lincoln College to the commissary, and to Dr. London. When I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary, Dr. Higdon, then dean of the Cardinal's College, and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought to them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and then called for me to come to them. First they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been a student in the university? and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what I studied. I told them I had read sophistry and logic in Alborn Hall, and now was removed to Gloucester College to study the civil law. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Gerrard, and how long I had known him? I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me when he was with me? I told them yesterday afternoon.

"Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came to them, with pen, ink, and paper; I think it was the clerk of the University. As soon as he was come, there was a board with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass-book laid before me; and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer such interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I hesitated at first; but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me; but in my heart meant not to do so. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath; and that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then they made great courtesy between them who should examine me, and put interrogatories to me. At the last, the greatest papistical pharisee of them all, Doctor London took upon himself to do it.

"Then he asked me by my oath, where Master Gerrard was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet knew where he was; nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, as I had before said, as he told me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me; how he came to me; what and how long he talked with me; and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about the time of even-song, and that one brought him to my chamber-door, whom I knew not; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry with this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes of me; but I had none to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a book.

"Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him; for surely, they said, I brought him somewhere this morning, as they might perceive by my foul shoes and hose, I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at Alborn Hall, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them at Frideswides, and that I saw first Master Commissary; and then Dr. London come thither at that time to the dean of Frideswides; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had taken him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be put to the torture. But Master Commissary entreated me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might secure him again, and that he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble. I told him I could not tell where he was. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the chapel; sometimes with threatenings and foul words; and then with fair words and fair promises. Then he that brought Mr. Gerrard to my chamber was brought before me, and caused to declare what Mr. Gerrard said to me at his coming to my chamber; but I said plainly I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother of trouble and peril of his life.

"At last, when they could get nothing from me to hurt or accuse any man, or know any thing of that which they sought, they all three together brought me up into a great chamber over the commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle; took away my money and my knives, and then put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so, leaving me alone, after locking the chamber-door, they departed, (I think to their abominable mass). When they were all gone, then came to my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who well nigh two years before that, when I earnestly desired him to permit me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wherever he should teach or preach, said to me much after this sort: Dalaber, you desire you know not what, and that which you are, I fear, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant to you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if we continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution to try you, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and dross be consumed. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirms by St. Paul, 'If any man will live godly, he shall suffer persecution.' 2 Tim. iii. 12. Yea, you shall be called and judged an heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; and you shall be cast into prison; and no man shall dare to help or comfort you; and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then will you wish you had never known this doctrine; then will you curse Clark, and wish that you had never known him; because he had brought you into all these troubles.

"At which words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shewed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired, saying that I trusted verily, that he who had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say this, he came to me and took me up in his arms and kissed me,—the tears trickling down from his eyes;—and said to me, 'The Lord Almighty grant you so to do; and from thenceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.' Now there were at this time in Oxford several graduates and scholars at the colleges and halls, whom God had called

to the knowledge of his holy word, who all resorted to Mr. Clark's disputations and lectures in divinity; and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. Clark appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy scriptures, which I most desired.

"This forewarning and godly declaration, (I say,) of this most godly martyr of God, Mr. Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry to God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his Fatherly love to lay upon me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I should be an accuser of them all; for to me they were all well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be praised, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Master Gerrard was, and if I would do so, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I could eat any meat; I told him, yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me many questions, which I do not now remember; and some of them spake to me fair words, and some threatened me, calling me heretic, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me."

Thus far Anthony Dalaber has prosecuted this history, who, before finishing it, died in 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury.

After this, Gerrard was apprehended and taken by Master Cole, the proctor, as his men were going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford, and so being brought back again was committed to ward; he was brought before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswides, (now called Christ's College,) in St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him, Gerrard having his red hood on his shoulders like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further orders were taken.

Besides these, there were a great number also suspected to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Master Gerrard sold to them; and many were forced to forsake their colleges and return to their friends. Against the procession-time they made a great fire, into which all such as were in the procession, who had been convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded every man to cast a book as they passed, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors.

After this, Master Gerrard, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, till this present time, when he was again apprehended and burned in Smithfield with Doctor Barnes and William Jerome, vicar of Stephney. Thus, these three godly men, with great constancy, endured martyrdom in the fire.

The Life and History of William Jerome, Vicar of Stephney, and Martyr of Christ.

The third who suffered with Barnes and Gerrard, was Wm. Jerome, vicar of Stephney. This Jerome being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached many sermons, in which he laboured to weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing he could not otherwise but provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that on preaching one Sunday at St. Paul's, he made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified. He shewed how Sarah and her child Isaac and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: and they that were born of Hagar, the bond woman, were bound and under the law, and could not be freely justified. In these words, what was there said, but what St. Paul himself expounds in his epistle to the Galatians (fourth chapter), or what could here be gathered, but what was consonant to sound doctrine? The point was this; he was accused of preaching erroneously at St. Paul's cross, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition, either of baptism or of penance, &c. Who doubts here, but if St. Paul himself had been at St. Paul's cross, and had preached the same words to Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians, he had been apprehended for an heretic for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?

And thus much concerning the several histories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, being committed to the Tower after Easter, remained there till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then process was issued against them by the king's council in parliament; to which process Gardiner confessed himself that he was privy. Whereupon these three good saints of God, on the thirtieth day of July, not coming to any answer; nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where, while preparing themselves for the fire, gave there at the stake many and sundry exhortations, among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:—

"I am come hither to be burned as an heretic, and you shall hear my belief; whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. I take God to record, I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture led me to; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection. Although I have been slandered for preaching that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the anabaptists, who deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary, which sect I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but always with all diligence did I study to set forth the glory of God; the obedience to our sovereign lord the king; and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith:

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons in one Godhead, that created and made all the world; and that this blessed Trinity sent down this second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the anabaptists, who say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'He was made in all things like unto his brethren,' except sin. And I believe that his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve anything of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification, for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to for-

give him his trespasses. "For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord.' And in another place, 'If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?' Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church; and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his name are saints, and that they all do praise and bless God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express; and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled; and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born." Then said Mr. Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or should be aggrieved with any thing that he should say, he said, 'Mr. Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more than beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he, "Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said something before, I think, of them, how that I believe they are in heaven with God; and that they are worthy of all the honour that scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed to; for then should I preach to you a doctrine of my own head. Notwithstanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well have you anything more to say?" Then spake he to Mr. Sheriff, and said, "Have you any articles against me for which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered "No." "Then," said he, "is there here any man else that knows why I must die, or that by my preaching has been led into error? Let them now speak, and I will give them an answer." And no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of Parliament; but wherefore I cannot tell, but probably for heresy, for we are likely to burn. But they who have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Stephen bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God to forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king as I have done ever since I was in prison; and do now that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father has begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience to the king's majesty; but here I say to you that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart; yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient to him, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God."

Then spake he to the sheriff, and said, "Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended unto the king, and to shew him that I require of his grace these five requests: first, that where his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeys—" Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered Mr. Sheriff: "I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away; and the king hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him ever had), and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well, it makes no matter. Now he reigns among you; I pray God that he may long live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them. The second that I desire his grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication. The third, that abominable swearers may be punished; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths. The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christ's true religion; and seeing he has begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his grace to look on God's word himself, for that it has been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains." "Now," said he, "how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "four." "Well," said he, "even these four are sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers and evil counsel, for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in sheep's clothing."

Then he desired all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man; or given any occasion of evil that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God; and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with these words he desired them all to pray for him; and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making ready for the fire, there patiently to take his death.

The like confession made also Jerome and Gerrard, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith; protesting that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue among them, with his most dear son, Prince Edward. Which done, Jerome added this exhortation in the few words, which follow:

"I say unto you, good brethren, that God has bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver; or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him; but do as much as to christian men belongs, to fulfil his commandments, that is, 'Love your brethren.' Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider, if you were in necessity, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And, again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all

that Christ did was of his own goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise; so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all christians put no trust or confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ; to whom I commit my soul, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may depart in the true faith of Christ."

In a similar manner Gerrard protested, and exhorted the people; and ended his protestation as follows:

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse all heresies and errors; and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask mercy of God; or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person has taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons whom I have in any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly, or willingly, any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith; to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws; and also the king's. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the bood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins; whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope and charity."

And so, after they had engaged in prayer, wherein they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they taking each other by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors; and so took their death both christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord works with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such as suffer with a guiltless conscience for religion's sake, above others who suffer for their deserts. For whereas they who suffer as malefactors, are commonly heavy and pensive in their death; so the others with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, abide whatever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them.

A note of three Papists executed the same time with Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard.

At the same time, and in the same place, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, namely, for denying the king's supremacy, whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel. This spectacle happening on the same day, brought the people into a marvellous doubt of their religion, which part to follow, as might well happen among ignorant people, seeing two contrary parties suffering; the one for popery; the other against popery,—both at one time. This circumstance happened by reason of a certain division among the king's council, who were so equally divided among themselves, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, and the other half with the contrary.

The names of those, although it is not necessary to express them, yet, for the setting forth of the truth, we have thought good here to annex:—

PROTESTANTS.	PAPISTS.
Canterbury.	Winchester.
Suffolk.	Durham.
Beauchamp.	Norfolk.
Lisle.	Southampton.
Russel, treasurer.	Anthony Brown.
Paget.	William Paulet.
Sadler.	John Baker.
Audley.	Richard, chancellor of the Augmentation.
	Wingfield, vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council among themselves, caused both these parties above mentioned to suffer, the one for one religion, and the other for another. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, so the other part likewise called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel.

Thus, having discussed the six articles, with other matters, in the parliament, concerning the condemnation of Lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his companions, let us now consider what great vexations ensued after the setting forth of these articles, through the whole realm of England. First is to be mentioned the severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs, in every shire, and other commissioners; and especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, to inquire diligently for all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire for all such persons whatsoever, as were culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the act of the six articles.

Upon this commission being given to Edmund Bonner, he came to the Guildhall with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the six articles. He began soon to put his authority in execution. And first he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute; who, being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict. On which day they indicted sundry persons, who, shortly after, were apprehended; and after remaining there a while, were, by the king and his council, discharged at the Star Chamber, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roch being mayor, Bonner, with other commissioners, sate at the Guildhall.

When the juries were sworn, Bonner took upon him to give the charge, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were; and at the end of his charge, he brought to the bar a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes, and produced to the court two witnesses, who were there sworn in the face of the court.

So a day was assigned upon which the juries should give their verdict; at which day both the commissioners and the juries met at Guildhall. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of the jury, whose name was William Robins; "My lord, we have found nothing." At which words he raged as one in an agony, and said, "Nothing! have you found nothing? What, nothing? By the faith I owe to God I would trust you upon your obligation, but by your oath I will trust you nothing." Then said some of the commissioners; "My lord, give them a longer day." "No," said he, "in London they ever find nothing; I pray you, what do you say to Mekins?" "My lord," replied the foreman, "we can say nothing to him for we find the

witnesses to disagree. One affirms that he said the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," said Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing a while, he bade them call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," said he. "My lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" said he, "is not this a strange case?"

Then one of the jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, said, "My lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish to give us instructions, and it was denied us." Then stood up the recorder, and said, "It was true, indeed, what he had spoken," and there withal said, "this last year were charged two juries, who did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the king's people, and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you." "Nay, nay," said Bonner, "this was the cause: If the parson or curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to knave-priest, and he shall go by and by and open it." "What," said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I trow, that will say so." "Yes, by my troth," answered Bonner, "knave priest, knave-priest." Then said my lord mayor somewhat smiling, "There be some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oft-times report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My masters, what say you to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," said Bonner, "this court hath allowed them." Then said one of the jury to the recorder, "Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them?" "Yea," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and said, "go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received; so both they and the other jury were discharged. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they sate for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him; "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself to the king's law, that thy death may be an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins being but a child, who had not passed the age of fifteen years, as he had heard some other folks talk, so he chanced to speak against the sacrament of the altar. Which coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother durst aid him with any relief, by which he endured great misery. When he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he shewed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Doctor Barnes, to whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would for his life have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it to him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But many spake and said, "It was a great shame for the bishop; whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution, seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what the affirming of heresy was."

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet, who suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also, a certain priest was burned at Salisbury, who, leaving his papistry, had married a wife, and became a player, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and especially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition was meant especially concerning the six articles, yet so it fell out, that doubts began to arise, and to be moved, whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and causes, or for speaking against the holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of Friar, of Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in almost all parishes throughout London, in the year 1541.

A brief account of the Troubles at London in the time of the Six Articles; and a list of the Names of some of the Persons who were persecuted for speaking against them.

John Dixe, was never observed to confess in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary.

Richard Chepeman, for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mistress Cicely Marshall, for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Haukes, for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

John Browne, for bearing with Barnes.

Mistress Annes Bedikes, for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, Richard Manerd, for disturbing the service of the church with babbling out of the New Testament.

William Wyders, denied, two years before, the sacrament to be Christ's body, and said that it was but only a sign.

William Stokesley, for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy, for speaking against worshipping of saints.

Master Blage, for not coming to his parish church, nor confessing, or receiving.

William Clinch, for saying, when he saw a priest preparing for the mass, "You shall see a priest now go to masking." Also, for calling the bishop of Winchester, "False flattering knave." Also, for burying his wife without a dirge.

William Plaine, seeing a priest going to mass, said, "Now you shall see one in masking." Also, when he came to the church, he disturbed the divine service by reading aloud the English Bible.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosterman, Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Couper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Phillips, and John Celos.—These nine persons were presented, because they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, and Roger Butcher.—These four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy-days.

Mistress Brisley, for reasoning on the new learning, and not attending the church.

Mistress Castle, for being a meddler and a reader of the scriptures in the church.

Master Galias of Bernard's Inn, for withstanding the curate in censing the altars on Corpus Christi even, and saying openly, that he did wrong.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias, for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions, and reading the bishop's book; so that he had much ado to make an end.

William Beckes and his wife, were suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not kneeling to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, and William Beckes.—These four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds, for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith an apprentice, for saying, "that he had rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Simon, Ralph Clervis, and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, and Thomas Net.—These eleven persons of St. Magnus parish, were presented and accused for maintaining certain preachers (as it was called) of the new learning.

Nicholas Philips, for maintaining heresies and scripture books, and for neither using fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges, for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a dog, and for not adoring at the elevation.

Mistress Elizabeth Statham, for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Gerrard, Jerome, and others.

John Duffet, for marrying a woman who was thought to be a nun.

Hilliard and Duffet, for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch, suspected not to have been confessed.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, and Davids, an apprentice.—All these being of the parish of St. Martin's, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the church. Also some for walking in the time of consecrating mass, with their caps on. Some for turning their heads away; some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, &c.

Robert Andrew, for receiving heretics into his house, and keeping disputation of heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, William Hickson, Robert Daniel, and Robert Smitton. —These six were suspected of being sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

John Mayler, for being a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper, was presented for saying these words, "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament!"

Henry Patinson, and Anthony Barber.—These two were detected for permitting their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar. Also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman, also refused to come to confession, saying, "That none of his servants should be absolved by a knave-priest."

John Humfrey, for speaking against the sacraments, and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, and John Cooke and his wife.—These two couples were presented for not coming to service in their parish church; and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, and John Cooke. — These four were presented, for saying, "That the mass was made of pieces and patches." Also for despising of matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, and Arnold Chest.—All these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Crosdall, John Clerke, and John Owel.—These three labouring men were presented for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier, and John Dictier; noted for common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar.—These three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, and John Richmond and his wife, for despising holy bread and holy water, and not attending divine service.

Margaret Smith, for dressing flesh meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham, for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not very God.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Harrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Causy, and William Pinchbeck and his wife.—All these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for not observing proper reverence at the celebration of the mass.

The wife of Martyn Bishop was presented by her curate, for not going to confession in Lent, or receiving at Easter. Also she slighted the curate, when he told her of it.

Robert Plat and his wife.—These were great reasoners in scripture, saying, that confession avails nothing; and that he, though not able to read, would not use beads to say his prayers on.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke.—The charge laid to these three persons, was for reasoning about the scriptures and the sacraments.

The register says, that they denied all the sacraments. But this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practices, sits as the judge.

John Cockes.—This man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and a maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes, for forbidding his wife to use beads in saying her prayers.

Thomas Kelde.—He refused to take penance and absolution; and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman, presented as a man far gone in the new sect; and that he was a great jester at the saints and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife, John Curteys, Mr. Dissel, his wife, and his servant.—These eight were great reasoners, and despisers of ceremonies.

The curate of St. Katherine Coleman.—He was noted for calling suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing of any bell; and when he preached he left his matters doubtful.

Also, for preaching without the commandment of his parson.

Also, for that he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife, and his son-in-law.—These were noted for seldom attending the church, and many times were seen to labour upon the holy-days.

William Ettis and his wife.—Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield and his son-in-law; Nicholas Russel, of the Saracen's Head in Friday-street, William Callaway, and Thomas Gardiner, with three apprentices.—Against this company presentation was made for assembling together in the evening; and for bringing ill preachers, that is to say, good preachers, amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented for saying, "That the sacrament was blessed to him that doth take it; and not blessed to him that doth not."

Shermons, of the Carpenter's-hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, in which priests were railed at, and called knaves.

Lewis Morall, a servant, and James Ogule and his wife.—Noted not to have confessed certain years before.

Thomas Babam was accused not to have confessed in his parish church.

The parson and curate of St. Antholin's, for not using the ceremonies in making holy water; nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield, for not taking the sacrament; and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

John Sempe, and John Goffe, for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem*, &c., saying, that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey, for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Thomas Cappes, for saying these words, "That the sacrament of the altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

John Mailer, grocer, for calling the sacrament of the altar the baked God; and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, *missa*, for that all is *amies* in it.

John Hardyman, a parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger-lane, presented for preaching openly, that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the cere-

monies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, that it was a mischief to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue; for in so doing they take the glory of God from him: and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments, to justify.

Christopher Dray, plumber, for saying of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification.

Robert Ward, shoemaker, presented by three witnesses for speaking against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread-street.

Nicholas Otes, for not coming to the sacrament at Easter; he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson, and James Gosson, for not coming to absolution and the sacrament at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread-street.

Richard White, haberdasher, for saying, that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

Giles Harrison being in a place without Aldgate, and merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass;" "I say, tarry," said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head: and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head; saying these words, "Have ye not heard mass now?" For which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London.

Richard Bostock, priest, for saying that auricular confession killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters had done since King Henry was king of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in the Thames has as much virtue as the water that the priests hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth, for having no reverence for the sacrament; and for instructing maids; and being a great doctress.

John Leicester, William Raynold, Christopher Townesend, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Mabs, Thomas Starckey, Christopher Holybread, Martyn Donam, and William Derby.—All these were noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes, and such other preachers; and many of their wives for not taking holy bread; nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer, for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

John Coygnes, or Livelonde, for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Gerard Frise was presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he had rather go to hear a sermon than to hear a mass.

Dominic Williams, a Frenchman, for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter.

Thomas Lancaster, priest.—He lay in the Compter in the Poultry, for compiling and bringing over prohibited books. Also, Gough, a stationer, was troubled for resorting to him.

Friar Ward was put in the Compter in Bread-street, for marrying after his vow of celibacy.

Friar Wilcock, a Scotch friar, was imprisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession; holy water; against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory; and for holding that priests might have wives, &c.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity, was presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet-street, that it is as profitable for a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, which kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholin's, was presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no license; and also for allowing the said Alexander Seton, in his sermons, to preach against Dr. Smith.

It was also objected, that he used to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism.

Against this objection Tolwine defended himself, saying, "That he took occasion to do so by the king's injunctions, which say, 'That ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.'"

In the end, Tolwine was forced to stand at St. Paul's Cross to recant.

At the same time Robert Wisedom, parish priest of St. Margaret's, in Lothbury; and Thomas Becon, were brought to St. Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Sir George Parker, parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and brought before the ordinary, for having certain books.

Sir John Byrch, priest of St. Botolph's-lane, was complained of for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions, which agreed not with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests; of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself.

This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk; and from his sermons his adversaries raised against him fifteen objections, or rather cavils, which I shall here exhibit to the reader; that men may see how consonant the doctrine Seton then preached was with the scriptures.

Certain Places or Articles gathered out of Seton's Sermons by his Adversaries.

"There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, that can be any means towards our justification; nor can any man satisfy God the Father for our sins, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood.

"He that preaches that works have merit; or are any means to our salvation; or are any part of our justification, preaches a doctrine of the devil.

"If any thing else, save only Christ, be a means towards our justification, then Christ only does not justify us.

"I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier; and that I will prove by a familiar example:

"They that preach that works have merit, do make works the tree; which are only the fruits of justification wrought by him who is justified.

"I would ask a question, whether he that works is a good man, or bad; for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot but bring forth good fruits; if he be a bad man, he cannot bring forth but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

"He that says that works do merit any thing towards our salvation, makes works helpmate with Christ, and plucks from Christ what is his, and gives it to works. Some will ask, wherefore, then, should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the glory of God, and not that they may merit anything at all. And he that says that good works are to be done for any other cause, than for the glory of God only; and will have them to merit; or be any means towards our justification, I say he lies, and I believe him not.

"He that can shew me from any part of scripture, that works do merit, or are any means to our justification, for the first scripture I will lose both mine ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck.

"Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us; we deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, preaches a popish doctrine.

"If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say yea, and with no less than eternal glory; but for no merit that they deserve; for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise sake, and he will not break his promise."

To these and other objections he made answer in

writing; first denying many things presented, taking upon his conscience, that he never spake some of those words; and again, many things that he never meant to such an end or purpose. But notwithstanding all this, the ordinary proceeded in his judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (after the Popish course) to the number of ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him, was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and man's free will. Also for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers profited not the souls departed; so that in the end, he was caused to recant at St. Paul's cross, 1541.

Add to these, Doctor Tailor, parson of St. Peter's, Cornhill: South, parish priest of Allhallows, Lombard-street: Some, a priest: Giles, the king's brewer: Thomas Lancaster, priest. All of whom were imprisoned likewise for the six articles.

To be short, such a number in London and Calais, and other quarters, were then apprehended through the inquisition, that all the prisons in London were too small to hold them; so that they were obliged to lay them in the halls. At last, by means of the good lord Audley, such pardons were obtained of the king, that they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the star-chamber the next day after All-souls, there to answer if they were called upon.

An Account of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible.

John Porter, in the year 1541, was cruelly handled for reading the Bible in St. Paul's church. It was stated already that Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great actor in setting forward the printing of the Bible; promising that he would have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which also at his coming home he performed.

The Bibles thus standing in St. Paul's church by the command of the king, and the appointment of Bonner, many well-disposed people used to resort there, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them. After Cromwell was dead, it happened, amongst several godly persons, who frequented there the reading of the Bible, that John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a comely young man, and of high stature; who by diligent reading of the scriptures, and by hearing of such sermons as were then preached by those who were the setters forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up by Bonner's command upon several pillars in St. Paul's church, fixed to them with chains for all men to read them that wished, great multitudes would resort to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains being grieved, (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers,) sent for Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading: but Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law; neither contrary to the advertisements which he had ordered to be fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid to his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and had gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that that could not be proved. But Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was cruelly fettered with irons about his legs and arms; and with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon: being there so inhumanly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name was also Porter, who, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, who lay there for felony and murder, where Porter being among them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave to them such instructions as he had learned of the scriptures; for which he was complained against and so carried down, and laid in the lowest dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where within six or eight days after he was found dead.

Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also a note of a merchant called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London for the gospel. Being a very honest and wealthy merchant, he was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower, because he had Luther's books; and his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower to Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hung round about him, with three or four other merchants. And when Master Sommers was to be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow-prisoners were, a friend of his brought him a very good horse, with bridle and saddle; and when the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment to have thrust the strings of the books in; "Nay," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel," and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar; and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons.

When they came to the fire, every one of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire; which was seen by some of God's enemies; and brought to him again commanding him to cast it into the fire; which he would not do, but cast it through the fire. Which was done three times. But at last a stander-by took it up, and saved it from burning.—But not long after, Master Sommers was cast again into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, and soon after died in the prison for the testimony of his faith.

What trouble and vexation happened among the godly brethren in London for the six articles, we have thus concisely detailed. But this rigorous inquisition was not confined to this city only, but extended to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all shires and quarters of the realm.

About the same time, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two men upon one day; the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton: one for teaching the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for possessing the epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also, about the same time, recanted one Master Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, was so firm in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself that neither Cranmer himself, nor any other could answer his objections out of Augustine: in which he was so prompt, that the archbishop, with the rest of his company, greatly admired him. He, however, at last relented; and, returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant.

A merry and pleasant Narration, touching a false report of Fire, raised among the Doctors and Masters of Oxford in St. Mary's Church, at the Recantation of Master Malary, Master of Arts of Cambridge.

This recantation of Master Barber, in the University of Oxford, brings to remembrance another recantation, happening not long before, which I thought I ought not to pass over, as a merry ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy

to be remembered, and here inserted; to recreate and refresh by the way the weary mind of the reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies. The story is this:—

There was one Master Malary, a Master of Arts of Cambridge, and scholar of Christ's College, who for holding opinions contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome; that is, for the right truth of Christ's Gospel, was brought before the bishops, and in the end sent to Oxford; there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the students of that University. The time and place was appointed when he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday, where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were assembled; besides a great multitude of citizens, who came to behold the sight. In order that solemnity might not pass without some effectual sermon for the mother church of Rome, doctor Smith, then reader of the divinity lecture, was appointed to preach the sermon at this recantation. There was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts of degrees, as well of students as others. Few were absent who loved to hear or see any news; so that there was no place in the whole church which was not filled with the concourse of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, Malary comes forth with his fagot upon his shoulder. Not long after, the doctor proceeds into the pulpit, to deliver his sermon, the argument of which was wholly upon the sacrament. The doctor, for the more confirmation of his words, had provided the holy wafer, and the sacrament of the altar, to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, commencing his sermon, had scarcely proceeded into it, the people giving great reverence to his doctrine, when suddenly was heard in the church the voice of one crying in the street, "Fire! fire!" The occasion was this: a man coming from Allhallows parish, saw a chimney on fire, and so passing in the street by St. Mary's church, cried "Fire! fire!"

This sound of fire being heard in the church, went from one to another, that at length it came to the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself; who, as soon as they heard it, being amazed with sudden fear and marvelling what the matter meant, began to look up to the top of the church, and to the walls. The others seeing them look up, looked up also. Then they began to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire! fire." "Where?" saith one! "Where?" saith another. "In the church," saith a third. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry among them, "The church is on fire! the church is on fire by heretics!" &c. And although no man saw any fire at all, yet as all men cried out, so every man thought it true. Then there was such fear and tumult through the whole church, that it cannot be described in words.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could move them to think but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them. The first and chief occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his fagot, which led them to imagine that all other heretics had conspired with him to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it seemed as if it had been smoke. Which, together with the outcry of the people, made them so afraid, that leaving the sermon, they began all to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For whilst they ran all headlong to the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another, and stuck so fast, that they who were without, could not get into the church, and they that were within could not get out. So that one door being stopped, they ran to another on the north side. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many to their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door towards the west, which could not be opened for the press of people.

At last, when they were past all hope to get out, then they were exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church. I think some were howling and weeping, some were running up and down, and playing the madman, now hither, now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves and tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and fearing, without any manifest cause; the doctors laden with so many badges of wisdom, were seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror almost beside themselves. Whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire; another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes; and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who casting his fagot off from his shoulders, kept himself quiet.

All the others never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached, who first of all cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtilities of the heretics against me! Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" In all this there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason, none acted more ridiculously than such as seemed the greatest and wisest men, save that in one or two somewhat more quietness of mind appeared. Among whom was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College (whom for reverence and learning's sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him, who for their age and weakness durst not thrust themselves into the throng among the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives to the sacrament. The others, who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the uncivility of men, and angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room to the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent masters. But as the terror and fear was common to all, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown did there nothing avail the doctor; neither the master's hood nor the monk's cowl was respected.

Yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common person. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways and saw no remedy, neither by force, neither authority to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards, one offering twenty pounds, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out.

Some stood close to the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead. Others, being without money, knew not which way to turn themselves. One, a president of a college pulling a board from the pews, covered his head and shoulders with it against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Another, who had a grand paunch, a monk, seeing the doors stopped and every way closed up, thought to get out through a glass window; but the iron grates prevented him; however, he would make the attempt. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates, he thrust in his head with one shoulder, and it went through easy enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after; but there was a great labour about that, for he stuck long by the shoulders, though at last he succeeded. For what does not labour overcome? Thus far he was now got. But by what

part of his body he afterwards stuck fast, I am not going to say; but this is most certain that he did stick fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor in.

After some time there was at last a way found for the crowd, so that some going over the heads of others got out.

Here also happened another incident to one of the monks: there was a young lad, who, seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had no way to get out, climbed up upon the door, and there staying upon the top of the door, was forced to remain quiet. For he durst not come down into the church again for fear of the fire, and he could not leap down toward the street without danger. By chance, among them that got out over men's heads, he saw a monk who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the monk came near to him, the boy who was on the top of the door, slipped down into the monk's cowl, thinking that if the monk escaped, he should also get out with him. At last the monk got out, and feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and hearing the voice of one speaking behind, he was more afraid than before, thinking that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had got into his cowl, so he began to play the exorcist; "In the name of God," said he, "and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art, that art behind at my back." To whom the boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy." "But I," said the monk, "adjure thee in the name of the inseparable Trinity, that thou wicked spirit do tell me who thou art, and that thou get hence." With that his cowl began to crack upon his shoulders, and the boy took to his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

At length, after much delay, all were got out of the church, and discovered the folly of their false alarm.

The fourth and fifth Marriages of King Henry VIII.

In the same year, and immediately after the apprehension of Lord Cromwell, the king was divorced from Lady Anne of Cleves (July 1540). The cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the king being freed from that pretended matrimony (as they called it) might marry whom he would, and so might she likewise; who, consenting to the divorce herself, by her letters, was no more called queen, but only Anne of Cleves. The king, in the same month, was married to his fifth wife, who was the lady Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage, likewise, did not continue long.

In the month of August, and in the same year, I find in some records, besides the chapter-house monks above recited, whom Cope sanctifies for holy martyrs, for suffering in the denial of the king's supremacy, six others, who were also brought to Tyburn and there executed in the like charge of rebellion. Of whom the first was the prior of Doncaster; the second, a monk of the Charter-house of London, called Giles Horn, some call him William Horn; the third, one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster, who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that wore the monkish dress; the fourth, one Philpot; the fifth, one Carew; the sixth was a friar.

Now, as to the marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, it endured not long; for in the year following, the Lady Catharine was accused to the king for violation of the marriage vows, and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 12th of February, 1542.

After the death of this lady, the king, calling to remembrance the words of the Lord Cromwell; and missing now more and more his old councillor; and partly also suspecting somewhat the ways of Winchester; began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, yet now the more he missed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore, in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king understanding that some abuses yet remained unreformed, namely, pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things, directed his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy reformation of the same.

The King's Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you know, that whereas, heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we not only caused the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered to, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were deceived, to be taken away in all places of the realm, but also by our injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacraments of the altar: it is lately come to our knowledge, that, notwithstanding this our good intent and purpose, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition, and also that our injunctions be not kept. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things, and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away, as that there may remain no memory of it; but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese to do the same, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept, without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our town of Hull, the fourth day of October, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign (1542)."

Another proclamation was given out, in the following year, by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed.

A Proclamation concerning eating of White Meats, made the ninth of February, in the thirty-fourth year of the Reign of the King's most Royal Majesty.

"Forasmuch as by divers and sundry occasions, as well herrings, lings, saltfish, salmon, stockfish, as other kinds of fish have been this year scant, and also enhanced in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the king's loving subjects should be enforced only to buy and provide herring, and other salt store of fish, for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their household and families all this holy time of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their insupportable charge and detriment; and forasmuch as his highness considers how this kind and manner of fasting, that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats, is but a mere positive law of the church, and used by a custom within this realm, and of no other force or necessity, but the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public authority of kings and princes, whenever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people:

the king's highness, therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, has thought good, for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispense with the said law and custom of abstaining from white meats in this holy time of Lent, and of his special grace and mere motion giveth and granteth unto all and singular his subjects within this his realm, and in all his grace's dominions, free liberty, faculty, and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, as milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any law, constitution, use, or custom to the contrary, notwithstanding.

"Wherein, nevertheless, his highness exhorts, and in the name of God requires all such his faithful subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy this his grant or faculty, that they be in nowise scrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnal liberty; but rather endeavour themselves to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most especially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the devil, with all their pomps and works; and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the font-stone; for in these points especially consists the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a christian man; thus to endure and continue from year to year, till the king's highness' pleasure shall, by his majesty's proclamation, be published to the contrary."

The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Pearson, and John Marbeck, persecuted for Righteousness' sake, and for the Gospel.

We come now to the history of the four Windsor-men, persecuted for the true testimony of God's word; three were martyred and sacrificed in the fire; the fourth (named Marbeck) had his pardon. First, I have to shew the origin of their troubles; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together; which was A. D. 1543.

The Origin of Testwood's Trouble.

In A.D. 1533 there was one Robert Testwood, in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name that the musicians in Windsor college thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson their dean. But as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, that he smelled of the new learning, as they called it, it would not be consented to at the first. Notwithstanding on some entreaty on the part of the musicians, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choirmen, he was so well liked both for his voice and skill, that he was admitted, and settled in Windsor, and held in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while; but when they perceived, for he could not well dissemble his religion, that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. It was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the canons, named Dr. Rawson; at which dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Ely. This Ely began to rail against laymen who took upon them to meddle with the scriptures, and to be better learned than they who had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives. Then Testwood, perceiving he meant him, said, "Master Ely, I think it no hurt for a layman, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures."

"Which of you," said Ely, "that are unlearned knows them or understands them? St. Paul saith, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' Now, Sir, what means St. Paul by those coals of fire?" "Marry, Sir," said Testwood, "he means nothing, as I have learned, but burning love and kindness; that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them." "Ah, sir," quoth he, "you are an old scholar, indeed."

After this they fell into further communication about the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of their church, or not? Against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within bounds a great while. But when Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, That every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ, Ely was so chafed, that he rose from the table in great fume, calling him "heretic," and all that was bad, and so went brawling and scolding away, to the great disquieting of the company.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after dinner he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to talk with him charitably, and so to be friends again; but as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

After Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and others of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing at the dean's coming home to have punished Testwood. But it was not ten days after that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house; upon which the dean (Dr. Sampson) came home suddenly in the night, and sent his verger to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the charter-house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons overnight, and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge. "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so was Ely. For when the dean and every man were come and placed in the chapter-house, and the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in attending the choir, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confuting it by manifest scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever, and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome; and whatever he were that would not do so, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any means, he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the king. The canons hearing this, were all struck dumb. Yet Ely's heart was so full, that he would utter his spite against Testwood; but the dean called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was glad to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hung about the church to be brought into the chapter-house, and cast into the fire, and burnt before their faces, and so departed.

Testwood was one day walking in the church, and beheld the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windsor, as they called him. It grieved him to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; so that he could not refrain, but, seeing a company who had made their offerings stand gazing about the church, went to them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people for running to worship such stocks and stones, and

would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it.

After this way he admonished them till at last his words took such place in some of them, that they said they never would go on a pilgrimage any more. Then he went further, and found another set licking and kissing a white lady made of alabaster, which image was carved in a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he raised his hand, in the which he had a key, and struck a piece of the border about the image, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo, good people," cried he, "you see that it is nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And so he gat him home to his house, for the uproar was so great, that many came to see the image how it was defaced. And among others came one William Simons, a lawyer, who seeing the image without a nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the nose where it lay, which he took up and put into his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to Testwood.

Many were offended with Testwood—the canons for speaking against their profit, the wax sellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the image's nose. And some of the canons threatened to kill him. So Testwood kept his house, and durst not come forth, but sent the whole matter in writing by his wife, to Cromwell, the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons hearing that Testwood was about to send to Cromwell, sent the verger to him to come to the church; who sent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then they sent two of the eldest minor canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then they knew not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell, but sent in post-haste for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and after much persuasion and faithfully promising him, by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harm, Testwood was content to go with him.

And when Master Ward and Testwood were come to the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, one of the canons drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter-house. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house, with the canons and Master Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood was allowed quietly to come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Upon a relic Sunday, as they named it, when every minister, after their old custom, should have borne a relic in his hand in a procession, one was brought to Testwood. Which relic, as they said, was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, and so the rochet was given to another.

In the days of Master Franklen, who succeeded Doctor Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was set up at the choir door a foolish printed paper, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the canons named Magnus, caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day another was set up in the same place. Then Testwood coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean being come to his stall, called Testwood to him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold as to take down the paper in his presence? Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand to it. So the dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this no more papers were set up, but poor Testwood was abused among them at every meal, and denounced as an heretic, and would carry a fagot one day, &c.

A story is told of one Robert Philips, gentleman of the king's chapel, and Testwood; which, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, that wherever he came, the best and longest song, with most counterverses in it, were set up at his coming. And so he chancing to be at Windsor, a long song was set up, called *Lauda Vivi*. In which song there was one counterverse toward the end that began with "*O redemptrix et salvatrix*;" which verse, of all others, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide it. Now, Testwood knowing his mind well enough, joined with him on the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with, "*O redemptrix et salvatrix*," Testwood was as quick to answer him again with "*Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*;" and so striving there with "*O*" and "*Non*," who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse. At this there was good laughing in the sleeves to some; but Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were much offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their yearly custom is), came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president; to whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint. Testwood being called before the duke, he took him up, and reviled him, as though he would have sent him to be hanged. Yet Testwood so behaved himself to the duke that in the end he let him go, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

These are the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction.

The Origin of Henry Filmer's Troubles.

About A.D. 1540, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed, it happened that one Sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar, and changed his friar's coat, but not his friar's heart, was appointed vicar of Windsor. This priest made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he declared many old friars' tales, as that our Lady held out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spouted her milk into his eyes, with such like tales, that many honest men were offended, and especially this Henry Filmer, who was then one of the churchwardens, who was so zealous for God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. So he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content to reform himself without any more ado, and they parted friends.

Now there was one in the town called William Simons, a lawyer, who hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and reproved him for his sermon, got him to the vicar, and so excited him, that he slipped away from the promise he had made to Filmer. Then Simons meeting with Filmer, reviled him, saying he would bring him before the bishop. Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and he would say as much to the bishop whenever he came before him.

Then Simons went to the mayor, and procured a letter in the priest's favour, and departed to go to the bishop,

(whose name was Doctor Capon), and took the priest with them.

Filmer consulted with his friends what was best to do, who drew out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and prepared themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him. Thus, both parties being in readiness, it chanced that they set forth from Windsor all in one day. But as the priest, being an impotent man, could not ride very fast, Filmer and his company got to the town before Simons, and went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill to him; which bill, when the bishop had seen and perused it well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

Then Filmer declared to the bishop the form of the talk he had with the priest, and the end of it, and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his lordship with it. "Well," said the bishop, "you have done like honest men. Come to me soon again, and you shall know more;" and so they departed from the bishop to their inn. And while they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come), got themselves up to the bishop in all haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded who they were, and being informed that it was the vicar of the town, with others, he caused the vicar to be brought in. To whom he said, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yea, my lord," said he. "How chances it," asked the bishop, "that you are complained of? for there have been with me certain honest men of your town who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you;" and opening the bill, he read it to him. "How say you," questioned the bishop; "is this true or not?" The vicar could not deny it; but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well; and said, "Wherefore come ye, Master Simons?" "Please your lordship," said he, "we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, who is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country; and truly, my lord, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it; wherefore we beseech your lordship that he may be punished as an example to others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he has done before this busy fellow troubled him. And that your lordship may the better credit my words, I have brought with me these honest men of the town; and a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same;" and so he held the writing out in his hand.

Then said the bishop; "So God help me, Master Simons, you are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who has preached heresy, and has confessed it; wherefore I may not, nor will not let it go unpunished. And as for that honest man, Filmer, of whom you have complained, I tell you plainly that he hath in this point shewed himself to be a great deal more honest than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things this time, saving that he shall next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church;" and so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation to them; with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed. For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer; but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger, and say, "I will be even with you one day; trust me!"

The Origin of Anthony Pearson's Troubles.

There was a priest, named Anthony Pearson, who much frequented Windsor, about the year 1540, and using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were much offended; so that Simons at the last began to gather his sermons, and to mark his auditors: from which followed the death of several, and the troubles of many honest men. For, about a year after, a minister of Satan, called Doctor London, warden of the New College, in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor. At his first residence dinner which he gave to the clerks, his whole talk to two gentlemen strangers at his board, was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm to, if they were suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters," says he, at last, "I cannot tell, but there goes a strange report abroad of this house." Some made answer; "It was undeserved." "I pray God it be so," says he. "I am but a stranger, and have but small experience among you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there are some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then spake Testwood: "By my truth, sir," says he, "I think that was spoken of malice; for prayer, as your mastership knows better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea marry, sir," replied he; "but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers allow." "What the old fathers do allow," says Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ appoints us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mediator between you and God," said Doctor London. "Yes, sir," replied Testwood; "our mediator is Christ, as St. Paul saith, 'There is one mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.'" Upon this Doctor London said grace, and turned the conversation.

When Doctor London had been at Windsor a while, and learned what Testwood was, and also what heretics were in the town, and how they increased daily by reason of a priest, called Anthony Pearson, he was so bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with Simons and others, how they might compass the matter: first, to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor, indicted for heresy. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles; so they began to build and practice thus: First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Pearson's sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife; Sir Thomas Cardine; Mr. Edmund Harman; Mr. Thomas Weldon; with Snowbal and his wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Pearson. They also noted Doctor Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly attended Anthony Pearson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel.

Then they had spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not worship the sacrament, at the elevation. Some of these spies were chantry priests. When they had gathered as much as they could, Doctor London, with two of his brethren, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring how the town was disquieted through their doctrine and evil example. Wherefore they besought his lordship's help in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, praised their doings, and bade them go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they plied the matter, sparing neither for money nor pains.

Bishop Gardiner, seizing a convenient time, went to the king, complaining what heretics his grace had in his realm, and how they had not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber, be-

seeching therefore his majesty that his laws might be prosecuted; the king, giving credit to these words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then the bishop forthwith procured a commission for a private search to be had in Windsor for books and letters; which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time, the canons of Exeter had accused Doctor Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread, and holy water; and for saying in one of his sermons, that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a great maintainer of heretics. Whereupon both he and Doctor Haynes were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, that, by the mediation of friends, they were both delivered.

Now, as to the commission for searching for books, Mr. Ward, and one Fachel of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Sunday before Palm Sunday, 1543, and began their search at night. In which search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses, against the six articles, and kept in ward till the Monday after, and then brought up to the council, all save Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay ill of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison; Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's gaol, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

Examination of John Marbeck.

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called the Concordance of the Bible: which book, being not half finished, was, among his other books, taken to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the work lay before the bishop of Winchester. Who beholding the poor man a while, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my lord," said he. "No!" said the bishop? "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth, my lord," said he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well enough," said the bishop, and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, "understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my lord," said he, "but simply." "No!" said the bishop. And with that spake Master Wrisley, (then secretary to the king) "he saith, but simply." "I cannot tell," said the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance," and so began to declare to the rest of the council, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, my lord, I wrote it." "Read it," said the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." "Nay," said the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," said he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it," said the bishop. "I had written it," said he, "thus; Heaven is my throne, and the earth is not my footstool." "Yea," said the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No, my lord, it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship seeth, this word (not) is blotted out." At this time other matters came into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber.

On the next day, one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen brought two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," said he, "for the messenger who brought him from the council, said, "It was their pleasure he should be gently used;" and so he called for a room, to which he carried the prisoner, and said, "Marbeck, my lord favours thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hast sent me to admonish thee to beware, and lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my lord laments thy case, for he has always heard good report of thee; now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great many heretics, as Hobby and Haines, with others, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now tell of them, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to a better living."

"Alas, sir," said he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haines, to know their minds." "Well," said the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord knows well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthony Pearson." "For Anthony Pearson," said he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them. And as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always taken me for an honest poor man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

"Peradventure," said the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they, hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else."

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou," said the gentleman? "Oh, sir," said he, "I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I beseech the living God, to comfort them as I would be comforted myself."

"Well," said the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. "A little, sir," said he. "How is it then," said the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," said he: "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he was satisfied, he departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the bed's side, as before, and said. "By my troth, Marbeck, my lord sees so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good." "Sir," said he, "there is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," said the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest with a safe conscience, reveal those that be heretics, and thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," said he, "who were an heretic, indeed, it were well; but if I should accuse him to be an heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived? Yea, it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," said the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who are heretics of thy fellows at home, and who are not, as I know this to be paper in my hand. Peradventure thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things to remembrance; I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest write such things as shall come to thy mind;" and so laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he knew not what to do, nor how to set a pen to the book

to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he accused men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, and fell down on his knees, with tears, and said,—

"O most merciful Father of heaven, thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner, who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that, to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at his time, I may have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words: "Whereas your lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home; please it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more than this I know not."

Now the gentleman, about the hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," said he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir," said he, "as much as I know." "Well said," observed the gentleman; and took up the paper. Which when he had read, he cast it from him in a great rage, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," said he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," said Marbeck, "if his lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then thou wilt repent it," said the gentleman; and so departed.

The next day, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door at the upper end, with a roll in his hand, and going towards the great window, he called the poor man to him, and said, "Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my lord," said he, "I trust not." "Yes," said the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What tempted thee to meddle with the scriptures?" And with that he went away from the window, out of the hall, and the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery; when there, the bishop began: "Ah, sir, the nest of you is broken." And unfolding his roll, he said, "Behold, here are your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet thou wilt tell of none of them." "Alas, my lord, how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," said the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can prevent thee?"

And in speaking these words, one of his chaplains, (called Master Medow) came up, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow has taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men, at least, and yet he asserts that he has done it alone. But say what thou wilt," said the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it." And so going forth to a window where two great bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin and the other in English, he called Marbeck to him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my lord," said he, "but I can fetch out the English in an English Bible." Then Marbeck turning over the English Bible, found out the place, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

When the bishop was come from mass, he said, "This is a marvellous sect, for nothing can make one of them betray another." Then there was nothing said among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but "Crucify him," upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, "Well Marbeck," said he, "I am now going to the court, and had purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil."

It was not half an hour after, until the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the under-keeper, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut up in a chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spoke to no man, and no man to him.

About three weeks before Whitsunday Marbeck was sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck, we are here in commission, sent from the king's majesty to examine thee of certain things, whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered, they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works, six years ago. "For what cause," said the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?"—"For none other cause, my lord, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some parts of scripture, thought by reading of learned men's works to come the sooner thereby: and where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted, as you see, with a letter of his name in the margin, who was the author of the work." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, and asked, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?"—"My lord," said he, "no help at all."—"How couldst thou," said the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?"—"When," said I, "Thomas Mathews' Bible came out in print, I was desirous to have one of them: and being a poor man, and not able to buy one, determined to borrow one, and to write it out. And when I had written out the five books of Moses on fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner chanced to see me writing out the Bible, and asked me what I meant? And when I told him the cause, 'Tush,' said he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English.'—'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a one in Latin already. And this, my lord, is all the instruction that ever I had before or after."—"A good wit with diligence," said the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass."—"It is a great pity," said the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue."—"I cannot believe," said the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work, than written it out after some other that is learned."

"My lords," said Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and to grant my request if it shall seem good to you. I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so examined for this book, and wherein I have committed offence in doing of it? If I have offended, then were I sorry that any other should be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my request; that you will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. You see that I am yet but at the letter L; beginning now at M, and take out what word you will of that letter, and so in every letter following; and give me

the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my truth, Marbeck," replied the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken; and then thou shalt bring many men out of suspicion."

When dinner was done, the bishop of Salisbury came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck; and being now in his prison-chamber, he fell to his business so expertly, that by the next day when the bishop sent for him, he had written so much, in the same order and form as he had done the rest before, as filled three sheets of paper and more; which, when he had delivered to the bishop of Salisbury, he marvelled, and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt."

Upon Whitsunday Marbeck was sent for once again, where he found Dr. Oking with another gentleman, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, looking upon an epistle of John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church. Now as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, but never knew his name, till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight. This Master Knight held the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is." When Marbeck had taken the paper, and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin.

Here they wanted him to prove that it was the handwriting of Heines, and they threatened him with the torture to compel him. "By my truth, sir," said Marbeck, "if you do tear my whole body in pieces, I trust in God you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully."—"If thou be so stubborn," said Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it."—"Die, Master Oking!" said he; "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day I was before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of the Concordance, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? But whenever you shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall die God's true man and the king's."—"How so?" said Knight. "How canst thou die a true man to the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and most of the notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?"—"No, sir," said Marbeck, "I have not offended the laws of the king; for since the first time I began with the Concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the Six Articles came forth; and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon."—"Trust not to that," said Knight, "for it will not help thee." And so they committed him to his keeper, who conveyed him away again to prison.

The Manner of their Condemnations, and how they died.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bore so great sway about the king as he did. The saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But in the meantime three or four of the poor were caught; namely, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, who were sent to Windsor, and imprisoned in the town gaol; and Testwood (who had kept his bed) was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them; but as for Benet (who should have been the fifth man) he happened to be sick of the pestilence, and he was left behind, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now these men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions specially procured to be held; against which sessions all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor were warned to appear, because they could not select papists enough in the town to go upon the jury when the trial came on.

The prisoners were separately indicted and convicted, and now being condemned, they prepared to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength, but give them steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness (without their deserts) for his promise sake, receive their souls. Thus they lay all the night, till sleep overpowered them, calling upon God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors; that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea, such heavenly talk was among them that night, that the hearers who were watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with other gentlemen, were constrained to shed tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought to them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Salisbury, and others among the commissioners, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Mr. Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the Court being then at Oking) in favour of Marbeck. At the sight of which letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon. Which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who returned with speed and great joy (for the love he bare to the party), bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon.

On the Saturday morning, when the prisoners were to go to execution, they took their leave of Marbeck (their fellow-prisoner), and praised God for his deliverance; wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue; and last of all besought him to help them heartily with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions; and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now as the prisoners passed through the throng in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions; for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And whenever Doctor Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) endeavoured to persuade them to turn to their mother church; "Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it." When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he staid and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight. And when he had called for three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? then God forgive him, and make him a good man." And so going forth, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now, welcome mine own sweet wife; for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

When these three godly martyrs were bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him some drink, asking him if he would drink; "Yea," said Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," said he, "I shall desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received;" and then he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer," said he, "I pledge you in the Lord." And when he had drank, he gave it to Anthony, and he likewise gave it to Testwood. Of which drinking their adversaries made a jesting-stock, and reported abroad that they were all drunk, and knew not what they said; when they were no otherwise drunk then were the apostles when the people said they were full of new

wine, as their deeds declared; for when Anthony and Testwood had both drank, Filmer rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer." At these words, Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. And Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw to him, laid a good deal of it upon the top of his head, saying, "Now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so they yielded up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts to have died with them.

Soon after these martyrdoms, the whole conspiracy between Dr. London and Simons, for the putting these good men to death, was found out and exposed, for they conspired also to indite some of the council.

After this the king withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the ground of it.

Whereupon, Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance: and for denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and, in fine, adjudged as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and Ockam to stand upon the pillory in the town of Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horses' tails, and to stand upon the pillory in each of these towns, for false accusation of the forenamed martyrs, and for perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive.

The Persecution in Calais, with the Martyrdom of Adam Damlip and others.

In the year 1539, there came to Calais one George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, who had been in time past a great papist, and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester; and after the death of the bishop had travelled through France and Italy; and as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion; and so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, in the end, he found there, (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that his heart and conscience abhorred to remain there any longer; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole to continue, and to read three lectures in the week in his house; for which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused; and so returning homeward, having a piece of money given him by the cardinal at his departure, came to Calais, who, as he was waiting there for a passage to England, was perceived by William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, to be a learned man; and that he having been of late a zealous papist, was now turned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion; he was by them heartily entreated to stay at Calais for some time, and to read there a day or two, to the intent that he might do some good to the people after his painful travel. To this request Adam gladly consented. Stevens brought him to the lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais, and declared thoroughly what conference and talk had been between Adam Damlip and himself. The lord deputy desired Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and the commissary s also. Where, after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy and a great part of the council, gave him great praise and thanks for it; and the lord deputy offered him a chamber in his own house; to dine and sup every meal at his own mess; to have a man or two of his servants to wait upon him; and to have whatever he wanted, if it were to be had for money; yea, and what he might desire in his purse to buy books or otherwise; so that he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his lordship's great offer, most heartily thanked him, and besought him to be only so good to him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book, and he would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according to that talent which God had given him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge Damlip in his house; promising to see paid to the utmost whatever he should demand.

This godly man, for the space of twenty days or more, once every day, at seven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all popery, and confuting the same; but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass, by true conference of the scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors: he earnestly exhorted the people to turn from popery, declaring how popish he himself had been; and how, by the detestable wickedness that he saw universally in Rome, he was returned so far homewards, and had now become an enemy, through God's grace, to all popery, shewing that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Pole; but for very conscience sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all popery, and wished them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued for some time to read in the chapter-house of the White friars; but the place not being large enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit; and so proceeding in his lectures, (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation,) he came at length to speak against the pageant or picture of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas church, declaring it to be mere idolatry.

Upon which sermon, or lecture, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy; Master Greenfield; Sir John Butler, commissary; the king's mason and smith; with others: that they should search whether there were three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood, as was set forth in the papal bull of indulgences to that altar; and if they found it not so, that immediately it should be plucked down. In searching, as they brake up a stone in a corner of the tomb, they, instead of three hosts, found soldered on the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, *three plain white counters, which they had painted like hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail!* All which trumpery Damlip shewed to the people on the next day, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit, and afterwards they were sent by the lord deputy to the king.

Envy soon stirred up the prior of the White friars, to bark against him. Yet, after Adam had confuted the friar's erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; the friar outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to impeach him by letters sent to the clergy in England: so that, within eight or ten days after, Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom was Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Sampson bishop of Chichester, and others; before whom he most constantly affirmed and

defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering, confuting, and solving the objections of his adversaries.

Then the bishops began to threaten to confute him with their accustomed arguments,—fire and fagot,—if he would still stand to the defence of what he had spoken. Damlip answered, that he would on the next day deliver fully in writing what he had said. On the morrow they intended to have apprehended him, but he had secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he personally appeared, he would be committed to ward, and not likely then to escape death. He therefore sent four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith and his arguments; proofs from the scriptures; and allegations from the doctors. Which done, he went into the west country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against God's people in Calais.

In the meantime, William Smith, a curate at Calais, continued to preach the gospel against popery, as did Champion and Garret, whom the king sent there to instruct the people, till at last God's enemies wrote to some in England, making grievous complaints to the lords of the privy council, against some of the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions.

A great persecution against many persons followed this: and that the same may the better appear, we will give a brief account of Ralph Hare, a man so unlearned that he could scarce read; yet through God's grace was very zealous; and therewith led so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies could accuse or blame his sober life and conversation. He was charged as one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water; and that he was one who would not lightly swear an oath; nor engage in any manner of pastime; but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his book. This poor simple man being charged by the commissioners, that he was a naughty and erroneous man, was desired to take good heed to himself, lest through obstinacy he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy; for an error defended is heresy.

"My good lords," said the poor man, "I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Wherefore I beseech you let my accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand to it; and otherwise, if it be an error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it; I mean if it be against God's holy word, for the Lord is my witness; I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors; and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them."

"Aha!" said the bishop of Winchester, "do you not hear what he saith, my lord? I perceive now that thou art a naughty fellow." "Alas, my lord," said Ralph Hare, "what evil said I?" "Marry sir, you said 'the Lord, the Lord,' and that is a sign of a heretic," replied Winchester. "What is that, my lord? for God's sake tell me," said Hare. "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed and driven into a great agony and fear. Which Winchester perceiving, said to him, "Ralph Hare, Ralph Hare, by my troth, I pity thee much. For in good faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, but thou hast had shrewd and subtle schoolmasters, who have seduced thee, good poor simple soul, and therefore I pity thee; and it were indeed a pity that thou shouldst be burnt; for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the king right well in his wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good service as ever thou wast; and we all will be a means to his grace to be a good gracious lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pity on thyself, and leave thy errors. For I dare say for us all that are commissioners, that we would be loath that thou shouldst be cast away. For, alas! poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced by others."

"How sayest thou, therefore, thou knowest my lord of Canterbury is a good gentle lord, and would be loath thou shouldst be cast away? Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thyself unto him, and to stand to such order, as he and we shall take in this matter? how sayest thou, man? speak." The poor man falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to the archbishop of Canterbury in this wise, "My good lord, for Christ's sake be good unto me; and I refer myself unto your grace's order, to do with me what you please."

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall into, and pitying the same (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not) said, "Nay, Ralph Hares, stand up and advise thyself, and commit not thyself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the others are; so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But if thou do commit thyself to all, then thou committest thyself to the laws; and the law is ordained to do every man right." "Go to, Ralph Hare," said Winchester, "submit thyself to my lord and us: it is best for thee to do so." Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, "My lords and masters all, I submit myself wholly unto you." And therewith a book was held to him, and an oath given him to be obedient to them and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a fagot three several days: moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, on hearing his penance, at the first earnestly refused to stand to it, and with piteous exclamation, said, "O my lord of Winchester! my lord of Winchester! have you made me a log ready to be laid upon the fire, whenever any wicked man of malice, by provocation of the devil, shall falsely lay any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I be thus handled, with nothing proved to my face against me? Alas, I have always hated errors and heresies." "Content thyself, Hare: there is now no remedy; thou must either do thy penance, or be burnt," said the commissioners.

The History of William Smith.

William Smith, curate of Our Lady parish, in Calais, was called before them, and charged with the same errors and opinions that were objected against Ralph Hare; and it was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady; against praying to saints; against doing good works; and many other such things: and one Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against Smith, and Brooke, by an oath taken upon a book, that Smith and Brooke did eat flesh together in Lent in Brooke's house. "For a miller's boy," said he, "came into Brooke's kitchen and saw half a lamb lying roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth is, that William Smith, during all the time of Lent, never came once within Brooke's house.

After all these things had taken place, the minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied; but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais; making the king believe, that through new opinions the town was so divided, that it was in great danger. Whereupon, shortly after, commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais, with special instructions signed by the king's majesty's own hand. Upon their arrival, Doctor Curain preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that, had not God pitied his innocent servants, there had been an hundred burnt or hanged shortly after.

On the morrow, after the sermon, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament: and at afternoon the council assembled with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tipstaffs summoned above fourscore persons to appear on the morrow at eight of the clock before the council, who at their appearance, were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons, as they did know, and in no wise to doubt or dread to do so; for they should have great advantage thereby; yea,

they should either have their livings or their goods; and besides that, they should have great thanks at the king's majesty's hand, and his honourable council.

These things were not so secretly done but they were betrayed, and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust overtook all men, that neighbour distrusted neighbour, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other, that it was lamentable to see how mournful men and women went in the streets, hanging down their heads, shewing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

On the Wednesday in Easter week, sundry inquests were charged on their oaths to make inquisition for all manner of heretics, erroneous opinions, and seditions: as, an inquest of aldermen; another of men-at-arms, and another of constables and vintners; another of common soldiers, and another of commoners. And shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, there were brought before the commissioners, and straight were sent to close prison, Anthony Pickering, gent., Henry Turner, gent., Sir George Darby, priest, John Shepheard, William Pellam, William Keverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Coppen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound: concerning whom were sundry reports: some said they would be hanged; some said burnt; some said hanged, drawn and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory: so that it was pitiful to see the lamentation that their wives, their children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they durst; for they found every where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort.

William Stevens, after his return from London, besides many other articles laid to him for religion to the number of forty, was charged by the lord deputy, that he had supported Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and had given him meat, drink, and lodging; and then Brooke was brought before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's gaol.

This kind of handling of Brooke made all his friends, but especially his wife, greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies: moreover, all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place in all his house, with her children and family; the keys of all the doors and chests also taken from her. She was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kingley's hand, controller of the town, saying to her, that if she liked not the room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors. "Well, sir," said she, "well, the king's slaughter-house was wronged when you were made a gentleman;" and with all speed she wrote a letter to the lord Cromwell, therein discoursing how hardly those poor men were handled, that were committed to ward and close prison; and that all men feared (what through the malice of the papistical enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeal of those that were in authority) they should shortly for their faith and consciences be put to death; but chiefly her husband, who was yet more extremely handled than any other. So that unless his honour vouchsafed to be a means to the king's majesty, that they with their causes might be sent over to England, they were but dead men.

Lord Cromwell immediately wrote to the commissioners, declaring, that the king's majesty's pleasure and commandment was, that the traitor and heretic Brooke, with a dozen or twenty accomplices, should with their accusers be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the said commissioners had received these letters, they had made out precepts for eight or ninescore more honest men to be cast into prison. But these letters so appalled them, that they stayed and afterwards sent no more to prison; making, however, as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some matter against them. They sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, Brooke going before with irons on his legs, as the chief captain; the rest following him two and two without irons, till on shipboard, and then they were all coupled in irons two and two together. When in the ship, because they were loath to go under the hatches, Sir John Gage with a staff smote some of them cruelly; whereupon Anthony Pickering said to him, "Sir, I beseech you be as good to us as you would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we may not be smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they guarded and kept with a great company of men; and so sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, were within four-and-twenty hours at anchor before the Tower of London.

When the lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be smitten off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners to be brought unto him. When he saw them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs, you must take pains for a time, and go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more." So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word to be of good cheer, for if God continued him life, they should shortly go home with as much honour as they came with shame.

While these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit the nineteenth day of July, A.D. 1541, the lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was beheaded at Tower-hill, as is before specified. Then had the poor Calais men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But he in the midst of these troubles and miseries so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy abound. Matthew de Hound, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only because he heard Copen de Hall read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest, got in a short time such instruction, that having his mind fraught with godly zeal unto God's glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honouring of images, and praying to departed saints.

Now when all hope in man was past, the right honourable Lord Audley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged the thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two years after, he released William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower, saying at the discharging of those thirteen, "Sirs, pray for the king's majesty; his pleasure is that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, so God save my soul, some of them be knaves. Sirs, I am commanded by the council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepts and forbids all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon does you any good. But pray for the king's highness, for his grace's pleasure is that I should dismiss you, and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, Sirs."

So giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed.

The Second Apprehension and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, you heard before how he was called before the bishops, and being secretly warned not to appear again before the bishops, departed into the west country, and there continued teaching a school about a year or two. After that the good man was again apprehended by the inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was sent to the Marshalsea, by Stephen Gardiner, and there lay two years or thereabout.

During the imprisonment of this George in the Mar-

shalsea, John Marbeck also was committed to the same prison. The custom of that time required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was forced to come upon Easter-day to Adam Damlip, who was then confessor to the whole house, to be confessed. By this occasion John Marbeck, who had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived who he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, and how long he had lain there in prison.

This Damlip, for honest and godly behaviour, was beloved of all the whole house; but especially by the keeper; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house, he did much good among the common sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin; and kept them in such good order that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure of him.

Now when he had drawn out an epistle to the bishop, earnestly desiring to be brought to his examination, he delivered it to the keeper, desiring him to deliver it at the court to the bishop of Winchester; and he did so.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners, who had tarried supper for his coming, saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper, casting up his eyes upon George, that is, Adam Damlip, said, "O George! I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, Master?" said he. "Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master! What to do?" "I know not," replied the keeper, and pulled out of his pocket a piece of wax with a little parchment hanging thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when George saw it, he said, "Well, well, now I know what the matter is." "What?" said the keeper. "Truly I shall die in Calais." "Nay," said the keeper, "I trust it be not so." "Yes, yes, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for George, as they called him; who notwithstanding was merry himself, and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: so that some said to him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters," said he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

And so on Monday, early in the morning, before day, the keeper, with three of the knight marshal's servants, conveyed Adam Damlip to Calais, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day John Butler, the commissary, and Daniel the curate of St. Peter's were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The crime which first they laid to his charge, was heresy. But because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned, yet for receiving the money of Cardinal Pole, as you heard before, he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death, being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, there came to him Master Mote, then parson of Our Lady church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the lantern gate," said Mote. Damlip answered, "Then I shall not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir R. Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for; but said to the executioner "Despatch the knave; have done."

Dod, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.

There was about this time a Scotchman, named Dod, who, coming out of Germany, was taken with certain German books about him, and being examined, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was condemned to death, and burned in Calais, within the space of a year, or thereabout, after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

During the time of these six articles, which brought many good men to death, it happened by another act for the king's supremacy, that the contrary sect of the papists was not undisturbed. For, besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests above specified, about this year also was condemned and executed two others, of whom one was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority: the other was Germaine Gardiner (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as is supposed), who likewise in intriguing for the pope against the king's jurisdiction, was taken and brought to the gibbet.

Upon the detection of Germaine Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and it was so insinuated to the king, that Germaine neither would nor durst attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on, or consent of the bishop, he being so near to him, and in all his secrets: the king began somewhat to doubt the bishop; but yet Gardiner so managed matters, that he kept in favour with the king, to the great troubling of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In the dreadful law of the six articles, a penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, as treason and felony, so that no recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parliament, A.D. 1544, by which it was decreed, that such offenders as were convicted for the first time should recant and renounce their opinions; and if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid by his ordinary, or after his recantation if he soon offended again, then for the second time he should abjure and bear a fagot. Which if he refused to do, or else, being abjured, if he a third time offended, then he was to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straightness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, yet the venom and poison of the errors of those articles remained still. By the last-mentioned parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tindal, or any others having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words or sentences, contrary to the six articles, were prohibited. In like manner all songs, plays and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion, tending any way against the six articles, were prohibited.

It was moreover provided, that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet was permitted to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, provided they did it quietly without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the scripture.

Besides this, where, before, the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to clear himself; in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected, or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the others who deposed against him, &c.

By these and other qualifications of the six articles, it may appear that the king began to disfavour Gardiner, and to discountenance his doings, by which he was the more forward to further the desolate cause of religion, as may appear by other provisions of the parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein it was decreed by an act, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons, to wit, sixteen of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporalty, to peruse, over-see, and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances of the canon law, as well provincial as synodal; and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an

order of the ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this realm. Which statute, as it is most needful for the government of the church of England, so, would God it had been brought to perfection!

Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, Martyrs.

Coming now to the year 1546, first noticing the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; also one Henry with his servant, burned at Colchester; I will proceed to the history of Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, and brought before the lord Wentworth, with other commissioners, appointed there to sit upon their examinations.

In the meantime, Kerby and Rogers being in the gaoler's house, there came in Master Robert Wingfield with Master Bruess, of Wenneham; who having conference with Kerby, Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember, the fire is hot; take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink," with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, "Ah, Master Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a christian soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God; and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear."—"Ah, Kerby," said Master Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke came to the judgment-seat, the lord Wentworth, with all the rest of the justices, were there already; the commissary also, by virtue of the statute, *ex-officio*, sitting next to the lord Wentworth, Kerby and Clarke lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God.

That done, their articles were declared to them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and required of them, whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest (as Christ spoke them to his apostles) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after.

To which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, was to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to an holy use. Then with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats beside, were these two poor men hardly treated. But they continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live, and so continued to the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the town on the next Saturday, and Clarke to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God!" and so stood still without any more words.

The next day, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, and wood, broom, and straw, and put off his clothes to his shirt, having a night-cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the stake with irons; there being in the gallery the lord Wentworth, with the most of the justices of those parts, where they might see his execution, how everything should be done, and might hear what Kerby would say; and also a great number of people, about two thousand. There was also standing in the gallery by the lord Wentworth, Doctor Rugham, who was once a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice and a stole about his neck.

All this while Kerby was being compassed with irons and faggots, broom and straw, nothing changing in countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorifying God. Then Doctor Rugham preached upon the sixth chapter of St. John; and in handling his text, as often as he alleged the scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But when he did otherwise, he said, "You say not true, believe him not, good people." Upon which the voice of the people judged Doctor Rugham to be a false prophet. So when he had ended, he said to Kerby, "Thou good man, dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How doest thou believe?" said the Doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, is his death, and passion, and bloodshedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered, and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread, for it is consecrated to a holy use."

Then said the undersheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou anything more to say?" "Yea, Sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night-cap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again: but remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn, "We praise thee, O God," &c., and the creed, with other prayers in the English tongue. The lord Wentworth, while Kerby was doing thus, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy.

On Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and by the way the procession of the host met them; but he went on, and would not bow cap, nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. Without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord," &c., in English, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." And thus with a loud voice he cried to the people, while he was being fastened to the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke; and moreover, being set in a pitch barrel, he was sorely pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And at length one standing by, took a fagot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, happened to hit him upon the head, so that he sunk down into the fire, and so was dispatched.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole realm.

About the latter end of this year 1545, in the month of November, after the king had subdued the Scots, and joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In which was granted to him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in December following, the king, after his wonted manner, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were passed; where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he answered again not by the lord chancellor (as the manner was) but by himself. In which oration, first eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and supplies offered to him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorts them to concord, peace, and unity. Whereto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorts to unity, so he had himself first begun to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects, that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the six articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ; then he had not only spoken, but also done like a worthy prince.

When these chantries and colleges thus by act of parliament were given into the king's hands in December, 1545, the Lent following, Doctor Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, among other reasons and persuasons to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, argued thus: that if trentals and chantry masses could avail souls in purgatory, then the parliament did not act well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then it is plain, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to relieve those in purgatory. This dilemma of Doctor Crome, no doubt, was unanswerable. But still the charitable prelates, notwithstanding the king's exhortation to charity, were so charitable to him, that on Easter they so handled him, that they made him recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity, according as they did Anne Askew and her companions in the month of July the year following. Whose tragical history and cruel handling now, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew, before the Inquisitors, A.D. 1545.

"To satisfy your expectation, good people," said she, "this was my first examination in the year of our Lord, 1545, and in the month of March.

"1. Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's Hall, and asked, if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I asked this question of him in return: 'Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death?' and he said, 'He could not tell.' Then I answered, 'That no more would I answer his question.'

"2. He said that there was a woman who testified that I read how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh and seventeenth chapters of the acts of the apostles, what St. Stephen and St. Paul had said there. Upon which he asked me how I understood those sentences? I answered; 'I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.'

"3. He asked me why I said I had rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple: I confessed that I said so; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul says in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians: 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?'

"4. He laid to my charge, that I said, 'If a bad priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.' My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying; 'That whoever he were that ministered to me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received nevertheless the body and blood of Christ.'

"5. He asked me what I said concerning confession: I answered him, that my meaning was as St. James saith, 'That every man ought to acknowledge his faults to others, and pray one for the other.'

"6. He asked me what I said about the king's book? And I answered him, that I could say nothing about it, because I never saw it.

"7. He asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me: I answered, I had not. I was but a reprobate or castaway. Then he said he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was here at hand.

"The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: no other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a papist.

"8. He asked me, if I did not think, that private masses helped the souls departed: I said, 'It was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death who Christ died for us.'

"Then they brought me to my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken by me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or not? This question I never asked, but they asked it of me; and I made them no answer, but smiled.

"Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the scriptures. 'For St. Paul,' he said, 'forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God.' I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 Corinthians xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation in 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 saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

"Then the lord mayor commanded me to prison: I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me a short answer, that he would take none. Then was I taken to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend being admitted to speak with me. But in the meantime there was a priest sent to me, who said that he was commanded by the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel. He first asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter, and I told him I could not tell. Then he said, it was a great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

"2. He said it was told him that I denied the sacrament of the altar. And I answered again, 'That which I have said, I have said.'

"3. He asked me if I were content to be confessed and absolved. I told him, that if I might have one of these three, Doctor Crome, William Whitehead, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom.

"4. He asked, if the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast received God or not? I answered; 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you to answer it yourself; for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that he who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew nothing of the order of schools.

"5. He asked me if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or not? I answered, that otherwise I were no christian woman; and I rejoiced that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed with many fair words.

"The twenty-third day of March, my cousin Britain came to the Compter to me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or not? Then he went immediately to my lord mayor, desiring him that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. However he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer, requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For he said, that as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So he went to the chancellor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it without my lord of London were made privy thereunto. But he said he would speak unto my lord in it, and bade him repair to him on the morrow, and he should then know my lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor, and with the bishop of London. The bishop declared to him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day at three of the o'clock at afternoon. Moreover, he said to him, that he wished there should be at the examination such learned men as I was partial to, that they might see, and report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to than to another. Then said the bishop; 'Yes, as I understand, she is partial to Crome, Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she knew them to be learned, and of a godly judgment.' Also, he required my Cousin Britain, that he should persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay aught to my charge for any thing that I should there speak.

"On the morrow, the bishop of London sent for me at one o'clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, 'As your lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come.' Then he said that he thought it meet to send for those men. Then I desired him not to put them to trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say. He commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said to me, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' To whom I answered: 'Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers, for I know not as yet.' Then he took my book out of my hand, and said, 'Such books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. 'Beware,' said he; 'beware, for he that wrote this book, was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.' And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that that was true that he had spoken. And he said he knew well the book was by John Frith. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token of a very slender knowledge. Then I opened the book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him to be no more so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my Cousin Britain, with others, as Master Hall of Gray's Inn, and others. Then my lord bishop of London said to me, that he wished I should take the counsel of such as were my friends and well-wishers, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience; for he assured me, that I need not fear to say any thing. For, as he had promised then, he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him should take advantage of me for any word that 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.

"Then he brought forth this unsavory similitude; that if a man had a wound, no surgeon would cure it before he had seen it. 'In like manner,' saith he, 'I can give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.' I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin, appeared much folly.

"'Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay to your charge your own report, which is this; you said, that he that receives the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receives the devil, and not God.' To that I answered, that 'I never spake such words. But, as I said before, both to the inquest 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 than the body and blood of Christ.' Then said the bishop to me, 'What is this *in spirit?* I will not take you at the advantage.' Then I answered: 'My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.'

"Then he told me, that I had said that the sacrament remaining in the pix, was but bread. I answered, that I never said so, but that indeed the inquest asked me such a question, and I would not answer it, I said, till such a time as they had answered me this question of mine: wherefore was Stephen stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

"Then said my lord to me, that I alleged a certain text of the scriptures, and I answered that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, 'That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then he asked me what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, 'I believe as the scripture teaches me.'

"Then he inquired of me, 'What if the scripture says, that it is the body of Christ?' 'I believe,' said I, 'as the scripture teaches me.' Then he asked again, 'What if the scripture says that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the scripture informs me.' And upon this he tarried a great while, to drive me to make him an answer to his own mind. However, I would not, but concluded with him, that I believed therein and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles left them.

"Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, 'God has given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of God.'

"Fifthly, my lord laid to my charge, that I said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, 'No, I said not so. However I said the inquest did ask me whether private mass did relieve souls departed or not? To whom I answered, O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God!' Then said my lord again, 'What an answer is that!' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet it is good enough for the question.'

"Then I told my lord, that there was a priest who heard what I said there before my lord mayor and them. With that the chancellor answered, 'Who was the same priest?' 'So she spake it in very deed,' saith the priest, 'before my lord mayor and me.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, who tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus; 'What I said to my lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me say my mind concerning the text of St. Paul, that I, being a woman, should interpret the scriptures, especially where there were so many wise and learned men.

"Then my lord of London said, he was informed that one asked of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and that I made a mock of it.

"Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth, which my lord would not. But he said again

to me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that I reported, that there were against me threescore priests at Lincoln. 'Indeed,' quoth I, 'I said so. For my friends told me, if I came to Lincoln, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble: and when I heard it, I went there indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my cause to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me. And as I was in the minster reading the Bible, they resorted to me by two and two, by five and by six, to have spoken to me, yet they went their ways again without speaking.'

"Then my lord asked if there were not one that did speak to me. I told him 'Yes, that there was one of them at last who did speak to me.' And my lord then asked me what he said? I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my lord 'There are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not.' I said again, 'My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure, myself, this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my lord went away, and said he would write somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great deal. But what it was I have not in my memory: for he would not suffer me to have the copy. Only I remember this small portion of it:

"'Be it known, of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made to the contrary. I believe that they who receive the sacrament at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is 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. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I agreed to it. And I said again, 'I believe so much of it, as the holy scripture agrees to: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that to it.' Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went into his great chamber and read it before the audience, who wished me to set my hand to it, saying, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the bishop, 'I might thank others, and not myself, for the favour that I found at his hand: for he considered, that I had good friends, and also that I came of a worshipful stock.'

"Then answered one Christopher, a servant to Master Denny: 'Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it for God's sake than for man's.' Then my lord sat down, and I wrote after this manner: 'I Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.'

"Then because I added to it 'the catholic church,' he ran into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God's sake to be a good lord to me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

"Then Dr. Weston went in to him, and said, that the cause why I wrote there 'the catholic church,' was, that I understood not the church written before. 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 Britain and Master Spilman of Gray's Inn.

"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 suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the morrow, and then he desired me to appear in the guild hall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing to me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the morrow, in St. Paul's church, who did so. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid to her charge. Notwithstanding at last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognizance for my forthcoming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me, ANNE ASKEW."

The second Apprehension and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.

"I do perceive, (dear friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth, concerning the Lord's supper, because Christ said to his apostles; 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.'

"In giving forth the bread as an outward sign or token received with the mouth, he wishes them in perfect belief to receive that body which should die for the people, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and wine were left us for a sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and bloodshedding, and that we should be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For he said, 'This is my body, which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.' Luke xxii. 9. Again, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.' 1 Cor. xi. 26. Otherwise we should have been forgetful of what we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it; therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our hearts the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this communion. For St. Paul saith, 'The letter killeth; but the spirit giveth life.' 2 Cor. iii. 6. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied to faith: note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end you shall find, that the things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are eternal. Yea, look in the third chapter to the Hebrews, and ye shall find that Christ as a Son (and no servant) ruleth over his house, whose house are we, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of our hope to the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts,' &c. Ps. xcv.

"Your request as concerning my fellow-prisoners, I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: Being asked before the council concerning 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 them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet he refused not to hear two poor common women, much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So in conclusion, I made them no other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked me my opinion of the sacrament. My answer was this: 'I believe that as often as I in a christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I received 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 of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said I spoke in parables. I answered, 'It is best for you, for if I shew you the open truth, you 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 all things gladly.

"Then I had rebukes from the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not, in the mean time, unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then they would needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, that I already had said what I could say. Then after many words they bade me go aside. Then came 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 I said to my lord Parr, and my lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to give counsel contrary to their knowledge.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, So did Judas, when he betrayed Christ. The bishop desired to speak with me alone; but I refused that. He asked me why? I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should be established, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine, Matt. xviii., 2 Cor. xiii.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then he went his way. The bishop said I should be burnt. I answered, 'That I had searched all the scriptures, yet I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside, and Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson came to me. In conclusion, we could not agree.

"Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, desiring me to set my hand to it; but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sick, thinking no less than to die. Then I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it was not allowed. Then I was sent to Newgate in the extremity of sickness; for in all my life before I was never in such pain. Thus may the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!

The Confession of me, Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my Belief.

"I find in scripture that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you,' meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being the sign or sacrament of it. For after like manner of speaking he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying by the temple his own body, as St. John declares it, John ii. 21; and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it; whereby we are knit to him by a communion of christian love, although there are many that cannot perceive the true meaning of it; for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof; (Exod. xxiv., and 2 Coriath. iii.); I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the bible, that God dwells in no thing material. 'O king,' says Daniel, 'be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men.' 'Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye.' Acts vii. 51.

"Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wishes death, nor fears his might, and as joyful as one that is bound towards heaven."

"Truth is laid in prison, Luke xxi. The law is turned to wormwood, Amos vi. And there can no right judgment go forth, Isa. lix.

"Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips. Neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods: for in thee the fatherless findeth mercy." Hosea xiv. 2, 3.

"Oh if they will do this, saith the Lord, I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.' And 'Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have heard him and observed him: I am like a green fir-tree; from me is thy fruit found. Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein." Hosea xiv. 8, 9.

"'Solomon,' saith St. Stephen, 'built an house for the God of Jacob. Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet, Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?' Acts vii. 48—50.

"'Woman believe me,' saith Christ to the Samaritan, "the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' John iv. 21—24.

"'Labour not,' saith Christ, 'for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.' John vi. 27."

The sum of the Condemnation of me, Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.

"They said that I was an heretic, and condemned by the law, and demanded if I would stand in mine opinion? I answered, 'That I was not an heretic; neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not,' I said, 'deny it, because I knew it to be true.' Then would they know if I denied the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said 'Yea. For the same Son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day in like manner as he ascended, (Acts i. 11.) And as for what you call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a proof of it, mark it when you choose, let it lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy and so turn to nothing that is good; so that I am persuaded it cannot be God.'

"After that, they wished me to have a priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good; I said I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned.

"My belief which I wrote to the council was this That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our souls' recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they know, whether the bread in the box were God or not. I said, 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth,' (John iv.) Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?' I answered, that 'I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there;' in proof of which I recited again the history of Bell, and the nineteenth chapter of Daniel, the seventh and seventeenth of the Acts, and the twenty-fourth of Matthew: concluding thus; 'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might, God have the praise with thanksgiving.'"

My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.

"The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their beginning, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

"My duty to your lordship remembered, &c. It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one which upon due consideration is moved to the same, and hopes to obtain it. My request to your lordship is only that it may please you to be a mediator for me to the king's majesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which, when it shall be truly compared with the hard judgment given against me for the same, I think his grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judges all secrets. And thus I commend your lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints, Amen.

"By your handmaid, ANNE ASKEW."

My Faith briefly written to the King's grace.

"I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God has given me the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned as an evil doer; here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency. And according to what I have said first and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ has said, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as his catholic church teaches. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God has charged me with by his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly for lack of learning. "ANNE ASKEW."

The effect of my Examination and handling since my Departure from Newgate.

"Then there came to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, That it would have been good for him never to have been born.

"Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

"Then came Master Rich as one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me of my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, 'If I pronounce anything against them, I am not able to prove it.'

"Then they said that there were gentlewomen who gave me money. I said I knew not their names.

"Then they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion; and there they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

"Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Immediately I swooned away, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with weary and painful bones, I thank my Lord God for it. Then my lord chancellor sent me word if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing; but if I would not, I should forthwith be sent to Newgate, and so be burnt. I sent him word again, that I would rather die than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

The manner of her racking in the Tower was thus; first, she was led down into a dungeon, where the lieutenant commanded the jailor to pinch her with the rack. Which being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley the chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, and having confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again. Which because he refused to do, pitying the weakness of the woman, he was threatened by Wriothesley, saying, that he would signify his disobedience to the king: and so he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, played the tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with child. To whom she answered again, "Ye shall not need to spare me for that, but do your will upon me;" and so quietly and patiently praying to the Lord, she bore their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost pulled asunder, so that she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was over, Wriothesley and his fellow took their horses, and rode towards the court.

In the meantime, while they were making their way by land, the lieutenant taking boat, went to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and did so. Who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter, and of the racking of Mrs. Askew, and that he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly desired his highness's pardon. Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like their extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, desiring him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, declaring how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God.

Anne Askew's Answer to John Lacel's Letter.

"O friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such weakness. For I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me as he has begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now that what they did there was but to frighten me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's majesty should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, for their cruelty God forgive them!

"Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell, and pray."

The Purgation or Answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her Recantation.

"I have read the process which is reported of them, that know not the truth, to be my Recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined by the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no confession of my mouth but this, That I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More they never had of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set my hand thereto; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did wish me not to hesitate, for they said it was no great matter.

"Then, with much ado, at last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true catholic church.' Then the bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, but afterwards by the means of friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of John, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

"ANNE ASKEW."

The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate before she suffered.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved,—do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed truth. For I take him to witness, that I have, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words are once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs I say nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo! this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, Those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth, in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David saith, 'That it shall be a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.'"

"There are some that do say I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were administered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were to us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

"O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head: yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee I cast my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not sit by them who are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which only is acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy truth aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

"By me, Anne Askew."

A few words remain to be said concerning her end and martyrdom. After she, born as she was of such kindred, that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ, had now been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, on account of her great torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared, Doctor Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon, Anne Askew hearing, and answering him; where he said well, she confirmed the same; where he said amiss, "There," said she, "he misses, and speaks without the book."

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there, tied at three several stakes, began their prayers. The concourse of the people was very great, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sate Wriothesley, chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with others.

Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, made answer, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the others, who in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to the fagots, cried with a loud voice, "Let justice be done."

Thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, having passed through so many torments, now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God; she slept in the Lord, A. D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lassels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian, were the names of those burnt along with her. Belenian was a priest of Shropshire, Adams a tailor, and Lassels, a gentleman of the court and household of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew. For though they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they received great comfort in that painful kind of death: and beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, shewed no kind of fear.

Thus confirming one another with mutual exhortations, their bodies were consumed in the fire, about the month of June, 1546.

As Winchester and other bishops did set on king Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs, so Doctor Repse, bishop of Norwich, incited no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers; who about the same time was condemned and suffered martyrdom for the six articles, in Smithfield.

The History of Queen Catharine Parr.

After these stormy histories, we must now treat of the afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, queen Catharine Parr, the last wife of king Henry.

About a year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that queen Catharine Parr was very much given to the reading of the holy scriptures, and that she had learned and godly persons to instruct her in them; with whom she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters; but especially that in Lent, every day in the afternoon for the space of an hour, one of her chaplains delivered a sermon in her privy chamber, to her and the ladies of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear. Which things, as they were not secretly done, so neither were the preachings unknown to the king; who seemed to like it very well. This made her the more bold (being indeed very zealous towards the gospel) to debate with the king touching religion; oftentimes desiring, and even persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in

banishing that monstrous idol of Rome (the pope), so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

And although the king, towards his latter end, grew very stern and obstinate, so that it was only of few he could be content to be taught, but least of all to be contended with by argument; still to her he refrained himself, and treated her with great respect, either through reverence for the cause, or else for the singular affection which, till a very short time before his death, he always bore to her. For besides the virtues of her mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and a comely personage; things wherein the king was greatly delighted; and so she enjoyed the king's favour, and would have done great good, had not the malicious practice of certain professed enemies against the truth prevented her; even to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and others with her, if God had not succoured her in her distress. The conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley then lord chancellor, and others. These men, for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose, sought to revive, stir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humours in their prince and sovereign lord, to the intent to deprive her of the great favour which she then stood in with the king, (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their antichristian sect, if it should continue.) They made their wicked entry upon their mischievous enterprise, after this manner. They knew the king disliked to be contended with in any argument. This humour of his, although the queen would not cross in smaller matters, yet in cases of religion as occasion served, she would not confine herself to reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of scripture. This the king was so well accustomed to, that he took all in good part, which greatly appalled her adversaries; who perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips to the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back.

It happened, however, in the time of the king's sickness, that he had left off his accustomed manner of visiting the queen: and therefore she sometimes was sent for, and sometimes of herself would come to visit him. At which time she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had increased the king's accustomed impatience, so that he began to shew some tokens of dislike; and contrary to his manner, one day breaking off the conversation, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen. To whom, notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his majesty; who after his manner bid her farewell "Sweet heart;" for that was his usual term to the queen.

At this visit the bishop of Winchester chanced to be present, as also at the queen's taking her leave, (who did not fail to observe the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her talk, and falling into other matter,) and thought that if the iron were struck whilst it was hot, and the king's humour were helped, such disliking might follow to the queen, as might overthrow both her and all her endeavours; and he only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former disliked argument. His expectation in that respect did nothing fail him; for the king even at that time shewed himself no less prompt and ready to receive information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words, "A good hearing it is when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself, as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his majesty, whom he to his face extolled for his rare virtues, and especially for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above professed doctors in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so impudently; and grievous to him for his part, to hear of it, as well as others of his majesty's counsellors and servants; inferring, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subject's hands: who, as they take boldness to oppose their sovereign in words, so they want no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the religion so stiffly maintained by the queen did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bore unto her for his majesty's sake,) he durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending likewise those arguments that she did defend, had with justice by law deserved death.

Howbeit for his part, he would not, nor durst not, without good warrant from his majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons urged him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his majesty, and his zeal for the preservation of his state, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering of it might, through her and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as chiefly tended to the prince's safety, without his majesty would take upon him to be their protector. Which if he would do, he with other faithful counsellors could disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is to cherish a serpent in his own bosom.

These and such other phrases whetted the king to anger and displeasure towards the queen. Thus Winchester with his flattering words so far insinuated himself with the king at that time, and so filled the king's distrustful mind, that before they separated, the king had given command, with warrant to certain of them, to consult together about the drawing up of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king pretended he fully resolved not to spare. With this commission they departed, resolved to put their pernicious practice into as mischievous execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of mischievous practices, as well as to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to ascertain what books forbidden by law she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden but gradually deal with her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those ladies, whom they knew to be intimate with her, and of her blood. The chief, and most in estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin-german; the lady Tyrwhitt, of her privy chamber, and for her virtuous disposition in very great favour and credit with her.

It was devised that these three should first of all have been accused and brought to answer to the six articles; and upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found by which the queen might be charged; which being found, the queen herself presently should have been taken, and likewise carried by night by barge to the Tower.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being unwell, to stir out of his chamber or private gallery; and few of his council, but by especial command, resorted to him. This purpose was handled

so secretly, that it grew now within a few days of the time for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew nor suspected anything at all; and therefore used after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion as before. The king all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction. Thus after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, it chanced that the king brake the whole matter to one of his physicians, pretending to him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by her enemies; but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living: and thereupon declared to him the parties above-named, with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows. But see what the Lord God did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares. For as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn up against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand (although dissemblingly you must understand), falling from the bosom of one of the councillors, was found by some godly person, and brought immediately to the queen. Who reading there the articles against her, and perceiving the king's own hand to the same, fell immediately into a great agony, bewailing and talking on in such sort, as was lamentable to hear and see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen being yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

The king hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians to her; who seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, the physician to whom the king had spoken, perceiving by her words what the matter was, for the comforting of her mind, began to break with her in secret, touching the articles against her, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true; although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter it to any living creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hung over her head, beseeching her to use all secresy, and exhorted her to frame and comport herself to the king's mind, saying, he did not doubt, but if she would do so, and shew her humble submission to him, she should find him gracious and favourable to her.

It was not long after this, that the king hearing of the dangerous state in which she still remained, came to her himself. To whom, after that she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his majesty, she said, had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her mind, that she began somewhat to recover; and so the king, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering with herself the words that Mr. Wendy had said to her, devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the king's presence. And so first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night after supper, she, waited upon only by the lady Herbert her sister, and the lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, went to the king's bedchamber, whom she found sitting and talking with several gentlemen of his chamber. Whom when the king beheld, he very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the gentlemen, began of himself, contrary to his manner, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen perceiving to what purpose this talk tended, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the king, resolved his questions as the time and opportunity required, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering again after this manner:

"Your majesty," said she, "does right well know, neither am I myself ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted to us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject to man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed; and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being indued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so also made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed. Thus womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that by wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since, therefore, that God has appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature to you, how then comes it now to pass that your majesty, in such causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? Which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth, next under God, to lean to."

"Not so, by St. Mary," replied the king, "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty take it so," said the queen, "then has your majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have, with your majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there has seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease by it; but also, that I hearing your majesty's learned discourse might receive to myself some profit. Wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters to your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart?" answered the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sate in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, "That it did him more good at that time to hear those words out of her own mouth, than if he had been informed that an hundred thousand pounds in money had fallen to him." And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and affection, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, he entered into other very pleasant discourse with the queen and the lords, and the gentlemen standing by, and then in the end he gave her leave to depart.

Now then, God be thanked, the king's mind was quite altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly shewed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who not understanding the king's mind, and good disposition towards the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour; which was the day on which they had determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

The day, and almost the hour appointed, being come, the king being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, (waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bed-

chamber), went into the garden, whither the queen also came, having been sent for by the king himself, accompanied by the three ladies above named to wait upon her; with whom the king at that time disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before. When suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in comes the lord chancellor into the garden, with forty of the king's guards at his heels, to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone; the king sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him. Who upon his knees spake certain words to the king, but what they were (for they were softly spoken, and the king a good distance from the queen), is not well known; but it is most certain that the king's reply to him was, "Knave;" yea, "Arrant knave, beast, and fool;" and with that the king commanded him presently to begone out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet they were so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen with her ladies overheard them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as afterwards she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train, the whole device being utterly broken.

The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen; whom she perceiving to be very much chafed (albeit coming towards her, he forced himself to put on a cheerful countenance), with as sweet words as she could utter she endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with a request to his majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, whom he seemed to be offended with; saying, for his excuse, "That although she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought his majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her humble suit to take it."

"Ah, poor soul," said he, "thou little knowest how ill he deserves this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he has been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." To this the queen in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having also by God's blessing happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and of such-like bloody adversaries practising thus against the queen, puts me in remembrance of such another story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen. Which story I thought here, as in a convenient place, to be notified to all posterity, according as I had it faithfully recorded to me by one who heard it from Archbishop Cranmer's own mouth.

A Discourse, touching a certain Policy used by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry VIII. from redressing certain Abuses of Ceremonies in the Church, being Ambassador beyond the Seas.—Also the Communication of King Henry VIII. with the Ambassador of France, at Hampton-court, concerning the Reformation of Religion, as well in France as in England. August, A.D. 1546.

It chanced in the time of King Henry VIII., when his highness, not many years before his death, concluded a league between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent as ambassador beyond the seas for that purpose. In whose absence Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion to further the reformation of religion. For as the archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel; so was that other bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against it, in whatever part of the world he remained. For even now he being beyond the seas, in the temporal affairs of the realm, forgot not, but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the archbishop, as the godly disposition of the king's majesty, which thus happened:

Whilst the bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas, the king's majesty and the archbishop having conference together for reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church; among other things, the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow's-night, with a few such-like vain ceremonies; and, therefore, when the archbishop took his leave of the king, to go into his diocese, his highness desired him to remember, that he should cause two letters to be devised: "By me," said the king, "to be signed; the one to be directed to you, my lord, and the other to the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both to send forth your precepts to all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed without delay, that we have communed of."

So upon this, the king's pleasure being known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was come into Kent, he caused his secretary to write these letters according to the king's mind; and being in readiness, he sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny had moved the king thereto, the king made answer, "I am now otherwise resolved; for you shall send my lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about those matters, I have received letters from my lord of Winchester, now on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us and the emperor, and the French king; and he writes plainly to us, that the league will not prosper, nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore has been already commenced and done. Wherefore my lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear, until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

Which matter of reformation began to be revived again, when the great ambassador from the French king, came to the king's majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death; where no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat and a chain of gold. And for the entertainment of the ambassador, there were built in the park three very great and sumptuous banqueting houses. At first it was purposed, that the ambassador should have been three nights very richly banqueted. But as it chanced, that the French king's great affairs became suddenly changed, so that this ambassador was sent for home in haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him; and he had but the fruition of the first banqueting house.

Now, what prince-like order was there used in the furniture of the banquet, as well in places of the noble estates, namely, the king's majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noblemen both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's highness and the lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies of the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of costly and fine dishes there displayed, it is not our purpose here to treat of; but only to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the banquet was finished, between the king's majesty, the ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury (the king's highness standing openly in the banqueting-house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador) touching the establishing of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms: as by the report of the archbishop to his secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in

King Edward's visitation, then being register in the visitation, relation was made on that behalf as follows:—

When the visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the archbishop sent for the register to Hampton Court, and desired him to make notes of certain things in the visitation; he gave to him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the visitation. Upon which occasion the register said to his master the archbishop; "I remember, that you not long ago caused me to write letters, which King Henry VIII. should have signed and directed to your grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow-night, and such like vain ceremonies. Which letters your grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done."

"Why," said the archbishop, "did you never hear that those letters were suppressed and stopped?" The archbishop's servant answered; "as it was," said he, "my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became of them." "Indeed," repied the archbishop, "my lord of Winchester being then beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm, touching religion in his absence, wrote to the king's majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league would not prosper nor go forwards on his majesty's behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration, in religion, or ceremonies in the church; which caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's command."

Then said his servant again to him; "Forsomuch as the king's good intent did not then take place, now your grace may go forward in those matters, as the opportunity of the time is much better serving than in King Henry's days."

"Not so," said the archbishop. "It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry's day than at this time, the king being in his infancy. For if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Indeed, we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses in the church; and, therefore, the council has forborne especially to speak of it, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed, referring all those, and such like matters, to the discretion of the visitors. But if King Henry VIII. had lived to this day with the French king, it had been past my lord of Winchester's power to have influenced the king's highness, as he did when he was about the same league."

"I am sure you were at Hampton Court," replied the archbishop, "when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting houses, not long before the king's death; namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and me, if I should tell what communication passed between the king's highness and the ambassador, concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the king's highness had been so forward in those matters as he then appeared. I may tell you it concerned more than the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells: I take it, that few in England would have beneved, that the king's majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the mass in both the realms into a communion as we now use it), but also utterly to have extirpated and banished the bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and his other countries and seigniories, or else they would break off from him. And herein the king's highness commanded me (said the archbishop) to pen a form to be sent to the French king to consider of. But the deep and most secret Providence of Almighty God, visiting this realm with a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes."

A brief Narration of the Trouble of Sir George Blage.

Here may something be said of Sir George Blage, one of the king's privy chamber, who, being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight; and Master Littleton; was sent for by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and carried to Newgate, and thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned and appointed to be burned. The words which his accusers laid to him were these; "What if a mouse should eat the bread? Then, in my opinion, they should hang the mouse." Whereas, to the end of his life, he protested that he never spoke these words. But the truth, as he said, was this; that they, walking with him in St. Paul's church after a sermon of Doctor Crome's, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, "Yea." "I heard," saith Master Littleton, "that he said in his sermon, That the mass profits neither for the quick nor for the dead." "No," saith Master Blage, "wherefore then? perhaps for a gentleman when he rides in hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling!" And so they departed, and immediately after he was apprehended and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among those of the Privy Chamber, the king hearing them whispering (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Upon which the matter being told, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king being very offended that they would come so near him, into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding him immediately to draw out the pardon himself, and so he was set at liberty. Blage coming afterwards into the king's presence; "Ah, my pig," saith the king to him, for so he used to call him. "Yea," said he, "if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time."

Then the popish leaders, when they had martyred Mrs. Askew and the others, and being now in their triumph, like the pharisees when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised among themselves how to keep him down still, and to over-tread truth for ever. On consulting with certain of the council, they made out a hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for abolishing the scriptures, and all such English books as might set forth God's true word, and grace of the gospel.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, the eighth day of July, A. D. 1546.

"The king's most excellent majesty understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's scripture, divers evil disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books printed in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted, arrogantly and maliciously, to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as follows:—

"First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tindal's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament held at Westminster in the four-and-

thirtieth and five-and-thirtieth year of his majesty's most noble reign; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindal, Wickliff, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other book or books, containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four or thirty-five; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book, or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other, and the master or ruler of the house, and such other as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as before or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly, within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese, to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them immediately to be openly burned: which thing the king's majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as are passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented by this proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books, and commands that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who brings forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved, and convicted by sufficient witness before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his highness for the same, as by his majesty, or four of his grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

"Finally, His majesty straightly charges and commands, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition, soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute, any English book printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other his majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his highness' express grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his majesty's extreme indignation."

Having procured this proclamation, they proceeded to prohibit all the books that taught the true gospel of Christ, under pretence that they taught heresy and every evil thing; and thus they slandered, under names of heresy and blasphemy, the writings and doctrine, and persons, of the protestants: and while they thus prohibited all true doctrine, they themselves published many books against the protestants, in which they most falsely and untruly call them heretics, charging them as blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, church robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of the public peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of the commonwealth, and all else that is bad.

In much like sort was Socrates accused by his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defends. Aristides, the Just, lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected to St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil that good might come? How was it laid to the christian martyrs in the primitive church for worshipping of an ass's head, and for sacrificing of infants? And to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the christian congregation of the Frenchmen gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of horrible wickedness, which we must not name, and were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a wine-drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, &c.

Even so likewise it pleases our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who under the name of the church will needs maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world; and because they cannot uphold their cause by plain scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with railing and slandering, making princes and the simple people believe, that all are heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and government, whoever dare reply with any scripture against their doings.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had caused the city of Rome to be set on fire, and it had burned seven nights, he made open proclamation that the innocent christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

Not much unlike seems the dealing of these papists, who when they are the true heretics themselves, and have burnt and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor protestants, to make the people believe, that they are the heretics, schismatics, and disturbers of the whole world. Who if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them "heretics!" and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error; they call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood hath been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge them with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the scriptures and word of God? Or what rebellion is so great as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true, as that the christians set the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? They, that say the bishop of Rome is no more but the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown, is not a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which indeed the bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see who are the greater heretics, the protestants or papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, who cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knows the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the protestants, which admit none other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but him alone; or else the papists, who can abide none of these articles, but condemn them for heresy. Which being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge, good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire, Nero, or the christians.

But to return again to our former purpose, which was to shew the proclamation of the bishops for abolishing English books, as being corrupt and full of heresy, which notwithstanding we have declared to contain no

heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and scripture of God.

Now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this proclamation for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, as made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, thinking they had overthrown the gospel for ever, and that they had firmly established their kingdom. Who would have thought, after so straight, so precise, and so solemn a proclamation, set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority; also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lassels, and the rest, who would have thought, I say, but that the gospel must needs be overthrown? seeing what sure work the papists had made, in setting up their cause, and throwing down the cause of truth.

But it is not a new thing with the Lord, to shew his power against man, who, when he counts himself the most sure, is then furthest off; and when he supposes to have done all, is then to begin again. So was it in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maximin, Decius, and other emperors impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, did not only institute laws and make proclamations against the christians, but they also did engrave the same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm for ever; yet we see, how with a little turning of God's hand all their mighty devices, and brazen laws were turned to wind and dust. So little does it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings. Man's building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldering stones; yet that which the Lord takes in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pull down. What God sets up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intends, stands; what he blesses, prevails. And yet man's presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babel against the Lord, which the higher they are built up, fall with the greater ruin. For what can stand, that stands not with the Lord?

The proclamation, though it was terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reason of the king's death (whom the Lord shortly afterwards took to his mercy) it became of no avail. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned to a day of lamentation. Such are the admirable workings of the Lord of Hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever.

This do I not infer for any other purpose, but only that the works of the Lord may be seen; admonishing thee, good reader, that as to the king, (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name only,) here is nothing spoken but to his honour and praise. Who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in abolishing the almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing idolatry and pilgrimage, &c., which enterprises as never king of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him; so yet to this day we see but few in other realms dare follow the same.

If princes have always their counsel about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, bishop Cranmer, Master Doctor Buts, with such like were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he; as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him; in setting up the Bible in the church; in exploding the pope with his vile pardons; in removing divers superstitious ceremonies; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects; in putting chantry priests to their pensions; in permitting white meat in Lent; in destroying pilgrimage worship; in abrogating idle and superfluous holydays, both by public acts, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect. One of these letters we here subjoin:

By the King.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our subjects by the great superfluity of holydays, we have by the assent and consent of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth; for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed, and to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments in our name to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holydays aforesaid, a transcript whereof ye shall receive herewith, commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished; whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur, or contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approaches, our pleasure is, you shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August."

Thus while good counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretences, had the ascendancy over him, thrusting truth and charity out of the prince's ears; so much did religion and all good things go prosperously forward before, and so much on the contrary side all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this proclamation above-mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books. Which proclamation bearing the name of the king's majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the prelates, causing the king to leave that by death to the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within four months after, the proclamation coming out in August, he died on the 27th day of January (A.D. 1547) after having reigned nearly thirty-eight years, leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth; of whom it remains now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according to the order of their succession, and the acts done by them in the church shall require: after I shall have first prosecuted certain other matters by the way.

The History touching the Persecution in Scotland.

Thus having finished the time and reign of king Henry VIII., it remains now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoin so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, who in that country likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, and testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of the affairs of Scotland, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Nicolas Gurlay, with whom we ended before, the order of time requires us to advert to the memory of Sir John Borthwick, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwick. Who being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited to answer for the same, A. D. 1540, did not appear, but escaped into other countries: though absent, however, he was condemned by the sentence of

David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates of Scotland, and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwick, knight, by the Cardinal, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.

[After reciting the articles with which he was charged, it thus concludes:]

"Of all which the premises, and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said Sir John Borthwick is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many as a heretic, and principal heretic, who holdeth evil opinions of the catholic faith.

Where we, David, by the title of St. Stephen, in Mount Celio, prelate and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice, having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith before our eyes, his holy name being first called upon, having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwick, called Captain Borthwick, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, as is aforesaid, and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convicted and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be a heretic; and is, and hath been convicted as a heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit all and singular his goods, moveables, and unmoveables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also, we decree that the picture of the said John Borthwick being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our city, to our cathedral church; and afterwards to the market cross of the same city; and there in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others; and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwick be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace, or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenour of these presents, all and singular faithful christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, decree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatever dignity, or honour ecclesiastical, or temporal they be honoured, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwick, commonly called Captain Borthwick, being accused, convicted, and declared a heretic, and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatever it be, they do shew unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation and forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf."

And now to prosecute such others as followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forrest and his fellows: their history is as follows:

Not long after the burning of David Straiton and Master Gourlay, in the days of David Beaton, cardinal, and archbishop of St. Andrews; and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld; a canon of St. Colme's Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called Dean Thomas Forrest, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time; which, then, was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Black friar, or a Gray friar; and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained) as a heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of the scriptures, to the vulgar people, in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the instigation of the friars, called Dean Thomas, and said to him; "Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said: "I thank your lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner.—

"Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle, or gospel, every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cowl, nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, Dean Thomas, I would you took your cowl, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that sets forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone."

Thomas answered; "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cowl, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have, and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

"And where your lordship saith, it is too much to preach every Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like." "Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," said the bishop; "let that be; for we are not ordained to preach." Then said Thomas; "Where your lordship bids me preach, when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil." Then spake my lord stoutly, and said, "I thank God that I never knew what the New and Old Testament was" (and of these words rose a proverb which is common in Scotland: 'Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither new nor old law'), "therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass book, and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it." Thomas said; "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not much what follows;" and so my lord and he separated at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Dunkeld, upon the Dean Thomas Forrest, upon two Black friars, called Friar John Kelore, and another called Beverage, and upon a priest of Stirling, called Duncan Simpson, and one gentleman called Robert Forster, in Stirling, with other three or four with them of the town of Stirling, who, at the day of their appearance, were condemned to death without any opportunity for recantation, because (as was alleged) they

were heresiarch, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy; and especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Stirling; and did eat flesh in Lent, at the bridal, and so they were all together burnt upon the castle hill, Edinburgh, where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously comforted them who came behind.

The persecution, by the Cardinal of Scotland, against certain persons in Perth.

There was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the scriptures in their mother tongue; forbidding, nevertheless, all reasoning, conference, or convocation of people to hear the scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading, being granted by public proclamation, bore fruit; so that in several parts of Scotland there were opened the eyes of the servants of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations.

At this time there was a sermon made by Friar Spense, in Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. Which blasphemous doctrine, a burgess of the town, Robert Lamb, could not bear, but accused him publicly of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in God's name to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience, and yet Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, especially of the women, who were proceeding to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time, (A.D. 1543,) the enemies of the truth procured John Charters, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the governor's authority, and a papist called Master Alexander Marbeck chosen in his room, that they might accomplish the more easily their wicked and ungodly purpose.

After deposing the former provost, and electing the other, in the month of January there came to Perth the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell, of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the lord Borthwick, the bishops of Dunblane, and Orkney, with others of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, as they called it, yet the following persons only were apprehended at that time; Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Reveleson, James Founleson, and Hellen Stirke, his wife, and were cast that night into the Spay Tower of the city, on the morrow after, to receive judgment.

The next day when they appeared, and were brought forth to judgment, there was laid in general to all their charge the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of the scriptures against the tenor of the act. Robert Lamb was accused especially for interrupting the friar in the pulpit, which he not only confessed, but also confirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore many who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for consenting. This Robert, also, with William Anderson, and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing rams' horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow even.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet because he often frequented that suspected company, he was accused.

The woman, Hellen Stirke, was accused because in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake, and because she said, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ; thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson, when building a house, set upon the top of his fourth stair the three crowned diadem of Peter, made of wood, which the cardinal took as done in mocking of his cardinal's hat, and this procured no favour to James at their hands.

These persons were condemned and judged to death, and that by an assize, for violating, as was alleged, the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon the scriptures; for eating flesh upon days forbidden; for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit; for dishonouring images, and blaspheming the Virgin Mary.

After their sentence was given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. Which the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the people of the town for the life of these persons to the governor, who of himself was willing to have done so, that they might have been delivered. But the governor was so under subjection to the cruel priests, that he could not do what he would. Yea, they threatened to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were some priests in the city, who ate and drank before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bound. These priests were earnestly desired to intreat for them at the cardinal's hands; but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death than preservation. So cruel are these wicked men from the lowest to the highest.

Then they were carried by a great band of armed men, (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the foot of the gallows, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

His wife desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." After that she was taken to a place to be drowned, and although she had a child sucking at her breast, yet this moved not the unmerciful hearts of her enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the child was given to the nurse, she sealed the truth by her death.

The Condemnation of Master George Wishart, who suffered Martyrdom, A.D. 1546.

I will solicit the attention of the reader to the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wishart, by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles of which he was accused, and his meek answers. Finally, ponder on the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church of Rome, in persecuting this blessed man of God; and his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them at the moment, without regarding their menacings and threats, but not moving his countenance nor changing his visage.

But before I advert to his articles, I thought it not impertinent to touch somewhat concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as it came to my hands, certified in writing by a scholar of Wishart, named Emery Tylney, whose words, as he wrote them to me, here follow:—

"About the year 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Benet's college, a man of tall stature; judged by his physiognomy to be of a melancholy disposition, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of person, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well-travelled; never having on him for his habit or clothing but a mantle or frieze-gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him; he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation, amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland, with some of the nobility, that came for a treaty to king Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart, and truth of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

"Emery Tylney."

Master George Wishart was in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, where the dean of the town was sent by command of the cardinal to summon him, that he should upon the morning following appear before the judge, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

To whom Master George answered, "What need my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer by his power? Or believes he that I am unprepared to render account of my doctrine?"

On the next morning, the cardinal caused his servants to dress themselves in their most warlike array, with all their arms, more prepared for war than for the preaching of the word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Master George, who was conveyed into the church by the captain of the castle, accompanied by a hundred men-at-arms; like a lamb they led him to the sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying there afflicted with great infirmities, who asked of him alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the subprior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii., whose sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it may be known; which he defined in this manner, "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly contrary to the word of God."

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that and other realms. The cause of heresy is the ignorance of those who have the cure of souls; to whom it necessarily belongs to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win the false teachers of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as says St. Paul: "For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not selfwilled, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." Titus i. 7—9.

The fourth part of his sermon was how heresies should be known. Heresies (said he) are known after this manner: as the goldsmith knows the fine gold from the imperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At last he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life: which proposition the gospel appeared to contradict; "Let them grow together till the harvest;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and the law. And when he ended his sermon, they caused Master George to ascend the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against them stood John Lauder, laden full of curses written on paper; who took out a roll, both long and full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth would have speedily swallowed him up. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When this well-fed priest had read through all his menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Master George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and christianly he answered to them all as follows:—

"Many horrible sayings and many abominable words ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought a great abomination. Wherefore I pray you quietly to hear me, that you may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I desire to be heard for three causes.

"The first is, because through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that you hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

"The second reason is, because that your salvation springs from the word of God; for he works all things by his word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if

you should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reason is, because your doctrine utters many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming from the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than that of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable that you should know what my words and doctrine are, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own salvation, and safety of my life, I beseech you to hear me, and I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the commandments of God, the twelve articles of the creed, and the Lord's prayer in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show you faithfully what manner I used when I taught.

Then suddenly with a loud voice, the accuser cried, "Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power into thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou has been a preacher so long." Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, exclaimed, "If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy scripture so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George seeing their malicious and wicked intention, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder, answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Meropois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus à latere?* And so reciting a long list of titles, he asked, "Is not my lord cardinal an equal judge? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?"

To whom this humble man answered, "I refuse not my lord cardinal; but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate; with some of your lordships mine auditors; because I am here my lord governor's prisoner." Whereupon the proud and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge! speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor, and others the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics." And without delay they would have given sentence upon Master George, without further process, had not certain men counselled the cardinal to read the articles, and to hear his answers, that the people might not complain of his condemnation.

These were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to answer their charges, and shew his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with another article.

1. "Thou false heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and in it contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preached in Dundee, and was charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but persevered in the same; and, therefore, the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. That, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' (Acts v. 29.) I have also read in the prophet Malachi, 'I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings.' (Mal. ii. 2.) Believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings."

2. "Thou false heretic didst say, that the priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail."

"My lords, I said not so; these were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a searcher of men's hearts; therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and truth honour him."

3. "Thou false heretic didst preach against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments."

"My lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shewed to us by the gospel. I profess them openly; and except it be the word of God I dare affirm nothing."

4. "Thou false heretic hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest that we should only confess to God, and to no priest."

"My lords, I say, that auricular confession, seeing that it has no promise of the gospel, cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in scripture, as when David saith, 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' (Psalm xxxii. 5.) Here confession signifies the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And further, St. James saith, 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.'" (James iii. 16.)

When he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried, and gnashed their teeth, saying, "See you not what colours he has in his speaking, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?"

5. "Thou heretic didst openly say, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was, contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church."

"My lords, I believe there are none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman, or stranger: so, likewise, I would that we understood what we promise to God, in the name of the infant in baptism. For this cause I believe you have confirmation."

Then said Master Bleiter, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then a child answered him, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man speaks."

6. "Thou heretic, traitor, thief, thou saidst that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and nothing else; and all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God."

"Oh Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the scripture does not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught anything against the scriptures, which I shall by God's grace make manifest this day; being ready to suffer death for it.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable to God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable to him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing on the Rhine. I inquired of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him fulfilled? Moreover the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the scripture I proved to him that Messias was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again, 'When Messias comes, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them; but amongst us Jews (though we are poor), there are no beggars found.—Secondly: it is forbidden by the law

to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only is to be honoured; but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols.—Thirdly: a piece of bread baken upon the ashes you adore and worship, and say, that it is your God.' I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true."

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spit on the earth.

7. "Thou false heretic didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

"My lords, I never taught anything of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or not."

8. "Thou false heretic saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou didst condemn conjuring, and said, that holy church's cursings avail not."

"My lords, as for holy water, I taught nothing about it in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

9. "Thou false heretic and runnagate hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such-like. Thou saidst, that the pope hath no more power than any other man."

"My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of whom one says, 'And hath made us kings and priests.' (Rev. i. 6.) The other says, 'But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.' (1 Pet. ii. 9.) Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man being skilful in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, has this power from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, which word is called 'The power of God,' (Rom. i. 16.) as witnesses St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatever estate or order he be of, I say, he has no power to bind or loose, seeing he wants the instrument by which he binds or looses, that is to say, the word of God."

After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," said he, "my lords? Though these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they concern not only myself, but also the honour and glory of God." In the meantime, many godly men beholding the great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, greatly mourned and lamented.

10. "Thou false heretic saidst, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics, who say, that it is not in man's will to do anything; but that all concupiscence and desire comes by God, whatever kind it be of."

"My lords, I said not so, truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, to them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, 'If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' (John viii. 36.) On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin. 'Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.'" (John viii. 34.)

11. "Thou false heretic saidst, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday, as on Sundays."

"I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifies by the word, the creature of God. But the creature makes no man acceptable to God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are 'sanctified by the word of God and prayer.'" (1 Tim. iii. 5.)

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their accomplices, "What need we any witness against him? Has he not openly here spoken blasphemy?"

12. "Thou false heretic didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this, or not; speak shortly."

For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers he said, without doubt plainly, that saints should not be honoured. "My lord," said he, "there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain; the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.' (Matt. iv. 10.) But as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many whether they hear or not invocation made to them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and makes intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth up another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the Truth and the Life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, is fallen into it already. This is my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm anything."

13. "Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, saying, that there is no purgatory; and that it is a feigned thing, that any man after this life can be punished in purgatory."

"My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without witness and testimony of the scriptures I dare affirm nothing. I have oftentimes read over the Bible, and yet such a term I never found, nor yet any place of scripture applicable to it. Therefore I was ashamed to teach that which I could not find in the scriptures."

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the scriptures, by which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory." But this accuser had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

14. "Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live single."

"My lords, I have read in the gospel, that as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, nor have vowed chastity, should marry. You have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines, than one married wife.

15. "Thou false heretic and runnagate saidst, thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

"My lords, what your general councils are I know not, I was never exercised in them; but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general council, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves said, "Wherefore let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them."

Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graifind Scot, standing behind John Lauder, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his godly answers. "For we may not listen to them," said he, "any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross."

16. "Thou heretic saidst, that it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God re-

mains not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as between the priest's hands."

"My lords, Solomon says, 'Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded?' (1 Kings viii. 27.) And Job consents to the same sentence; 'Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.' (Job xi. 7—9.) So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because he is infinite. Notwithstanding these sayings, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but of the contrary I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, whereso-ever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them."

Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, shew forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

17. "Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and said thou should not fast."

"My lord, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not only so, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body; but God knows who fasts the true fast."

18. "Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me: I know surely by the word of God, that he who has begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believes firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but shall live an immortal life. Which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ. To which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory, Amen."

When the bishops with their accomplices had accused this innocent man in this manner, they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, having no respect to his godly answers and true reasons, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying in St. John, "They shall put thee out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." John xvi. 2.

The Prayer of Master George Wishart.

"O immortal God, how long shalt thou suffer the great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants who further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to be contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast shewed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and ignorance of thy name. O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us, by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou keep, defend and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then they caused the common people to depart, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the castle, then there came two gray fiends, friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, you must make your confession to us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession to you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession to him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession, I cannot shew.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows erected, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal dreading lest Master George should be taken away by his friends, commanded that all the ordnance of the castle should be turned against that part, and that all his gunners should be ready and stand by their guns, until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of execution. As he came forth from the castle gate, there met him certain beggars asking him alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands wherewith I should give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both to your bodies and souls." Then afterward met him two false fiends, I should say, friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he went down upon his knees and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people and said these words:

"I beseech you, christian brethren and sisters, that you be not offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me. But I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, who have heard me often before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught to them, after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew to them that my doctrine was no old wife's fables after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men. But for the world's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider, and behold my visage, you shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if any persecution come to you for the word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soul of man did sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours." Then he prayed for them who accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have, of any ignorance, or of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he spoke to the people in this manner; "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their

wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not escape." Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said; "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee. Do thine office;" and by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder. When the people beheld the great torment, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

The Martyrdom of Adam Wallace.

On a platform erected at the Black friars' church in Edinburgh, there was the lord governor: behind him sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back stood the official of Lothian. Next to the archbishop of St. Andrews, sat the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Murray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of that city: and at the other end of the seat sat Master Ouchiltrie: on his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell, of Lundie. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancel wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbottle the accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the people in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that Adam Wallace was brought in, a simple poor man in appearance, and was commanded to look to the accuser; who asked him what was his name; he answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Feane. Then he asked where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I am sorry that such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great inconvenience this day by your vain speaking." "And I must speak," said he, "as God gives me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would God," said the accuser, "you had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresies, as were never imagined nor heard of in this country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that you cannot deny it."

"Adam Wallace, alias Feane: thou art openly accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under-written. First, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying; "I never said, nor taught any thing but what I found in this book (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be my judge, where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put upon me; for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this book."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser. "I said, answered he, "that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. "And, as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Matt. xxvi. 26—28. And in St. Luke it is added, "This do in remembrance of me." Luke xxii. 19.

Then said the bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The Earl of Huntly said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea to it." He answered, "If you will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, you will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the trial and touchstone says; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world."

"Why," said the Earl of Huntly, "Hast thou not a judge good enough? and think you that we know not God and his word? Answer to that which is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," said the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

He answered, "I never said more than the written word says; for I know well by St. Paul when he saith, 'Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.' And therefore when I taught, which was but seldom, and to them only who required and desired me, I said, 'That if the sacrament of the altar were truly administered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power.'"

The bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?"

He answered, "I know not what that word consecration means. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and has a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught; he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body, with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for which everlasting thanks be to him who makes this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on him, answering some of his disciples who grudged it, he said, 'The poor you have always with you, but me ye have not always:' meaning his natural body. And likewise at his ascension he said to the same disciples who were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, 'It is needful for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter (the Holy Ghost) will not come unto you;' (meaning that his natural body must be taken away from them.) 'But be of good cheer; for I am with you always, until the end of the world.'

"And that the eating of his very flesh profits not, may be well known by his words which he spake in St. John; where, after he had said, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;' they murmured thereat, and he reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and said, 'What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing;' to be eaten as they took it, and even so take you it." (vi. 53—63.)

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. Then he was bid to hear the accuser, who propounded

the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and didst openly teach that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

"He answered and said, "I have read the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet I never read that word mass in it all: but I found that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say that the mass is holden greatly in estimation amongst men and is not founded on the Word; there I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the scripture, and prove it by God's word, I will acknowledge my error, and will submit to all lawful correction and punishment."

"Go to the third article," said the archbishop.

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast openly taught, that the God whom we worship is but bread, sown of corn, grown of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

He answered, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, who made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein; but I know not what God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?" "What the body of God is," said he, "and what kind of body he has, I have shewed you; so far as I have found it declared in the scriptures."

Then said the accuser, "thou hast preached, and openly taught other great errors and abominable heresy against all the seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I omit and pass over. Dost thou admit the articles that thou art accused of or not?" And then the accuser repeated the above three articles, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He answered as he had before said, and that he had said nothing but what agreed with the holy word as he understood it, so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him; and by that would he abide till the time he were better instructed by the scriptures, even to the death: and he said to the lord governor and other lords, "If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it; nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.'"

Then they passed sentence, and condemned him, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle-hill. He was put in prison with irons about his legs and neck, and given in charge to Sir Hugh Terry, to keep the key, an ignorant minister, and a ready servant of Satan and of the bishops; who, by direction, sent to the poor man two Gray friars to instruct him, with whom he would not enter into any communication. Soon after there was sent to him two Black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophist. Wallace would have reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures with the English friar; but he answered that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed.

Then there was sent to him a worldly-wise man, though ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Roscalrige, who gave him christian consolation; he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration; but he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy scriptures, and so passed over that night in singing and praising God to the tears of many hearers, having learned the psalter of David without book. For they had before spoiled him of his bible, which, till after he was condemned, was always with him wherever he went. After Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him destitute of consolation, and gave ungodly and injurious provocations, in order to pervert the poor man from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved.

Thus this godly man abode in irons all night and all the next morning; when provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. Which day the lord governor, and all the principal, both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the dean of Roscalrige to him again, and reasoned with him; but Wallace answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the scripture testifies, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saving that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of this dean in other respects as becomes a christian.

Then came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him, and said he would make devils come out of him before evening. He answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he has made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace." Then he asked of one of the officers who stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" Who told him it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God. I am ready sooner or later as it shall please him;" and then he spake to a faithful one in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, no man spake with him.

When he was brought out of prison, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any man to him. Coming from the town to the castle hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him." "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so he departed to God with great constancy.

The Schism that arose in Scotland about the Pater-noster.

After Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black friars at Newcastle, in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews, in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the Pater-noster) should be said only to God, and not to saints, or to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Gray friars, who had long ago taught the people to say the Pater-noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be opposed, and stirred up a Gray friar, called Friar Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater-noster or our Lord's Prayer to saints; who, finding no part of the scriptures to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit on the first of November, being the feast of Allhallows, (A.D. 1551), and took the text from the gospel that day read in their mass, in the fifth of Matthew, containing these words: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition appertains to them. "For if we meet an old man in the street," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good day, father,' and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they are in heaven, so we may

say to every one of them, 'Our Father which art in heaven.' Our Father, God, has made their names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, 'Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.' And for the same cause," said the friar, "as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, 'Thy kingdom come.' And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom. And therefore seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, 'Thy will be done.'"

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly; partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spoke against his own knowledge and conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, said he, that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession; and so he commented on the rest of the prayer to the end. Not yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah's cloak divided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God; with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland, not only to the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry; so that there arose a proverb; "*To whom say you your* PATER-NOSTER?" And although the papists had the upper hand as then (so great was the blindness of that age), yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could understand the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin), utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in nowise be said to saints; so that the tradesmen and others, when the friar came among them, put him to great shame, crying "Friar Pater-noster! Friar Pater-noster!" who, at last, being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, he was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

At length the christians were so offended, and the papists, on the other side, so proud and wilful, that it was necessary that the clergy at last should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, there ensued much subtle sophistry. For some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formalitèr*, and to saints *materialitèr*. Others, *ultimatè et non ultimatè*. Others said it should be said to God *principalitèr*, and to saints *minus principalitèr*. Others that it should be said to God *primariè*, and to saints *secundariè*. Others that it should be said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to saints *capiendo largè*. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubt than they were in before; so that a well aged man, and a servant to the subprior of St. Andrews, called the subprior's Thome, being asked to whom he said his Pater-noster; he answered, "To God only." Then they asked him again what should be said to the saints; he answered, "Give them plenty of aves and creeds, for that will suffice them well enough, although they spoil God of his right." Others said, that because Christ, who made the Pater-noster, never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This trouble and open slander yet continuing, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter. Which, being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded that the Lord's Prayer should be said to the saints. But as that could not be proved, and they could not prevail by reason, they used their will instead. Friar Scot, being asked to whom he should say the Pater-noster, answered: "Say it to the devil." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to omit voting.

But then they that were called churchmen were found divided among themselves. For some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater-noster should be said to the saints; but the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness, and Atheins, with other learned men, refused to subscribe to it. Finally, with consent of both parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winrame, then subprior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how and after what manner they should pray the Lord's Prayer; who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God, with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to relate. And so, by little and little, the tumult ceased.

The Martyrdom of Walter Mille.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence. Out of whose ashes sprang thousands of the same opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer trodden upon by the tyranny of the cruel and ignorant bishops, abbots, monks and friars; and so the church of Scotland began to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists; for the controversy ensued soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille.

In the year 1558, in the time of Mary, queen regent of Scotland, and John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had been a papist) after he had been in Germany, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned again into Scotland, and, setting aside all papistry and constrained celibacy, married a wife, which brought him under the suspicion of the bishops of Scotland for heresy; and after long watching for him he was taken by two popish priests, and brought to St. Andrews, and imprisoned in the castle. When in prison, the papists earnestly laboured to seduce him, and threatened him with death and torments, to cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing that he remained still firm, and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises; and offered to him a monk's portion for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermline, if he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even to the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishop of St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, and Atheins, the abbots of Dunfermline, Landors, Balindrinot, and Towpers, with the doctors of theology of St. Andrews, as John Greson, Black friar, and John Winrame, subprior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the Old College, with divers other friars, Black and Gray. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops, on the 20th day of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, he appeared so weak and feeble of person, partly by age, and partly by ill treatment, that he could not climb up without help; then they gave up the hope of hearing him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church ring and sound again, with so great courage and stoutness, that the christians who were present were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishops' priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner: "Walter Mille, arise and answer to the articles, for you delay my lord here too long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God rather than man; I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. Now say what thou hast to say."

Oliphant.—"What think you of priests' marriage?"

Mille.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you; you abhor it, and in the meantime take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond that God has made. You vow chastity, and break it. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayest there are not seven sacraments."

Mille.—"Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and given yourselves to ungodly immoralities?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille.—"A lord or a king sends and calls many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causes a bell to be rung, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord, turning his back to them, eats all himself, and mocks them; so do ye."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Mille.—"The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and stands in faith only: and as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the office of a bishop."

Mille.—"I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works, nor use the office of bishops, (as St. Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy), but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called 'My lords.'"

Oliphant.—"Thou spakest against pilgrimage."

Mille.—"I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater immorality committed in any place, than at your pilgrimages."

Oliphant.—"Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Mille.—"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship."

Oliphant.—"Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee."

Mille.—"I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both."

Then Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, which was to be burnt. His boldness and constancy so moved the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, named Patrick Learmont, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it properly appertained. Also the bishop's chamberlain, being charged therewith, would in nowise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get, even for money, so much as a cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwail, acting the office of a temporal judge, conveyed him to the fire, where his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently martyred.

When all things were ready for his death, and he brought with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake; and he said, "Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, and desired that he might have opportunity to speak to the people; but this Oliphant and other of the burners refused, saying that he had spoken too much, for the bishops were offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops, their masters, to the devil, saying that they believed they should lament that day, and desired Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said; "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (although I be a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their bodies of eternal felicity; so this day I praise God, that he has called me of his mercy among the rest of his servants to seal up his truth with my life; which, as I have received it of him, so I willingly offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." All the while there was great mourning and lamentation among the multitude; for they perceiving his patience, constancy, and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time;" and so he endured his cruel end with constancy.

In the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey were burnt in the time of the Reformation.

And thus much concerning the martyrs who suffered in the realm of Scotland for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

Persecutions in Kent.

In looking through the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find, besides those above comprehended, in the time and reign of King Henry, the names of others, of whom some suffered martyrdom for the testimony of God's word, and some recanted, who, although they here come a little out of order, and should have been placed before, in the beginning of King Henry's reign; yet, rather than they should entirely be omitted, I judged fit here to give them a place, being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others before them, especially as they were martyred here in England, before the appearing and preaching of Martin Luther.

The martyrs alluded to are William Carder of Tenterden, weaver; Agnes Grebil of Tenterden; Robert Harrison of Halden; John Brown of Ashford; Edward Walker of Maidstone, cutler.

The Articles upon which the above five blessed Martyrs were accused and condemned.

1. For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very true body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

2. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

3. That no power is given by God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other Divine service, more than to laymen.

4. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of souls, neither was it instituted of God, (as a sacrament, they meant.)

5. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available or necessary to the soul's salvation.

6. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that they who worship them commit idolatry.

7. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, are not necessary, nor meritorious to the soul's salvation.

8. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that He only heareth their prayers.

9. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.

10. That they have believed, taught, and held all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present time.

11. That though they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them; neither would they ever have confessed the same of their own accord.

12. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore with divers other persons, and have possessed books concerning the same.

The order and form of Process used against these five Martyrs, A. D. 1511.

William Carder being brought before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tonstall, Doctor Sylvester, Doctor Welles, Clement, Brown, with others, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cowper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid to his charge. Which articles he denied, affirming that he never did; nor does hold any such opinion, otherwise than becomes what every christian man should do, who is ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine; and therefore to clear himself the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of them. The other four martyrs after him did the same.

Notwithstanding all which, the uncharitable archbishop brought in against him such witnesses, as were abjured before, whom he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do no other but disclose whatever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Steven Castelin. Whose depositions being taken, and Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he said he had nothing to produce against their attestations; but submitted himself to their mercy; adding, that if he had any disbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented him. Which being done, the archbishop, notwithstanding his submission, and notwithstanding that the register makes no mention of any relapse contrary to law, at least contrary to all christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his sentence, and condemned him to be burnt.

Then, after him, Agnes Grebil was called and examined on the twelve articles, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop called for John Grebil, her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil her two sons, and caused them upon their oath to depose against their own natural mother!

First, John Grebil, her husband, being examined by virtue of his oath, to say how Agnes, his wife, believed of the sacrament of the altar, of going on pilgrimage, offerings, and worshipping of saints, images, &c. and how long she had held such opinion: deposed, that first, about the end of King Edward IV.'s days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she was brought to that belief, and so from thence, daily, until the time of detection, she continued.

And besides that, said he, "when my children, Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught by me in my house, the error of the sacrament of the altar, and by Agnes, my wife, she was always of one mind in the disbelief of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh, and blood, but only bread." Further, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in the said error; he said that she always, without contradiction, affirmed this teaching, and said the opinion was good, and that she was well contented that her children should be of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar, &c.

The bishop, with his popish doctors, not contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their popish zeal and caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced; one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own mother; who, being pressed with their oath, witnessed, and said, that Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood; that baptism was no better in the fount than out of the fount; that confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament; that confession to God alone was sufficient; also that going on pilgrimage, and worshipping of saints and images, was of none effect, &c. That their father, and Agnes, their mother, had held, taught, and communed of these errors within their house for three years past, as well on holy-days, as working days, affirming and teaching that these opinions were good and lawful, and to be held and maintained; and agreement was made among them, that none of them should discover of the other. Finally, that they never heard their father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember, &c.

Here hast thou, christian reader, before thine eyes, a horrible spectacle of impiety; first, of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own mother. Which although they had so done, the cause being of itself just and true, (as it was not,) yet it seems more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such, as by God's word standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety was it for men to accuse a poor woman of heresy, which is no heresy? And yet the greatest impiety of all rests in these papists and popish priests, who were the authors of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman stood in the denial of these articles, was this, that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who alone were privy of her religion, would testify against her. And thus the archbishop, with his doctors, having now gained the end that they sought for, although she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet they proceeded to their sentence, and condemned her to death.

After her condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Harrison, who, because he stood in his denial, witnesses against him were produced. After the deposition of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he was condemned with the other two to the fire.

Thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, (A. D. 1511.)

Besides these three godly martyrs, I find in the registers of William Warham two other godly martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles, condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses. Their names were John Brown and Edward Walker.

Besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence condemned to death in the year 1511, we find also in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom they for the same doctrine and like articles caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation; the names of which persons are given in the following list:

John Grebil, the elder, of Benenden.

Christopher Grebil, his son.
John Grebil, son of John the Elder, of Benenden
W. Olbert, the elder, of Godmersham.
Agnes Ive, of Canterbury.
Agnes Chytenden, of Canterbury.
Thomas Manning, of Benenden.
Joan Colyn, of Tenderden.
Robert Hills, of Tenterden.
Alice Hills, his wife.
Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden.
Joan Harwood, his wife.
Philip Harwood.
Stephen Castelyn, of Tenterden.
W. Baker, of Cranbrook.
Margaret Baker, his wife.
William Olbert, the younger, of Godmersham.
Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook.
Thomas Field, of Boxley.
Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert, the elder, of Godmersham.
Elizabeth White, of Canterbury.
Thomas Church, of Great Charte
Vincent Lynch, of Halden.
John Rich, of Wittisham.
Joan Lynch, of Tenterden.
Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook.
John Franke, of Tenterden.
Joyce Bampton, wife of John Bampton. of Berstede.
Richard Bampton, of Boxley.
Robert Bright, of Maidstone.
William Lorkyn, of East Farley.
John Bannes, of Boxley, 1512.
John Buckherst, of Staplehurst
Joan Dodd, wife of John Dodd.
John Benet, of Staplehurst.
Rebecca Benet, his wife.
Joan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes, of Cranbrook.
Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of Tenterden.
Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which were objected to the other five martyrs; by which articles and abjurations we may understand what doctrine of religion was most prevalent in England, *before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us;* for all this is in the archbishop of Canterbury's Registers for A.D. 1511.

Three sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists against Heretics.

As to the penance and penalty enjoined to heretics as also to all others, the popish fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings.

Some they judge to be burned, that others being brought into terror by them, might more quietly maintain their kingdom, and reign supreme. And thus they condemned the five martyrs above-mentioned, although they were willing to submit themselves to the mother church; yet they could not be received, as by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence appears.

And this sort of persons, thus condemned, consists either of such as have been before abjured, and fallen into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to others, notwithstanding, that they may be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of the last sort were the five martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who, submitting himself to the king, could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekins, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many others. Against this sort of persons, the process which the papists use is this:—First, after they began once to be suspected, they were denounced and cited; then by virtue of inquisition they are taken and clapt fast in irons in prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or strictness of imprisonment; then articles are drawn, or rather wrested, out of their writings or preachings; and they are put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them. Which articles, if they seem to deny, or solve by true expounding, then witnesses are called in; and no matter what witnesses they are, be they ever so infamous in character. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the mother, as in the example of Agnes Grebil. Or if no witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither might any be suffered to come to them, nor any public audience be given them to speak for themselves; till at last sentence is read against them, to give them up to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they are priests, and then to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries does not here cease. For after the fire has consumed their bodies, they fall upon their books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read their books, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have destroyed these books, they first gather articles out of them, and so perversely wrest them to their own purposes, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the author, making them to appear to be the most heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the books destroyed, that no man may compare them with the articles, to discover their falsehood, they then set abroad these articles, that princes and people may see what heretics they were.

To the second order belongs that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign to monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, with bread and sorrow, and water of affliction; and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the monastery so long as they lived, without they were otherwise dispensed with by the archbishop or his successors.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates judged not to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a fagot about the market, or in procession; or to wear the picture of a fagot on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown over it; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses, or to say so many paternosters, aves, and creeds, to a certain saint; or to go in pilgrimage to a certain place; or to bear a fagot to the burning of some heretic; or to fast certain Fridays on bread and water; or, if it were a woman, to wear woollen alone on Fridays.

And thus much, out of the register of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. Many more examples might be collected out of other bishops' registers, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of this volume would allow all to be inserted that might be found. Yet the history and martyrdom of Launcelot and his companions should not be forgotten.

The Martyrdom of Launcelot, one of the King's Guards; John, a Painter; and Giles German.

About the year 1539, one John, a painter, and Giles German, were accused of heresy, and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants named Launcelot, a very strong and tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause and the poor men his friends. Whereupon, he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, he was carried with them into St. Giles-in-the-fields, and there burned, there being but a small concourse of people at their death.

The Story of one Stile, a Martyr.

In the company and fellowship of the blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered in king Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man, named Stile, also comes to my mind, who was with like cruelty oppressed and burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which probably he was accustomed to read. When he saw this book fastened to the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, he said, "O blessed Apocalypse, how happy am I, that I shall be burned with thee?" And so this good man and the blessed Apocalypse were both together consumed in the fire.

And thus (through the gracious support of Christ our Lord) we have run over these thirty-seven laborious years of king Henry's reign. Under whose time and government, such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, not omitting the statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, that were set forth by him in matters appertaining to the church. Although not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet omitting as few things as we could.

Closing this eighth book with the death of king Henry VIII. we will next proceed to the time and reign of king Edward his son; first interposing a few words touching the death of king Henry.

After long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, he lay from St. Steven's day to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he was failing, and yet not daring to discourage him with thoughts of death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophesies) moved those that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity. Which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him the state he was in, and that to man's judgment he was not likely to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself for death, calling to remembrance his former life; and entreating him to call upon God in Christ for grace and mercy, as becomes every good christian man.

Although the king was loath to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving that it was the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself to hearken to the words of Denny's exhortation, and to consider his past life. Which although he much accused, yet, said he, "is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, even though they were greater than they are." Master Denny being glad to hear him speak thus, asked to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind to. The king answered again, that if he had any, he would have Doctor Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. And therefore, Master Denny asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep, and then according as I feel myself I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two, the king awaking, and feeling feebleness increasing upon him, commanded Doctor Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Doctor Cranmer, he reached his hand to him, held him fast; but could utter no words to him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, wrung his hand in his as hard as he could, and shortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.

We conclude this book with the following history of certain friars in France, A. D. 1534, as illustrative of the priestcraft of those times.

The wife of the mayor of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departs there, the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in the places most frequented to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and to declare the names and the titles of the parties deceased; also where and when they are to be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, numbers of the begging friars go with it to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them; and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this woman would have none of all this pomp done for her. Wherefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind, and gave to these greedy cormorants, the friars, who waited for their prey, six crowns for a reward; yet they gaped for a great deal more. Afterwards when he cut down a wood and sold it, the friars craving to have part of it, freely without money, he refused them: this they took grievously, and as they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his wife was damned everlastingly!

The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Steven of Arras, both doctors of divinity; and the first indeed was a conjurer by profession, and had all his trinkets and his furniture concerning such matters in readiness, and they settled the matter thus:

They set a young man, who was a novice, above the vault of the church, and when they came to say their matins at midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shrieking aloft. Then this Colyman went crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. When charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign.

When they had laid this foundation for their priestcraft, they went to certain of the chief men in all the city, and to such as favoured them the most, they related what a sad affair had happened; yet they did not say what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they were come, and the service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. It was demanded what he wanted, and what he was, he signified that he could not speak: then he was commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpose, and by laying his ear to it, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then the conjurer demanded whether he was any of those that had been buried in that church. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, he at last named the mayor's wife. Here the young man who was perched above in the roof, and who was playing the ghost, made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then the friar asked whether she was damned, and for what offence? whether it were for covetousness, pride, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new heresy and Lutheranism? What was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet? Whether it were that the body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place? To all these things this pretended ghost answered by signs as he was commanded; affirming or denying every thing by striking twice or thrice upon the table.

When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens that were present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they taking advice lest they should both offend the

mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the pix with the host, and the Lord's body (as they call it), and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their mass; which they are wont to do by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again: when the bishop's official heard of this, he came there to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men he commanded the friar to conjure up the ghost in his presence, and he purposed to have appointed certain to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit appeared there. But Steven of Arras was against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the spirit ought not to be molested. And although the official earnestly urged them to conjure it up before him, yet he could not bring them to it. In the mean time the mayor, making his friends privy as to what he would do, went to the king, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come into judgment, the king chose certain out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authority so to do. Whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to make answer, but they would confess nothing.

Then they were sent again to prison, and kept apart, one from another; and the novice was kept in the house of Fumeus, a senator, and being often examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should afterward be murdered by them for speaking against their order. But when the judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more into the friars' hands, he declared to them the whole matter, and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, although they were convicted, yet refused their judges, and relied on their privileges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to Orleans, and committed to prison, and afterwards brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment, where malefactors are executed, and there they should make open confession of their wickedness.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

ELIBRON.COM

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACTS AND EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI.

After the death of King Henry VIII., succeeded King Edward his son, of the age of nine years. He began his reign on the twenty-eighth day of January, A.D. 1547, and reigned six years and eight months, and eight days. He died on the sixth day of July, A.D. 1553. Of whose excellent virtues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although enough cannot be said to his commendation; yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince should not pass our history without some grateful remembrance, I propose briefly to touch some portion of his praise, taken out of the many things which might be described. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, would be too long: and yet to say nothing, were too unkind. If kings and princes, who have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages writers to panegyrise and celebrate their acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject to them, how much then are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to King Edward? A prince, though but of tender years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so again I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here to use the example of Plutarch in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble King Edward, I find none with whom to make my comparison more aptly, than with good Josiah. For as one began his reign at eight years of age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause very unlike. For as mild Josiah pulled down the high altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple; so the like corruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry, which had crept into the church of Christ, this King Edward removed, and purged the true temple of the Lord. Josiah restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests; King Edward, in England, likewise abolished idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sincerity, and would have brought it more to perfection if life and time had answered his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josiah did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Moreover, in King Josiah's days the holy scriptures and book of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward do the like, with the self-same book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days? Briefly, in all points and respects, no great difference is to be found between Josiah and this our godly king, but only in length of reign. Who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josiah's reign, proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but by his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to this church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as in the sequel of this history shall be declared.

In the meantime, to proceed with the excellent virtues of this young christian Josiah, as we have begun, we will give a taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, whereby the reader may judge for himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings. And first to begin with that which is the chief property of all other external things in a prince, that is, to be loved of his subjects; such were the hearts of all English people towards this king, that there never was a prince in this realm more highly esteemed, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjects, but especially of the good and learned sort; and as he was beloved of his subjects, so he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of man, insomuch that when Joan was to be burned, all the council could not move him to put his hand to the warrant, but were obliged to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade him, and yet neither could he induce the king to do so, saying, "What, my lord, will you have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to sign his hand, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, or ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. And besides these notable excellences, and other great virtues in him, add moreover skill and knowledge of

tongues and other sciences, wherein he excelled far beyond his years.

Of all his justices, magistrates, and gentlemen, that bare any authority within this realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation what it was. There were few sermons in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, which he did not attend; and those he was present at, he noted them with his own hand.

But above all other examples of his commendation, and which is the chief point which ought most to concern all men, he was zealous in maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, and defending the true cause of Christ's holy gospel; and it was his study, his zealous fervency, and his admirable constancy therein, that, by his example, he promoted it in others.

In the days of this King Edward VI., the emperor Charles made a request to the king and his council, to permit the Lady Mary (who afterwards succeeded to the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, and having that in question under consideration, sent Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to intreat the king for it. Who coming to his grace, alleged their reasons and persuasions for the accomplishing of it. So the king hearing what they could say, replied out of the scriptures so gravely and wisely, that they were forced to give place to his reply, and acknowledge its truth. Then they, after long debating with his majesty, alleged what dangers the refusal might bring upon his grace; what breach of amity of the emperor's part; what troubles; what unkindness, and what occasions it would enforce, &c. To whom the king answered, desiring them to content themselves, for he would, he said, rather spend his life and all he had, than agree to and grant what he knew certainly to be against the truth. Which when the bishops heard, they urged him still to grant it. Then the good king seeing their importunate suit, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping, and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Then the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his grace; and on coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "Ah, Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies." Thus the Lady Mary's mass for that time was prevented.

Besides these heavenly graces and virtues, which are required in all faithful and Christian magistrates who have the government of Christ's flock, neither was he unprovided with such outward gifts and knowledge as appertain to the political government of his realm. So that he was not inexpert or ignorant of the exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea, but was as skilful, and could say as much therein, as the chief doers in his affairs. Likewise in the entertaining of ambassadors, to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many princes at their mature age seldom are wont to do but by others. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to princely affairs, so he had a chest for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as were passed and concluded by the council. He also would require from them a reason and cause for everything that passed their judgments. And of this chest he always kept the key about him. His notes also he cyphered in Greek letters, that those who waited on him should not read nor know what he had written. He had moreover great respect for justice, and to the despatch of poor men's suits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then Master of his requests, how and by what order they might be helped in their causes without long delay and attendance; and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity.

Thus after the godly disposition of this king being declared, now we will describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well political as ecclesiastical. Who, after the decease of his father, coming to the crown, because he was of young and tender age, was committed to sixteen governors. Among whom, especially, the Lord Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, his uncle, was appointed as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth; a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity as for his noble virtues, and especially for his favour to God's word. Through the endeavour and industry of Seymour, first, that monstrous hydra with six heads, the six articles I mean, (which devoured up so many men before,) was abolished and taken away. Then he restored the holy scriptures in the mother tongue, and masses he extinguished and abolished. After small beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the churches. Then such as were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old ones being thrust out. For the most part the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed. Such as had been dumb prelates before, were compelled to give place to others who would preach and take pains.

Besides, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for out of foreign countries, and cordially received and promoted in this country, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paul Phagius. Of whom the first taught at Oxford; the other two professed at Cambridge, and with no small commendation of the whole university. Of the old bishops, some were committed to one ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, and soon after, for his contempt and misdemeanour was deposed from his bishopric. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas three years together, more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to have meant a further plague to this realm by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of king Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation, that among the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some stole privily out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries, yet of all that multitude there was not one man that lost his life. In short, during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing-time, was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword being taken out of the adversary's hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which often brings more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor in any other quarter of this realm, was any heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except only two; one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George.

Besides these two, there was none else in all king Edward's reign that died in any cause of religion; but one Thomas Dobbe, who in the beginning of this king's reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass, and died in the same prison.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts in Cambridge, was brought up in the college called St. John's College, and was a fellow of the same, where he increased in the study of good letters; among his equals very forward; of nature and disposition simple and modest; of zeal towards God fervent; patient in injuries, and injurious to no man. At length this godly man, intending within himself to enter the Christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off from where he dwelt. On which account he was greatly molested; and wickedly abused by three of that college, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler.

who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him; till at length they wearied him out of the college. Who there having no rest nor quietness, by the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place to settle himself. On coming up to London, he chanced to pass through St. Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church there was a priest celebrating mass, being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man, replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring so devoutly what the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c. For which he was apprehended by the Mayor, and accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter, where falling into a sickness, he died. Whose pardon notwithstanding was obtained of the lord Protector, and would have been brought him if he had lived. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe.

I find that in the first year of the reign of king Edward, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnax, of Wresel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury for these articles:

1. First for denying the sacrament (as it was then called of the altar) to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.
2. For saying that he never would take off his bonnet to it, even if he were to be burned for it.
3. For saying that if he should hear mass, he should be burned.

For this he was sent up by his master and mistress, aforesaid, with special letters to the archbishop, requiring him to be punished by law. But because I find no execution following, I therefore pass over this story.

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (endued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom, and had a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle the duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of king Josiah, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England.

And as at his first entry, (notwithstanding his father's good beginning in abolishing the usurped power of antichrist,) he yet found most of his laws greatly against this zealous enterprise; he therefore purposed by the advice of his wise and honourable council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by the consent of the whole estate of parliament he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all bishoprics within his realm, to redress the abuses in the same, he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages to be his commissioners in that behalf, and so dividing them into several companies, assigned to them several dioceses to visit; appointing likewise to every company one or two godly learned preachers, who at every session should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to it, and also earnestly warn them against their old superstition and wonted idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this commission, there were delivered to them certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders drawn out by the king's learned council, which they should both inquire of, and also command in his majesty's behalf to be thenceforth observed by every person, to whom they severally appertained within their circuits.

In which it was first enjoined, that all ecclesiastical persons should themselves observe, and cause to be observed by others, all such statutes as were made for the abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, and establishing of the king's supreme authority, and that they should every one, four times in the year at least, in their public sermons declare to the people, that the one, being most arrogantly usurped against the word of God, was now justly taken away, and the other was to be obeyed of all his grace's subjects.

And again, that every ecclesiastical person, having a cure, should preach, or cause to be preached within their several cures, one sermon every quarter of a year. In which they should sincerely set forth the word of God, and exhort the people to the works of faith and mercy prescribed in the scriptures, and not to works devised by man's imagination, as going on pilgrimages and other-like idolatrous superstitions, which they should also to the utmost of their power reprove and speak against, declaring that all grace and goodness ought only to be sought for at God's hand, and not at any other creature's; and that they should not only forthwith take down and destroy all such images as had been heretofore abused by pilgrimage or offerings within their cures; but also should not thenceforth suffer any lights or other idolatrous oblation to be made or set up before any image that was yet suffered in the church.

Also that every holy-day (having no sermon in their church) they should immediately after the gospel distinctly read in the pulpit the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue, exhorting the people not only to learn them, but also to teach them to their children and families, and also should charge all parents and governors of households, to bring up their youth in some good exercise or occupation, whereby they might afterwards serve the commonwealth, and not run about like vagabonds and idle loiterers, and thereby incur the danger of the laws.

And furthermore, that persons, having a cure, should see the holy sacraments of Christ reverently administered within their cures, and that if any of them (by special licence or other cases expressed in the statutes of this realm) should be at any time absent from their benefices, that then they should leave in their rooms some godly, learned, and discreet curate, that was able to instruct the people in all truth and godliness, not seeking themselves, but rather the profit of their flock.

And likewise, that they should see provided and set up in some most convenient and open place in every church, one great Bible in English, and one book of the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the gospels, both in English, that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, read and hear the same at such times as they chose, and not to be prohibited by the parson and curate, but rather to be the more encouraged thereto.

And that the parsons and curates should not at any time (but for necessary causes) haunt any tavern or alehouse; neither should spend their time idly in unlawful games; but at every convenient leisure should give themselves to the reading or hearing of the holy scriptures.

Moreover, that in the time of confession, in every period of Lent, they should examine their parishioners, whether they could say the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the articles of the christian faith; and that if they could not, they should then reprove them, declaring further to them, that they ought not to presume to come to the Lord's table, without the true knowledge thereof, and earnest desire to fulfil them.

Also, that they should not admit any man to preach within their cures, but such as were lawfully licensed; and that those who had at any time before extolled and praised any idolatrous pilgrimage, or other superstition, should now openly recant before the people.

And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the word of God within their parishes, that then they should forthwith bring the same unto the king's council, or to some justice of peace.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be

the better maintained, it was also ordained, that every beneficed person that could yearly spend twenty pounds or upwards, and was not resident upon their cures, should pay, towards the relief of the poor within their parish every year, the fortieth part of their fruits and profits; and likewise that every such as could spend one hundred pounds yearly, or more, should for every hundred pounds give a competent exhibition to some poor scholar within one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or else in some other grammar-school of the realm.

And also that every priest, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, should have of his own one New Testament in English and Latin, with the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the same, and should diligently read and study it, and should collect and keep in memory all such comfortable places of the scriptures, as set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they might comfort their flock in all danger of death, despair, or trouble of conscience; and that therefore every bishop in their visitations should from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in their studies.

And although the mass was then still by the law retained, yet was it enjoined, that at every high mass the sayer or singer should openly and distinctly read the gospel and the epistle in English, in the pulpit, or in some other convenient place that the people might hear. And in like place and manner should read every holy-day and Sunday, at matins, one chapter of the New Testament in English, omitting three of their nine Latin lessons, with their responds; and at even-song likewise, immediately after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament instead of their wonted responds and memories.

Furthermore, because of the vain contentions that often fall among the people for going on procession, it was ordained, that thenceforth the priest and clerks should kneel in the midst of the church, and there distinctly sing or read the Litany in English, set forth by the authority of King Henry VIII., and that no person should depart out of the church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Litany, or during the time of any sermon, without just and urgent cause.

Likewise that the people should spend the holy-days in hearing the word of God; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences unto God, and amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure has been given; in often receiving the communion of the body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick, and in all sober and godly conversation; and not in vanity, idleness, or drunkenness; neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwise than in the time of harvest, to save the fruits of the earth, if necessity so required; and that no curate should admit to the receiving of the holy communion any person who had maliciously and openly contended with his neighbours, unless he first openly reconciled himself again, and remitted all rancour and malice whatever.

Moreover, it was ordained that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, or hospital, and prebendary, being a priest, should himself personally preach twice every year at least, in some such place where he had jurisdiction and living; and that they and all other curates should teach the people, that no man of any private affection ought maliciously to violate any ceremony in the church, then not abrogated by the king's authority; so likewise they ought not on the other side to use them superstitiously or idolatrously, in attributing to them remission of sins, driving away of evil spirits, and other such like dreams and fancies of men, or else in putting any confidence of salvation in them. And further that they should utterly take away and destroy all shrines and monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, and other idolatrous superstition, as well in their churches, as within their private houses.

Also that they should see provided within their churches a strong and fit chest for the safe keeping of the people's alms given towards the relief of the poor, and that the curates should earnestly exhort and entreat their parishioners (especially at the making of their wills) that as they had been therefore willing to bestow much of their substance upon vain, superstitious, and blind devotions contrary to God's word, so now they would be much more ready to give some portion to their poor and needy brethren, knowing the same to be not only commanded in the word of God, but also promised to be rewarded. And for the better relief of the poor, it was also appointed that all money and profits arising upon fraternities, images, or given to the finding of idolatrous lights, should be converted to the same use. Last of all, for the want of learned curates, and other good preachers, it was enjoined that the curates (having no sermon) should every Sunday read to the people in their churches one of the homilies which should be shortly set forth for that purpose by the king's authority.

There were also other articles in the injunctions appointed for comeliness and due order in the churches; as for repairing of chancels, and priests' houses; for keeping of a register book of weddings, christenings, and burials; for reading of these injunctions every quarter; for due paying of tithes; for forbidding of any other alteration of service in the church, or fasting days; for making of comely pulpits for the preachers; for avoiding of simony in buying and selling of benefices; for the charitable using of priests; for praying only upon the English and Latin primers set forth by King Henry VIII.; for the teaching of grammar in the common schools; and lastly, that the chantry priests should teach young children either to write and read, or else some other good and profitable exercises.

Besides the general injunctions for the whole estate of the realm, there were also others particularly appointed for the bishops, which being delivered to the commissioners were likewise at their visitations committed to the bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept upon pain of the king's majesty's displeasure; the effect whereof is as in manner following:

First, that they should to the uttermost of their wit and understanding see and cause all the king's injunctions in their diocese duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept and observed, and that they should personally preach within their diocese, at least once in every quarter of a year; that is to say, once in their cathedral churches, and thrice in several other places of their dioceses, as they should see it most convenient and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain in their service or household any chaplain, but such as were learned, or able to preach the word of God.

Moreover, that they should not give orders to any person, but such as were learned in the holy scriptures; neither should they refuse orders to them that were learned in the same, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place preach, or set forth to the people any doctrine contrary to the king's highness' homilies, neither yet should admit or give licence to any to preach within their diocese, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report reproved, they should perceive the contrary, they then should not only prohibit that person so offending, but also punish him and revoke his licence.

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his majesty (with the advice of the same) yet still desiring a further reformation as well in religion, as also in his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned to meet on the fourth day of November, in the first year of his reign, (A. D. 1547,) which continued to the twenty-fourth day of December. In which session, forasmuch as his highness desired the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewith also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were

in for confessing the gospel of Christ, through many cruel statutes made by his predecessors against the same, (which, being still left in force, might both cause the obstinate to contemn his grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their christian-like profession,) he therefore caused it, among other things, by the authority of the same parliament to be enacted, That all acts of parliament and statutes touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning religion or opinions, that is to say, as well the statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard II.; and the statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry V.; and the statute made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained; and the statutes made for the abolishing of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion, commonly called the Six Articles, made in the one-and-thirtieth year of the reign of King Henry VIII.; and also the statute made in the parliament begun the sixteenth day of January in the three-and-thirtieth year of the reign of the said King Henry VIII., and afterwards prorogued unto the one-and-twentieth day of January in the four-and-thirtieth year of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the scriptures, or in anywise touching, mentioning, or concerning any of the said matters; and also one other statute made in the five-and-thirtieth year of the reign of the said king Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the statute of the six articles; and all and every other act or acts of parliament, concerning doctrine or matters of religion, and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in anywise declared in any of the same acts and statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

By occasion of this, all his godly subjects, then abiding within the realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the gospel; and many learned and zealous preachers, before banished, were now not only licensed freely to return home again, but also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travel in their function and calling; so that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session his majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable to the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice, both of the apostles and of the primitive church, for the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the holy sacrament should be administered to all christian people under both kinds, of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and also that it was more agreeable to the first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people being present should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone; did, by their authority, enact, that the holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and administered to the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required: and also the priest, who should administer the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who should be present, to prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them who worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come to it; the minister should not, without a lawful cause, refuse it to any one person that would devoutly and humbly desire it.

After this consent of the parliament, the king being no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the scriptures and the first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws; he appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops, and others of his realm, to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, and there to argue and treat upon this matter, and to conclude and set forth one perfect uniform order according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And in the meantime, while the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembering that the time of the year then approached, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies against the glory of God, and the truth of his word; they determined the utter abolishing thereof, and directed their letters to Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, requiring him that he should command every bishop within his province, forthwith to charge all the curates of their dioceses, that neither candles should be any more borne upon Candlemas day, nor yet ashes used in Lent, nor palms upon Palm Sunday.

Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favouring the good and christian-like purpose of the king and his council, immediately wrote to all the rest of the bishops of that province, and among them to Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London. Of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy as we have hereafter more to say, I shall not now speak, but only by the way note his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocrisy, in outwardly consenting as well to this, as also to all the king's proceedings; but whether for fear or for any other subtle pretence I know not.

About the same period report was made to the lords of the council, that great contention and strife daily arose among the common people in various parts of this realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such images out of the churches, as had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimages, offerings, or otherwise, some affirming that one image was abused, others another, and most that neither of them was abused; so that if speedy remedy were not had, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore, thinking it best, for avoiding of discord and tumult, that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none suffered to remain, they again wrote their letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid in manner following:—

Letter of the Council sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the abolishing of Images.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship: whereas now of late in the king's majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings; albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath arisen and daily ariseth, and more and more increaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good will retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused. And in some places also the images which by the said injunctions were taken down, are now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. And while these men go on both sides, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, proceedings have in some places taken place in such sort, as further inconveniences are like to ensue, if remedy be not found in

time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images are clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm for this matter, may be put down, and that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which are things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly for many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector, and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give orders that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese, be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, his highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and every one of them within their several dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight as that the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship heartily well.

"From Somerset-place, the 11th February, 1548."

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept to Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's name commanding him, that with all speed he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately without delay to the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the letter through all parts of the diocese; as also that he himself should do the like within his own city and diocese of London. Whereupon he seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the precept) did send out his mandate as well to the rest of the bishops, as also again to the bishop of Westminster.

By the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men whom the king had appointed to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ according to the rule of the scriptures of God, and the first usage of the primitive church; they after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate counsels, finally concluded and agreed upon one godly and uniform order, not much differing from the manner at present used and authorized within this realm and church of England, commonly called The Communion. Which agreement being exhibited to the king, and most gladly accepted, was publicly printed, and by his majesty's council sent to every bishop of the realm; requiring and commanding them by letters on the king's majesty's behalf, that both they in their own persons should forthwith pay diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should with all diligence cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocese, that they likewise might well and sufficiently qualify themselves for the better distribution of the communion (according to the tenor of the book) against the feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appears by their letters here following:—

Letters missive from the Council to the Bishops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be administered in both kinds.

"After our most hearty commendations unto your lordship, whereas in the parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine; according to the effect whereof the king's majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comfort and well-doing) hath caused sundry of his majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have, with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's majesty's dominions in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Knowing your lordship's knowledge in the scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we are well-assured, you will of your own good will, and out of respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's majesty: yet remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who ceases not to work, by all ways and means, the hindrance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties requires, we have thought good to pray and require your lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's majesty's our most dread Lord's name, to command you to have an earnest diligence and careful respect both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocese, with such diligence as that they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time, and that they may, by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfaction as much as may be; praying you to consider, that this order is set forth to the intent there should be in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation; so do we forthwith require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the king's majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your lordship right heartily farewell. From Westminster, the thirteenth of March, 1548."

By means of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, and also of the statute and act of parliament before mentioned, all private blasphemous masses were now by just authority fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored instead of them. But, nevertheless, as at no time can any thing be so well done by the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtlely to deface it; so at this time, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedral, and other churches of this realm, there arose a marvellous schism and variety of fashions in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some, zealously allowing the king's proceedings, gladly followed the order; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, yet dissembling, used some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old accustomed popery.

Whereof the king and his council having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being loath to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous, by some quiet and godly order to bring them to some conformity, did, by their prudent counsel again appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises: and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect to the most sincere and pure christian religion

taught by the holy scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same. Who, after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement concluded, set forth, and delivered to the king's highness, a book in English, entitled, "A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England." Which his highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, forthwith exhibited to the lords and commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second year of his reign, and in the year 1548, and continuing to the fourteenth day of March, then next ensuing.

Whereupon, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the parliament assembled, well and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly concern of the king's highness, of the lord protector, and other of his majesty's council, in gathering together the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the book; as also the honour of God, and great quietness, which, by the grace of God, should ensue upon that one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and ceremonies to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches of the same: they first gave to his highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his majesty with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That not only every person and persons who had offended concerning the premises (other than such as were then remaining in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned, but also that all and singular the ministers in any cathedral, or parish churches, or other places within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, should from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use each of the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of the sacraments, and all other common and public prayers, in such order and form as was mentioned in the book, and none otherwise. And although they were so godly and good, that they gave occasion to every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them; yet, lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished; they further requested, That it might be ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other minister whatever, that ought or should say or sing Common Prayer, mentioned in the book, or administer the sacraments, should, after the feast of Pentecost, then next coming, refuse to use the Common Prayer, or to administer the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other public prayer than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak any thing in derogation or discredit of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit, unto the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence one whole year's profit of such one of his benefices or spiritual promotions, as it should please the king's highness to assign and appoint; and also for the same offence should suffer imprisonment for six months without bail or mainprize. But if any such person, after his first conviction, should soon offend again, and be lawfully convicted, then he should, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment for one whole year, and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful for the patrons and donors to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the party so offending were dead. And if any person or persons should offend a third time, and be lawfully convicted, then he should, for the same third offence, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice or spiritual promotion, that then he should for his first offence suffer imprisonment for six months without bail or mainprize; and for his second offence, imprisonment during life. Which request, or rather actual agreement of the lords and commons of the parliament, being once understood of the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority, and thereupon the book of Common Prayer was presently printed, and commanded to be used throughout the whole realm and dominion, according to the tenor and effect of the statute.

Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament, it was enacted and established by the authority thereof, That, for as much as great, horrible, and unspeakable inconveniences had, from time to time, arisen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of marriage, that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances heretofore made by the authority of man only, which did prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by God's law may lawfully marry, in all and every article, branch, and sentence concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the ecclesiastical persons, should be thenceforth also clearly and utterly void. By occasion of which, it was thence after lawful for any ecclesiastical person most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimony according to the laws and word of God.

But if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were by many but slenderly regarded, with much less good affection were these (especially the book of Common Prayer) now received by several; yea, and that by some who had always before in outward show willingly allowed the former doings, as appears plainly by Bonner the bishop of London. Who although, by his former letters, and other mandates, he seemed to favour all the king's proceedings; yet did he (notwithstanding both the statute for the establishing of the communion, and the abolishing of all private masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer) still suffer sundry idolatrous private masses of peculiar names (as the Apostles' mass, the Lady mass, and such like) to be daily solemnly sung within certain peculiar chapels of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, cloaking them with the names of the Apostles' communion, and our Lady's communion, not once finding any fault with them, until such time as the lords of the council were obliged by their letters to command and charge him to look better thereunto.

Over and besides all this, the lord protector, with the rest of the king's privy and learned council assembling together in the Star Chamber; for the advancement of the king's godly proceedings, called before them all the justices of peace, where was pronounced to them, by the lord Rich, then lord chancellor, an eloquent and learned admonition, requiring them to see to the due execution of the king's laws.

It is apparent from these acts what zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector, concerning the

reformation of Christ's church, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations. By which we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council; as the lingering slackness of justices and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful connivance, and stubborn disobedience, the book of the common prayer, long after its publication, was either not known at all, or else very irreverently used through many places of the realm. When the king, by the complaint of several persons, perfectly understood this, he was not a little grieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, and the willing consent of the parliament, and his grace's own zealous desire having so little effect among his subjects; he therefore decreed, with the advice of his whole council, to write again to all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress in this matter: commanding them that they themselves should have a more special regard to the execution of his wishes, and also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should by their good instructions and example be the more frequently and with the better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same; as further appears by the ensuing letter:—

A Letter directed by the King, and his Council, to Bonner, Bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well-learned men in the holy scriptures, one uniform order for common prayers and administration of the sacraments hath been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but also by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm in their synods and convocations provincial: as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly labour then taken diligently and willingly for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses were taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow to us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much laboured for, and also sincerely set forth, remaineth in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delight in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters; so considering that by these and such like occasions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their blindness and superstitious errors, and in some places in as irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have, we could not but, by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to reduce these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come oftener and with more devotion to their said common prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein by showing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandments notwithstanding) hear complaint, and find the like fault in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensueth thereof, to you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as you respect our pleasure.

"Given under our signet at our manor of Richmond, the three and twentieth day of July, the third year of our reign, 1549."

The bishop of London, among the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did (as before) in outward shew willingly accept them; and therefore immediately with the said letters directed the following precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of St. Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

A Letter of Bonner, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

"Edmund by the grace of God, &c. To my well beloved brethren the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas of late I have received letters of our sovereign lord the king, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden duty am right well willing, and desiring that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: These, therefore, are to require, and also straightly to charge you and every of you on his majesty's behalf, &c., that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates, of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly; furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor or other my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such as from henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

"Given at my house at Fulham, the 26th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1549, and in the third year of his majesty's reign."

Moreover, as the king at this time hearing the muttering of rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall hereafter be said,) and also being credibly informed that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching, and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of bishop Bonner, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament; but also that others, utterly despising it, did in secret places of his diocese often frequent the popish mass, and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, therefore the king thought it good to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the bishop before them, and to deal with him according to their wise and discreet judgment.

Upon the 11th of August, 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and upon his appearance made declaration

of such informations and complaints as had been brought against him. And then, after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanours, they delivered to him, from the king, (for his better reformation and amendment), certain private injunctions to be followed and observed by himself. And as, in the first branch of the injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at St. Paul's Cross on Sunday come three weeks then next ensuing, (because both the dangerous and fickle state of the times, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required,) they further delivered to him in writing such articles to treat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time. All which injunctions and articles I here insert:—

Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to Bonner by the Council.

"Forasmuch as we are advertised, that among other disorders of our subjects at this present time, there are several in our city of London, and other places within your diocese, who being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, from whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, to common prayer, and to the holy communion (being now a time when it is more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour,) and for which we are right sorry: so we understand that through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon all principal feasts, and such as were called *majus duplex*, you yourself were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole parliament have set a most godly and devout order in our church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such other days, to the contempt of our proceedings, and evil example of others. And forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that many, as well in London as in other places of your diocese, frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and such as are not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray after such rites and ceremonies, as in this realm are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the city of London, and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority and cure of a bishop appertains. We, therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church appertains, to avert from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you most strictly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal we may inflict upon you, to deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us reasonable, according to the offence. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:—

"1. Ye shall preach at St. Paul'sCross, in London, in proper person, on Sunday come three weeks from the date hereof, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at St. Paul's cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not hinder you.

"2. You yourself in person shall from henceforth on every day which heretofore was accounted in this church of England a principal feast, or *Majus duplex*, and at all such times as the bishops of London your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in St. Paul's, for the better example of all others, except sickness hinder you.

"3. Ye shall yourself, according to your duty, and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come and frequent the common prayer, and service in the church, or do not come to God's table, and receive the communion at the least once a year, or whoever do frequent or go to any other rite or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, even-song, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and ye shall see all such offenders brought before you and punished, according to the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strict punishment. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

"4. Ye shall both by yourself, and all your officers under you, search out and bring before you, more diligently than heretofore, (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see them punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and the authority given you in that behalf.

"5. We have heard also complaints, that the church of St. Paul's, and other churches in London are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the glass, as other buildings and ornaments, than they were heretofore and that many persons in the city of malice deny the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured and made not so well able, and in a manner discouraged to do their duties. Which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look to, and see redressed as appertaineth.

"6. And for so much as all these complaints are made as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place of your diocese, and no where else, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us."

And thus having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, we shall there leave him a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again, we will in the mean time make a little digression into Cornwall and Devonshire, to relate some part of the disloyal doings of those men against their meek and excellent prince. They were not contented with him, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation of popish priests, who hating the injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish church of Rome decaying, ceased not by all sinister and subtle means, under God's name and the king's, and under colour of religion, to persuade the people, and to assemble in companies, to gather captains, and at last to burst out in rank rebellion. Neither were there wanting among the lay sort, some as seditiously disposed to rebellion as they to mischief and madness.

Of whom the chief captains were, Humfrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests who were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and afterwards executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Temson, Roger Baratt, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barow, Richard Bennet, besides a multitude of other popish priests. The number of those concerned in rebellion, amounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own districts most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so all other parts of the realm. But they were repulsed from Exeter, and then fell on spoiling and robbing where or whatever they might catch. At length laying

their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But such difference of opinion prevailed among them, that their plans utterly failed. Some seemed more tolerable. Others altogether unreasonable. Some would have no justice. Some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, namely, to bring in the bishop of Rome into England again.

After much ado, at last, a few articles were agreed upon, to be forwarded to the king.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonshire, and Cornwall, sent to the King.

"1. Forasmuch as man, except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his blessed sacrament and baptism, therefore, we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well in the week-days, as on the holy-days.

"2. We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whenever we shall, within the diocese, resort to him.

"3. Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very self same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore we will have mass celebrated as it has been in times past, without any man communicating with the priest; as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat; some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abusive terms.

"4. We will have the consecrated host reserved in our churches.

"We will have holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Christ his precious body and blood.

"5. We will that our priests shall sing, or say with an audible voice God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

"6. Forsomuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, 'Be ye followers of me.'

"We will that the six articles which our sovereign lord king Henry the eighth set forth in his latter days, shall be used and so taken as they were at that time.

"We pray God save king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods."

The Answer sent by the King's Majesty, to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire.

"Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest uncle Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of some assemblies made by you, who ought to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind subjects have attempted against their natural and liege sovereign lord; yet we have thought it meet at this time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our subjects, thinking that the devil has not that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native country; or, of our subjects to make you traitors; or under pretence to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say, we trust that although ye be seduced by ignorance, ye will not be obstinate upon knowledge. And though some among you (as ever there will be some tares amongst good wheat) forget God, neglect their prince, esteem not the state of the realm, but as careless, desperate men delight in sedition, tumult and wars; yet nevertheless, the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural prince, and will by wisdom and counsel be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty God's order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subjects, seduced by ignorance, we speak, and are content to use our princely authority, like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

"First, As to your disorderly rising in multitudes, and assembling yourselves against other our loving subjects, to array yourselves to war, who amongst you all can answer the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? Or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our honour, estate, and degree?

"Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against ourself. What injury you do us, to call those who love us, to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own; to suppress disorderly people, to punish traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, and of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects, our name is written; thus it is honoured and obeyed; this majesty it hath by God's ordinance, and not by man's. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to all kind-hearted and loving subjects, from a puissant king of England to every natural Englishman.

"Your pretences, which you say move you to do these things, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, are either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall understand the truth, ye will all with one voice acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and seduced by error; and if there are any that will not, they are rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or such as care not how they seek to provoke an insurrection, and who cannot become so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can do with spoils, with wars, with robberies, and such like; yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives and children. Such they are, for a time, using pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your throats for your own goods.

You are persuaded that your children, even when necessity requires it, shall not be christened but upon the holydays. How false this is, learn of us. Our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our parliament, in the English tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the leaf of that part which treats of baptism. Good subjects, for to others we speak not, look and be not deceived. They who have put this false opinion into your ears, mean not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this known to you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our laws ye may not christen your children upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then might you be offended; but seeing you may do it, how can you believe them who teach you the contrary? What think you do they mean in other things, who move you to break your obedience against us your king and sovereign, upon these false tales and persuasions. Therefore you all who will acknowledge

us your sovereign lord, and who will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how ye are deceived, and how subtlely traitors and papists with their falsehood, seek to achieve, and bring their purpose to pass. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly, every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly; and in the end, make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, under the pretence of a commonwealth and holiness.

"And how are you seduced by those who put in your heads, that the blessed sacrament of Christ's body does not differ from other common bread? If our laws, proclamations, and statutes, are all to the contrary, why shall any man persuade you against them? We do ourselves in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion to our comfort. We make so much difference between it and other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread but to maintain our bodies. But of this blessed bread we take it to be the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you, good subjects, shall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by God's appointment, more prevail with truth than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they shoot at, good subjects. It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seek, how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which must come upon your purposes. Almighty God forbids, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience unto us your king. If we should be slow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, do you think it pardoned without repentance? Is God's judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

"Likewise are ye evil informed in other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatever is therein ordered, has been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm; in nothing was so much labour and time spent, nothing so fully ended.

"As for the service in the English tongue, it has manifest reason for it. And yet perchance it seems to you a new service, yet indeed it is nothing other but the old. The self same words are in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, which were so childish that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge who choose to report the truth. The difference is, that you our subjects may understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin, then serving only for those who understood Latin, and now for all you who are born English. How can it with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and consent with the speaker? If the service of the church was good in Latin, it remains good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said to you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion; an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whoever has moved you to dislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

"Wherefore, you our subjects, remember, we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God. If in anywise we could advance God's honour more than we do, we would do it: And see that ye become subject to God's ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn of them who have authority to teach you, who have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits are nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

"For the mass, we assure you, no small study or pains has been spent by all the learned clergy therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as the holy fathers delivered it; but it is indeed somewhat altered from what the popes of Rome for their gain had made it. And although ye may hear the contrary of some evil popish men, yet our majesty, who for our honour may not be blemished, nor stained, assures you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads, to accomplish their own purpose.

"And so likewise judge you of confirmation of children; and let them answer you this one question: Do they think that a child christened is damned, because it dies before confirmation? They are confirmed when they have arrived at the years of discretion, to learn that which they professed by baptism; taught in age that which they received in infancy; and yet no doubt but they are saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and made Christ's by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, mark, good subjects, how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

"To conclude, beside our gentle manner of information to you, whatever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the bishops of the realm devised, and further, by God's word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear, without trembling, to any person—to disallow a parliament—a subject to persuade against our majesty—a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops, and all the clergy—any invented argument against the word of God?

"But now we resort to you our subjects, and say of your blindness, of your unkindness and unnatural conduct, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and been continued by persuasion of certain traitors among you, who we think few in number, but busy in their doings, we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and, as we are ordained by God, redress your errors by revenge. But though love and zeal overcomes our just anger; yet how long that will be God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; or rather for your own sakes, being our christened subjects, we would ye were persuaded rather than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously prosecuted.

"Ye require to have the statute of six articles revived; and do ye know what ye require? or know ye what ease you have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; they were too bloody to be borne by our people, and yet at the first indeed made of some necessity. Oh subjects! how are ye entrapped by subtle persons? We, of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now will ignorantly ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often; they were as a whetstone to our sword, and for your sakes we ceased to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with mildness and equity, how are ye blinded to ask them in blood?

"But leaving this manner of reasoning and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you know these have been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and not now to be called in question by subjects. Dare then any of you with the name of a subject stand against an act of parliament—a law of the whole realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure yourselves, that we of no earthly power under heaven make such a reputation, as we do of our power, to have our laws obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained, from which we will never remove a hair's

breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any subject, but therein will spend our royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you by our high honour. For herein indeed rests our honour, herein stands our kingdom, herein do all kings acknowledge us a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or think against our honour, our kingdom, our crown?

"In the end of this your request (as we are given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that notion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our kingdom? Are we of less authority for our age? Are we not your king now, as we shall be? Or shall ye be subjects hereafter, and are ye not now? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, as a king, we have no difference of years nor time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and by his sufferance shall have age: We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God's ordinance, not only when we shall be of twenty-one years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father King Henry VIII. You are our subjects, because we are your king; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey.

"In truth, they who move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honour; enlarge, not abate his power; acknowledge, not defer his kingdom till certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown, and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken, until we attain twenty-one years. Are we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein then are we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalness will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto been feared and dreaded of our enemies; yea, of princes, kings, and nations; yea, herein we are nothing inferior to any of our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be given to us from God, and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our magistrates, due execution of our laws? By authority of our kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

"It has been marvelled, that we of so young years, should have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chances it, that you our subjects of that our county of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to brand our realm with the evil of rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the sea, seeks to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law, to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies, to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies, to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

"Thus far ye see we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who of justice might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels; and now let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so if you provoke us farther, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword; which, how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay, or else we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather endanger our own royal person, state and power, than the same shall not be executed.

"And if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of those who lately did arise, pretending some grievances, and yet acknowledging their offences, who have not only received most humbly their pardon, but feel also, by our order, to whom all public order only pertains, redress devised for their grievances. In the end we admonish you of your duties towards God, to whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, to whom ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercy whilst God so inclines us, lest when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it to you; and where ye shall now hear of mercy, mercy and life, ye shall then hear of justice, justice and death.

"Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our reign."

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men, the rebels sent up also, not long after, a supplication to the king, to which answer again was made by the king's learned council.

Besides, to behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people's hearts, what rumours did they raise up against the king and his council! making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, next for their geese and pigs also, and such other things; and whatever they had in store, or should put into their mouths, they must pay a tax for it to the king! Of all which a word was never either thought or meant. But this seemed fit matter for such priests, by which to set the prince and his subjects together by the ears.

Against this seditious company of rebels, was sent by the king and his council, Sir John Russel, knight, lord privy seal, as lieutenant-general of the king's army, on whom chiefly depended the charge and conduct of suppressing this insurrection. To him also were joined, as in part of ordinary council in those affairs put under him, Sir William Herbert, Sir J. Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the lord Gray, and others.

Thus the lord privy seal, accompanied by the lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although not equal in number of soldiers, yet through the Lord's help, about the latter end of July, 1549, he gave them the repulse. They, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again, encountered the second time with the lord privy seal, about the beginning of August, by whom they were utterly vanquished and overthrown; so that the popish rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives; lying there slain miserably in the chase for the space of two miles.

These rebels, to make their party more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated god, brought with them into the battle the pix, with the host in it, under his canopy, and instead of an altar, set him riding in a cart. Neither was there any want of masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and plenty of holy water, to defend them from devils and all adversaries; which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies. The consecrated god, and all the trumpery about him, was very soon after taken in the cart, and there thrown into the dust, leaving a notable lesson not to put their confidence hereafter in such vain idols, but only in the true and living God, and immortal Maker,

serving him according to his prescribed word, and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

This event brings to my remembrance another similar popish field of battle (called Musselburgh field) fought in Scotland in the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamping themselves against the lord protector, and the king's power, brought with them to the battle the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish array, having full confidence by virtue of them, to have a great victory against the English army. The number of the Scots army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the front ranks against our horsemen (who gave the first onset) that our men were fain to retreat, not without the loss of divers gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pixes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the rout. Of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not more than a hundred Englishmen. The original cause of this war was the promise of the Scots, made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to king Edward, which promise the Scots afterwards broke.

During this commotion amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, another disturbance began to be engendered in Oxford and Buckinghamshire, but that was soon appeased by lord Gray, who chased the rebels to their houses. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered to him, whereof some were executed.

In Norfolk and parts thereabout, although the origin of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, and to disturb the public peace.

The rude and confused rabble was overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, at the least of four thousand. And the chief stirrers and authors of that commotion were taken and executed, and one of them (Ket) was hanged in chains.

Besides these insurrections, about the latter end of July, 1549, another commotion began in Yorkshire. The causes moving them to raise this rebellion were these: first and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the king's proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause was, trusting to a blind and fantastical prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the prophecy would shortly come to pass. The tenor of which prophecy, and the purpose of the traitors, was, "That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed; and that the realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament, to begin at the south and north seas of England," &c. They imagined that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshire men in the West, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the means to bring about their traitorous devilish device.

Plotting together how they might find out more company to join with them in their detestable designs, their plan was to rise at once in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the king's proceedings, or who would resist them.

It would be tedious to recite what riot these rebels gave themselves to, ranging about the country from town to town, to enlarge their rebellious band, taking those with force who were not willing to go, and leaving in no town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years. Thus their numbers were so increased, that in a short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and were like to have gathered more, had not the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For first came the king's gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them and the rest of the rebels of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his majesty, before the one-and-twentieth of August, A.D. 1549. This pardon influenced many of the rebels, and though the leaders contemptuously refused it, yet they were soon taken and executed, and this rebellion suppressed.

Matters concerning Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London.

Let us now return to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was commanded by the council to remain.

For the better understanding of the circumstances relating to Bonner, it will be requisite to retrace matters from the beginning of King Edward's time. King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1547, for the order of his visitation, directed certain commissioners, as Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Godsalve, knights; Mr. John Godsalve, Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law; and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who sat in St. Paul's church upon their commission, there being present at the same time, bishop Bonner, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others. After the sermon made, and the commission read, they administered an oath to the bishop of London, to renounce the bishop of Rome, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience to the king, according to the form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of king Henry VIII. Also that he should present and redress all such things as were needful to be reformed within the church.

Whereupon the bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose (as he said) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commision. To whom the commissioners answering, said they would deliberate more upon the matter, and so they called the other ministers of the church before them, and administered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop. To whom, moreover, certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. Which done, after their oaths taken, the commissioners delivered to the bishop certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king. All which things the bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth:—

"I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law, and the statutes and ordinances of the church." And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the homilies and injunctions.

This protestation being made, Bonner instantly desired Peter Lilly, the registrar, to register it. And so the commissioners delivering the injunctions and homilies to Master Bellassere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex, and enjoining them to put them into speedy execution, and also reserving other injunctions to be administered afterwards, as well to the bishop as to the archdeacons, according as they should see cause, &c., so continued the visitation till three o'clock the same day. At which hour and place, the commissioners sitting, and the canons and priests of the church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation; first John Painter, one of the cathedral church, there and then openly confessed that he lived vitiously and immorally. In which crimes divers other canons and priests of the church confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

After the commissioners had delivered to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see them executed, they prorogued their visitation until seven o'clock the next day.

By this visitation, it appears how Bonner made his protestation after receiving the king's injunctions. And

further, we may perceive the immoral life and conversation of these unmarried priests of popery. The bishop shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went to the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his demeanour toward his grace's commissioners. Which pardon although it was granted to him by the king, for acknowledging his fault, yet, for example, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet.

The Form of Bonner's Recantation.

"Whereas I, Edmund, bishop of London, have at such time as I received the king's majesty's injuctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject: forsomuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the register of that visitation, enacted and put in record; I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your lordships, that I do now upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's majesty.

"Edmund, London."

Thus we see how he, upon his humble submission, received his pardon of the king, and yet for example sake was commanded to the Fleet; where he did not long continue, but according to the king's pardon, was restored both to his house and living again, in the first year of the king, 1548.

It will be remembered how, in the second, and a great part of the third year of the king, he demeaned himself, not advancing the king's proceedings; and yet acting in such a way as that no advantage could be taken against him by law, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and in receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and in directing out his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney his sumner, to the bishop of Westminster, and other bishops, for abolishing images, for abrogation of the mass, for bibles to be set up in the churches, and for administering the sacrament in both kinds, with such other matters of reformation; till at length hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and afterwards of the insurrection of the king's subjects, he began somewhat to draw back and slack in his pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his diocese and in London, the people were not only negligent in resorting to divine service, but also frequented and haunted foreign rites of masses, and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal feasts refused in his own person to officiate. Whereupon being suspected and complained of, and brought before the king's council, (as was said before,) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private injunctions sent to him to compel him on certain days to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

The delivery of these injunctions and articles to the bishop (with the time of his preaching appointed) was soon after known among the citizens and commons within the city of London, so that every man expecting the the time, wished to hear the preaching. The time being come, the bishop, according to the injunctions, publicly preached at the cross of St. Paul's on the first day of September. However, as hypocrisy never lurks so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or another, God in his most righteous judgment makes it open to the world, so his long cloaked obstinacy, and hatred against the king's godly proceedings, was most plainly manifested in his sermon.

For whereas he was commanded to treat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his articles; he, in order to withdraw the minds of the people as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament administered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's majesty, (according to the true sense of the holy scripture,) spent most part of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and also not only slenderly touched on the rest of his articles, but with a rebellious and wilful carelessness utterly omitted the whole last article, concerning the lawful authority of the king's highness during his non-age; although he was by special command chiefly appointed to treat upon this, because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish rebels.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much displease that faithful and godly preacher, John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ, and also William Latimer, bachelor of divinity: and, therefore, they well weighing the foulness of the act, and their bounden allegiances to their prince, did thereon exhibit to the king's highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the bishop.

The king's majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his highness' command, thought it necessary with all convenient speed to look more severely to the punishment of such dangerous and rebellious obstinacy; and therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honourable council, he directed his commission under his great seal to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and counsellors, appointing and authorising them to call before them, as well the bishop of London, as also the denouncers, and, upon due examination and proof, to proceed against him summarily, according to law, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation.

The commission being sealed with the king's great seal, was by his highness's council forthwith delivered at the court to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners being there all together present; who, upon the receipt of it, determined to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth on the Wednesday next ensuing, which was the eleventh day of September, and they appointed the bishop of London to be summoned before them. The manner of his behaviour at his appearance, because it both declares the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the commissioners to be of, must be described.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and the commissioners sat, he passed by them with his cap upon his head (as if he saw them not), until some one plucked him by the sleeve, desiring him to do reverence to the commissioners. He laughingly turned himself, and spoke to the archbishop on this wise: "What, my lord, are you here? by my troth I saw you not."—"No," said the archbishop, "you would not see."—"Well," said he, "you sent for me; have you anything to say to me?"—"Yes," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's highness to call you to account for the sermon you made lately at St. Paul's Cross, because you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded to preach upon." At which words the bishop, either because he did not like to hear of this matter, or else because he wished to make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinions in religion, began to speak of other matters, and said to the archbishop, "In good faith, my lord, I wish one thing were had in more reverence than it is."—"What is it?"

said the archbishop.—"The blessed mass," said he.—"You have written very well of the sacrament: I marvel you do not more honour it." The archbishop of Canterbury perceiving his subtlety, said to him again, "If you think it well, it is because you understand it not." The other then, adding to his ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, "I think I understand it better than you that wrote it." To which the archbishop replied, "Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?"

When they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called upon the denouncers to propose such matter as they had to object against him, he hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting them, saying to the one, that he spake like a goose; and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock, and utterly denying their accusations to be true. The archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, whether, if he would not believe them, he would credit the people there present? And then (because many of those present were at the bishop's sermon at St. Paul's Cross) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority, saying to them, "How say you, my masters, did my lord of London preach this article?" They answered, "No, no." At which the bishop, turning himself about, deriding said, "Will you believe this foolish people?"

Besides this, he used many irreverent, unbecoming, obstinate, and froward words towards the commissioners (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended commissioners, pretended witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, terming some of them daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like) which I will here omit, for they appear in the sequel of the history.

Upon Wednesday, the eleventh day of September, 1549, in the third year of the reign of King Edward VI., Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, with Nicholas Ridley then bishop of Rochester, Sir William Petre, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of St. Paul's, by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially, upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared to the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, to the king's majesty and his most honourable council, and that therefore his highness, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof to him, and his colleagues there present; and there shewed a bill of complaint, exhibited to the king by William Latimer, and John Hooper, ministers, which they requested Sir William Petre to read.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer, having secret intelligence before of these matters (whatever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he exhibited to the commissioners, requesting that the same might be openly read.

The protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered to him. Which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general, as that he could not directly answer it. The archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, that he had transgressed the king's command, given to him by his council, in that he in his sermon made at St. Paul's Cross, did not set forth to the people the king's highness' royal power in his minority, according to the tenour of the article delivered to him for that purpose; and for proof thereof he called William Latimer and John Hooper, who had put up the bill of complaint to the king against him.

When the bishop had earnestly looked upon them, he said, "As for this merchant, Latimer I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as to this other merchant, Hooper, I have not seen him before, however I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then turning himself to the archbishop (on purpose, most like, to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion), said to him, "Ah, my lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is because I preached and set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. For as for these my accusers, as they are evil, infamous, notorious, and criminal persons, so are they manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially touching the sacrament of the altar: and most of all this Hooper. For whereas in my late sermon at St. Paul's Cross, I preached, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the self-same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross;—he, the same day at afternoon, having a great rabble with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit in my diocese, preached erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveighing against my sermon, denied the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be in the sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament, the self-same substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass—as he is an ass indeed—falsely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an ass, saying, that I had said *as* it hanged, and *as* it was shed upon the cross."

The archbishop perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said to him, "My lord of London, you speak much of a presence in the sacrament; what presence is there, and of what presence do you mean?" The bishop being somewhat stirred and moved in mind, as appeared by his choleric countenance, spake again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What believe you, and how do you believe my Lord?" The archbishop, minding to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, "Whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body." The bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh, I am right sorry to hear your grace speak these words," and boldly urged the archbishop to shew his mind therein. Who wisely weighing the presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused to do so, saying, that their being there at that time was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince, and therefore desired him to answer to such things as were objected against him.

Upon which Bonner required to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation, with time to answer. Which the commissioners willingly granted, assigning him to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight o'clock before noon, and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation.

On Friday, the thirteenth of September, four commissioners, with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel in his house at Lambeth; before whom appeared the bishop of London: to whom the archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, "My lord of London, the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the king's majesty, and you have this day to make your answer: wherefore, now shew us what you have to say for your defence."

The bishop first asking the archbishop if he had said

all, and he again saying, "Yea," made this answer; "My lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the king's majesty's commission, your grace, you my lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Petre, and you Master Dean of St. Paul's, but now I perceive there sits also Master Secretary Smith, who because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the commission upon him, ought not to do so: for by the law, they who begin must continue the commission." The archbishop answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not shew what the law wills in that case, but, said he, if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law.

"Well," said the bishop, "there are here those that know the law, and yet I say not this to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you, as it were, by the way; for I have here mine answer ready."

Then said Master Secretary Petre to the bishop, "My lord, in good sooth, I must say to you, that although I have professed the law, yet by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point: but admit the law were as you say, yet yourself knows, my lord, that this is our certain rule in law, *Quod consuetudo est juris interpres optimus*, and I am sure you will not, nor cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this realm in all judgments and commissions used to the contrary; and in very deed we all together at the court, having the commission presented to us, took it upon us; and therefore you to stick in such trifling matters you shall rather in my judgment hurt yourself and your matter than otherwise."

"Truly, Master Secretary," said the bishop, "I have also of long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter to turn to my books, I find the law to be as I say, and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point."

At which words, Master Secretary Smith said also to the bishop, "Well, my lord of London, as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there are here that know the law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these are but quirks invented to delay matters, but our commission is to proceed summarily, and to cut off such frivolous allegations."

"Well," said the bishop again, "look well on your commission, and you shall find therein these words, 'To proceed according to the law and justice:' and I ask both law and justice at your hands."

Then Master Secretary Petre desired him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed to his answer. Whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it to the archbishop, said, that it was of his own handwriting, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and cursorily, that it could scarcely be read by any other; and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly.

The purport of his answer was, that Hooper and Latimer were heretics, and therefore infamous and not to be believed or admitted as witnesses; and, further, that the injunctions given to him were not sealed with the broad seal, or signed by the king, and that, notwithstanding, he did preach against rebellion and in behalf of the king's authority; alleging thus, that the witnesses were not to be believed, and that the charge was not true.

Whilst he was reading the answer, objecting against his denouncers such causes, for which he would have had the denouncers repelled by the commissioners; the archbishop of Canterbury replied: "That if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome."

"No, sir," said the bishop of London, "it is the king's law used in this realm."

"Well, my lord," said the archbishop, "ye are too full of your law: I would wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law, and of your duty."

With that, Secretary Petre desired the bishop to proceed in reading his answers; who did so, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered a writing to the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said to the bishop of London, "here are certain articles which we intend to administer unto you."

The commissioners assigned him Monday the sixteenth of September then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers to all the articles administered to him by them this day.

On Monday, the sixteenth of September, the archbishop, associated with the bishop of Rochester; Secretary Smith; and Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's,—sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the bishop of London, as assigned in the last session: at which time he exhibited to the commissioners, in writing, his answers to the articles.

But before the same were read, the archbishop said to him, that his late answers, made the thirteenth of September to the denunciation, were very obscure, and contained also much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth, and therefore they desired to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, obtaining leave to speak, said, that the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters, and such as he would never be able to prove. For, whereas, he alleged, that William Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him, did, the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assemble themselves together unlawfully against the bishop; that saying was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, did he ever know or speak with Hooper. And as to his preaching there, he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the scriptures, and true catholic faith of Christ's church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the king's majesty, or the commissioners to appoint; and further, to submit to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge. Then Master Hooper, upon like licence obtained, said to this effect.

"This ungodly man," pointing to the bishop, "has most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your grace and this audience, and has laid to my charge that I am an heretic. Whereas, I take God to record, I never spoke, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And whereas, he says, I frequent the company of heretics; I do much marvel of his so saying; for it has pleased my lord protector's grace, my singular good lord and my lady's grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons, and therefore I suppose this man means them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical, I perceive that this man knows not what this word mathematical there means, and therefore understands not my book: which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word: and by the same his holy word and scriptures I am always and shall be ready to submit myself to your grace's judgment and the superior powers to be tried;" with many such more words of like importance. Which ended, the archbishop asked the bishop, how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him on the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it, and therefore willed him to answer forthwith.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, if he might be admitted to do it according to law; and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this varlet's books which he made against

the blessed sacrament which you shall hear." Then as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak: but the bishop, turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes, you have spoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you," and therewith read a certain sentence from the book. Which done, he said, "Lo, here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At which words, the people standing behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing. Whereat, the bishop being moved, and perceiving not the cause why they laughed, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah, woodcocks, woodcocks!"

Then said one of the commissioners, "Why say you so, my lord?" "Indeed," replied he, "I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not what at, nor yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called here for preaching your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge (meaning Hooper and Latimer) that they have accused you of that. However, there was no such thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent that they may the better perceive your dealing herein." And therewithal he said unto the people, "My lord of London would make you believe, that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar: but to the intent you may perceive how he goes about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him, read to you;" and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir John Mason, knight, who read it openly. Which done, the archbishop said again unto the audience, "Lo, you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

With this the bishop, being in a raging heat, as one void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, "Well, now hear what the bishop of London saith for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, forbid him to speak any more, saying, "That he used himself very disobediently."

Notwithstanding, he still persisting in his irreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and said to the archbishop; "My lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, wherein you affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament; and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvelous matter."

To which the archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books; however, he thought the bishop understood them not; "for I promise you," said he, "I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you, my lord of London."

Thus, after a great many words, the commissioners, thinking it not good to spend any more time with him, desired him to shew his answers to the articles objected, the last day, against him. He, having them ready, read the same to them. Wherein he laments that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used after such a strange manner, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience to the king's majesty for the discouraging of rebellion; and also for the truth of Christ's true body, and his presence in the sacrament of the altar; for which alone the malicious denouncers, with their accomplices, had studied to trouble him.

Then in reply to the charge of omitting to defend the authority of the king, during his minority, he said, for the better setting forth of the king's majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of histories, as also out of the scriptures, the names of several young kings, who, notwithstanding minority, were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful kings; as Henry III. being but nine years old; Edward III. being but thirteen years; Richard II. being but eleven years; Henry VI. being not fully one year; Edward V. being but eleven years; Henry VIII. being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Uzziah, who was but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh being but twelve years; Josiah, Jehoiachim, and Joash being but eight years of age when they entered their reigns. All which notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come to his memory, as indeed they did not, because he was disturbed; partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, which being of some length, confounded his memory; and partly also because his book in his sermon fell from him, wherein were his notes which he had collected for that purpose; so that he could not remember what he intended, but yet in general he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all others.

When he had ended the reading of his answers, the commissioners said unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered to the article beginning thus: "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," &c. He answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

The judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer, or not? To the which he said, "No, unless the law did compel him." Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compel him to answer more fully, or not? He answered, "No;" adding further that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The commissioners then seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus, and would not otherwise answer, they would, according to the law, take him as if he had confessed it. He said, as before, that he had already fully answered them; but when they requested to have the notes, which he had made of his sermon, he said they should have them if they would send for them. And as in his answer he had stated that he did not know what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared to him that their opinion was, "That the king's majesty, before his grace came to the age of one-and-twenty years, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age." The bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as appeared by his answers, as well to the denunciation, as also to the fifth article objected against him.

Which ended, they admitted for witnesses upon the articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom they bound with an oath upon the holy evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who, like a wily lawyer, protested against the receiving, admitting, and swearing those witnesses, demanding also a competent time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts of that day. With this the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to administer his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that day, and against the rest on the next day.

After this the judges delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to shew cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles whereto he had not answered, and to see further process done in the matter; and so (he still protesting against the validity of all their proceedings) they departed.

In the meanwhile the commissioners certified to the king's majesty and his council, of the bishop's demeanour, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts whether by the tenor of his ma-

jesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their mere office; and also whether they might as well determine or hear the cause. His majesty, for the better understanding thereof, did on the seventeenth of September send to the commissioners a full and perfect declaration of his will and pleasure in the commission, giving them full authority to proceed at their own discretion.

After this declaration had been sent down to, and received back from the king, the bishop of London appeared again before them upon Wednesday, the 18th of September, in the great hall at Lambeth. Where he declared, that although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet further to satisfy the term assigned unto him, to shew cause why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso* upon the articles, to which he had not fully answered, he had then a writing to exhibit why he ought not to be so declared, which he read there openly. Wherein under his accustomed irreverent terms of pretended, unjust, and unlawful process and assignment, he said he was not bound by the law (for good and reasonable causes) to obey the same, especially their assignment.

When his frivolous objections were read, the archbishop seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt of manner and language towards them, charged him very sharply, saying, "My Lord of London, if I had sat here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your duty to have used yourself more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you have; but seeing that I with my colleagues sit here now as delegates from the king's majesty, I must tell you plainly, you have behaved yourself too inordinately. For at every time that we have sat in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well to us, with the servants and chaplains, as also to certain of the most ancient that are here, calling them fools and daws, with such like expressions, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my lord, there is you and another bishop whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think has not before been heard of, by which ye have done much harm."

At which words the bishop said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a meet judge."

The archbishop then reminded him how indiscreetly the last day in the chapel he had called all the people "woodcocks."

He answered, that William Latimer, one of the denouncers, had practised with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should say as he said, and do as he did; as, one time, upon the lifting up of his hand, "Nay, nay;" and at another time, "Yea, yea," and laughed they could not tell at what.

To which words Latimer replied, saying, "That he lifted not up his hand at any time, but only to cause them to hold their peace."

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers he did not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but used always protestations, calling them pretended commissioners, pretended delegates, pretended commission, pretended articles, pretended proceedings, so that all things were pretended with him. "Such terms," said he, "proctors use to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known. But you, my lord, to use us the king's majesty's commissioners, with such terms, do very naughtily. And I pray you what else did the rebels do but act in the same way? For when letters and pardons were brought them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, with such like terms. But now, my lord, because we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon, you omitted the article touching the king's majesty's authority in his tender age or not; but still have said that you will not answer otherwise than you have done, and that you have already sufficiently answered, so that we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles whereunto you shall be sworn, and then I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done."

Then the delegates ministered to him certain new articles and injunctions, and did there bind him with an oath in form of law to make a full and true answer. The bishop notwithstanding still protested the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, desiring also a copy with a competent time to answer.

The judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination the next day.

Then the commissioners received for witness Sir John Mason, Sir Thomas Chalenor, knights, Master William Cecil, Armigal Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king's council, whom they bound with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop.

These articles being thus administered to the bishop of London, the next day, being Thursday the 19th of September, the before-named commissioners sate in the archbishop's chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London. Before whom there appeared Robert Johnson the bishop's registrar, who declared to the commissioners that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because he feared to fall into a fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much overwatching himself the night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Master Smith remarked, that "if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed; but," said he, "I promise you, my lord has so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse. However, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one o'clock this afternoon," and so they did, desiring Master Johnson to signify then to them whether the bishop could appear or not.

At which hour Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop's chamber appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that, for the causes before alleged, their master could not appear at that time. Whereupon Master secretary Smith said to them, "My lord of London, your master, has used us very homely, and sought delays hitherto, and now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loth to come to his answer, he feigns himself sick. But because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal to him, commanding him if he be sick, indeed, to let him alone; for that is a reasonable excuse; but if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us; for I promise you he shall not use us as he has done; and therefore Master Johnson you do the part of a trusty servant as becomes you; but it is also your part to show my lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which does him more harm than he is aware of. What, thinks he to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I suppose we shall have a new Thomas à Becket. Let him take heed, for if he play these parts, he may happen to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whither? To the bishop of Rome? I say he cannot appeal but to the same king who has made us his judges, and to the bench of his council; and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men believe that he was called before us for preaching his opinion of the sacrament; wherein I assure you he did both falsely and wickedly, and more than became him, and more than he had in commandment to do, for he was not desired to speak of that matter; but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him delay us." Which ended, the delegates decreed to tarry for him until the next day at two o'clock, being Friday, the 20th of September.

At which day and time the bishop appeared himself

personally before them in the same chamber of presence; where he exhibited his answers to the last articles.

After this, perceiving that Master secretary Smith was more quick with him than others of the commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain subtleties in law, but urged him to go directly to his matter, and sometimes sharply rebuking him for his ill and stubborn behaviour towards them; he, to destroy his authority, exhibited in writing a recusation of the secretary's judgment against him, in which he rejects the secretary as a prejudiced and hostile person, unfit to sit in judgment upon him.

When this was read by the bishop, the secretary told him plainly, that he would proceed in his commission, and would be still his judge; and said further, "My lord, you say, in your recusation, that I said 'That you were acting like thieves, murderers, and traitors,' indeed I said it, and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings."

The bishop in a great rage replied, saying, "Well, sir, because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and are secretary to his majesty, and also one of his highness' council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but, as you are but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, 'That I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors,' I say, ye lie, and I defy you; and do what you can to me, I fear you not, and therefore what thou doest do quickly."

The archbishop with the other commissioners said to him, that for such his irreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again, "In God's name ye may send me whither you will, and I must obey you, and so will, except you send me to the devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have: a small portion of goods, a poor carcase, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take, but as for my soul, ye shall not get it."

"Well," said the secretary then, "ye shall know that there is a king."

"Yea, sir," said the bishop, "but that is not you, neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you."

"No sir," said the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is;" and with that the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now that the commissioners were in consultation, the bishop, with Gilbert Bourn, his chaplain, Robert Warnington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a vacant place before the door of the chamber; the bishop leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said, "Sirs, what mean you? Why show you yourselves to be sad and heavy in mind, as appears to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you to be as merry as I am, (laying therewith his hand upon his breast) for before God I am, not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for God's cause, and it grieves me nothing at all. But the great matter that grieves me and pierces my heart is, that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts are suffered and licensed to preach at Paul's Cross, and in other places within my diocese, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ his true body and blood to be there, and so infect and betray my flock. But I say it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore, ye being christian men, I do require you, and also charge and command you in the name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly in God's name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable preachers (and especially those who hold opinions against the blessed sacrament of the altar) do come to preach to them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them, lest that they, tarrying with such preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give encouragement to others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good."

And then, turning himself about, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen, who kept the chamber door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake to them also and said, "And, sirs, ye be my lord of Canterbury's gentlemen, I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you in God's behalf, and in his name, that ye do the like, where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers, and also advertise my lord your master of the same, and of these my sayings that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary."

With this the commissioners called for the bishop again, who read unto them an instrument, containing an appeal to the king.

Then the delegates proceeded to the examination of the last answers, and finding them imperfect, they demanded of him on what special day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make any other answer than he had already made, neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master secretary Smith was present, whom he had before recused, and would not recede from his recusation.

The secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply to him, "My lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer to these articles, or else we will take other order with you."

"In faith, sir," then said the bishop, "I thought ye had been learned; but now before God I perceive well that either ye are not learned, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently and have shewed causes sufficient and reasonable, that I must needs judge that you are too ignorant herein."

"Well," said Master secretary, "ye will not then otherwise answer?"

"No," said the bishop, "except the law do compel me."

"Then," said the secretary, "call for the knight marshal, that he may be had to ward."

With that all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them, sitting on the king's majesty's commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith, his majesty's secretary, and for that and other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him, that no man might come to him.

When the secretary had ended, the bishop said to him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that his grace of Canterbury, here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on Monday, to make full answer to these articles, or else to shew cause why he should not be declared guilty by confession, concluded the session.

Now, as the bishop was departing with the undermarshal, he turned himself in a great fury toward the commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, where ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand, that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put to me, as bolts on my heels; yea, and if ye will, iron about my middle, or where ye will."

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and said to the archbishop; "Well, my lord, I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your grace's hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people: and therefore I

do require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that ye will henceforth abstain from doing thus; for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's majesty." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against the common people, who stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

The sixth action or process against Bonner, Bishop of London.

It was assigned, that upon Monday, the twenty-third of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners, to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles whereto he had not fully answered.

Accordingly, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal, and there declared that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary; for that he was against his will brought there by the keeper of the Marshalsea; and he then intimated a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging that because the archbishop with all his colleagues had neither observed the order of their commission, nor proceeded against him after any laudable form of judgment, but attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to prison; and he therefore did refuse and decline from the judgment of the archbishop and his colleagues, and except against their jurisdiction; and therefore, according to his appeal, he purposed to submit himself to the tuition, protection, and defence of the king's majesty; for whose honour and reverence sake, he said, they ought not to proceed any further against him.

The archbishop, however, with the others, told him plainly that they would be still his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission.

Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, intimated an appeal to the king's majesty.

The commissioners, notwithstanding, stood to their commission, and urged him straightly to make a more full answer to his articles than he had done.

The bishop said, that he would stand to his recusations and appeal, and would not make any other answer.

Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the articles whereto he had not fully answered; the bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere to his appeal and recusation.

Whereupon the archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacity, pronounced him contumacious, and declared him guilty, upon all the articles which he had not answered.

This done, Master secretary Smith shewed a letter which the bishop of London had sent unto the lord mayor, and the aldermen of the city of London, as follows:—

To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the Lord Mayor of London, with all his worshipful Brethren, my very dear and worshipful Friends, with speed.

"Right honourable, with my very humble recommendations: whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached to you, or rather like themselves prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the truth, and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list, teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be constrained, but that every man may believe as he will; by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might to some have been seen to have allowed their heretical doctrine, and given credit to them, betraying my flock of the catholic sort, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretic praters' uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you and all others that are catholic should have done, leaving those there with him that are already cast away, and will not be recovered. For you tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also shall give countenance that their doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write to you, requiring and praying you again and again in God's behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such wicked preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that you shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble city in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixteenth of September, 1549.

"Your faithful beadsman and poor bishop,
"Edmund Bonner."

This letter being read, the secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it or not. To whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand to his former recusations and appeals. Which the commissioners seeing, determined to continue this case until Friday then next following, assigning the bishop to be there, to hear a final decree of this matter.

On Friday the commissioners did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it till Tuesday, the first of October. Upon which day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop declared to him, that although upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet as they thought that that sentence (although they had just cause to give it,) would be very severe against him, they had not only deferred it until this day, but desiring to be friendly to him, and to use more gentle reformation towards him, had made such suit for him, that although he had grievously offended the king's majesty, yet if he would have acknowleged his fault, and have made some amends in submitting himself, he should have found much favour; the sentence would not have been so extreme against him, as it was likely to be now.

The bishop not at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition, but persisting still in his contumacy, made another protest against the commissioners, and then appealed from them to the king, refusing to make answer, on the plea that he was not free, but a prisoner.

He then handed in both his protests and his appeal in writing, after having publicly read them.

These things ended, the archbishop said to him, "My lord where you say that you come compelled, or else you would not have appeared, I much wonder. For you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because you are a prisoner, you ought not therefore to answer; which, if it were true, were enough to confound the whole state of this realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever your keeper there (meaning the under marshal) had under him, he cannot shew me one that has used such defence as you have done."

"Well," said the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could shew him my mind."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did, and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then Master Secretary Smith charged him very severely how disobediently and rebelliously he had behaved himself towards the king's majesty and authority.

The bishop answered again, "That he was the king's majesty's lawful and true subject, and did acknowledge his highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed to him as he did, yea, and would gladly lay his hands, and his neck also, under his grace's feet, and therefore he desired that his highness's laws and justice might be administered to him."

"Yea," replied Master Secretary, "you say well my lord, but I pray you what else have all these rebels in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said the same thing? We are

the king's true subjects, we acknowledge him for our king, and we will obey his laws, with such like phrases; and yet when either commandment, letter, or pardon was brought to them from his majesty, they did not believe it, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings, so that they neither would nor did obey anything."

"Ah, sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; you would say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them."

"Yea, by my troth," said the secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the dean of St. Paul's said to him, "That he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the judges to speak."

To whom the bishop disdainfully answered; "Well, Master Dean, you must say somewhat." And likewise at another time as the dean was speaking, he interrupted him and said, "You may speak when your turn comes."

Then said the secretary Smith, "I would you knew your duty."

"I would," retorted he again, "you knew it as well;" with an infinite deal more of such stubborn and contemptuous behaviour. Which the commissioners weighing, determined that the archbishop, with their whole consent, should openly read and publish their final decree or sentence definitive against him. Which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the bishopric of London.

The sentence specified that the bishop of London had neglected the king's injunctions in his diocese, and especially had not complied with his majesty's command to preach in behalf of the king's authority as impeached by the rebels; and the sentence embodied the words of the royal injunctions, which he thus neglected, and which are as follows:—

"Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that our authority of our royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our younger age, than is and was of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josiah and other young kings in scripture. And therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age."

When this sentence of deprivation was ended, the bishop immediately appealed by word of mouth:—

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do under my former protestation, and to the intent it may also appear, that I have not consented nor agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla;* and so far forth as it shall appear to be *aliqua*, I do say it is *iniqua* and *injusta;* and that therefore I do appeal to the most excellent and noble king Edward VI., by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also Ireland, next and immediately under God here on earth, supreme head, and unto his court of chancery or parliament, as the law, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will suffer and bear in this behalf, desiring instantly first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters, reverential or dimissory, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise."

The judges said, "that they will declare and signify to the king's majesty what is done in this matter."

The archbishop considering that most of the audience did not understand the meaning of the sentence which was read in the Latin tongue, said to them, "Because there may be many of you here that understand not the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment has been given, I shall therefore shew you its effect;" and therewith declared in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding these words:—

"Because my lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here by our sentence deprived him of our bishopric of London; and this we shew to you that from henceforth you shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London."

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, "you may do it yourself." Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, "What will your grace do with me, touching my imprisonment? Will you keep me still in prison?"

To whom the commissioners answered that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater rebellion than he was aware of, and therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his keeper to be kept in prison. Where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince king Edward VI. After which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as will appear hereafter, throughout the whole reign of queen Mary.

Immediately after his deprivation, he wrote out of the Marshalsea other letters supplicatory to the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council. Wherein he complained, that by reason of the great enmity that the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bare to him, his earnest suits unto the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their lordships to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute this matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honours; and afterwards wrote in the same way to the king's majesty.

The king, on receiving his petition, gave in charge and commandment to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilful in the law, as to the lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Ely; Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir William Herbert, knights; doctor Rich, Wooton, Edward Montague, lord chief justices; Sir John Baker, knight; with judge Hale, John Gosnold, doctor Oliver, and also doctor Layson, that they perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments of Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged, with all his protestations, recusations, and appeals, should upon mature consideration give their direct answer, whether the appeal of Bonner were to be deferred to, whether the sentence against him stood by the law sufficient and effectual or not. Who soon after diligent discussion, and considerate advice, gave their answer, that the appeal of Edmund Bonner was null and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred to; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation.

Thus then leaving Doctor Bonner a while in the Marshalsea, we will proceed further in the course of our history, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the lord protector falls here jointly with the deprivation of Doctor Bonner; yet as he was shortly again delivered, I will therefore delay to treat of it till his second trouble, which was two years after; and so in the meantime, intend to continue the matter, touching the king's godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the year 1549.

And here first a note should be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned labours, and disputation in the University of Oxford this year with Doctor Chedsey, and others about the sacrament; which was, that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

In like manner, some mention here also should be made of the ecclesiastical laws, for the compiling of which thirty-two persons were assigned by act of parliament, 1549. But because these are rather matters of treatise than historical, I mean to defer the further consideration of them to the end of the history of this king's days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the meanwhile.

Books of Latin service called in and abolished.

It follows in our history, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector, and supposing that the alteration of public service into English, and the administration of the sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the church, had been the act chiefly or only of the lord protector, began now to spread abroad the report that they should now have their old Latin service with holy bread and holy water, and their other superstitious ceremonies again: therefore the king, with the privy council, directed out his letters of request, and straight commandment to the bishops, in their diocese, to cause the deans and prebendaries of their cathedral churches, all parsons, vicars, and curates, with the church-wardens of every parish within their diocese, to bring in and deliver up all antiphoners, missals, grailes, processionales, manuals, legends, pies, porthoses, journals, and ordinals after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of service, which might be any hindrance to the service now set forth in English, charging also and commanding that all such as shall be found disobedient in this behalf should be committed to ward.

And because the king was informed that there was among the people a refusal to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, by which the communion in many places was omitted, the bishops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redress of this, and to punish them who should refuse. By which it appears that no wafer cakes, but common bread was then by the king's appointment ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the latter end of December, A.D. 1549.

Taking down of Altars, and setting up the Table instead thereof.

In the year next, 1550, other letters were sent for taking down altars in churches, and setting up the table instead, to Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was now made bishop of London in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these:

The King's Letters to Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, &c.

"Right reverend father in God; right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, who, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we admonish you, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by these and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good by the advice of our council to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted within your diocese, be taken down, and instead thereof a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the administration of the blessed communion. And to the intent that the same may be done without the offence of such of our loving subjects as are not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; which and such others as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you to cause them to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

"Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the 24th day of November, in the fourth year of our reign."

Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table, than of an Altar.

I. The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass to the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come to the Lord's board, what do we come for? To sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again? or to feed upon him that was only once crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually to drink his blood, which is the true use of the Lord's Supper, then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board than the form of an altar.

II. Whereas it is said, that the Book of Common Prayer makes mention of an altar; therefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the book allows. To this it is thus answered, the Book of Common Prayer calls the thing whereupon the Lord's Supper is administered indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board, without prescribing any form, either of a table, or of an altar; so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the book of Common Prayer calls it both an altar and a table. For as it calls it an altar, whereupon the Lord's Supper is administered, a table and the Lord's board, so it calls the table, where the holy communion is distributed with praise and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appears that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

III. The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or, at least, upon a super altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters, or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; therefore it is more meet for the abolishing of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table than of an altar.

IV. The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and the Greek word so implies. But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof cease; and therefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease with it.

V. Christ instituted the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper at a table, and not at an altar, as appears manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St. Paul calls the coming to the holy communion, the coming to the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read, that any of the apostles, or the primitive church, did ever use any altar in the ministration of the holy communion.

Wherefore seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used than the form of an altar in the administration of the holy communion.

VI. It is said in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt arise in the use and practising of the same book; to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in that book.

After these letters and reasons were received, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, held his visitation; wherein, among other injunctions, the bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars then remained, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church.

There arose a great divgrsity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the bishop was required to determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bouden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese to that which he thought best agreed with scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary to any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use taught by the holy scriptures of the Lord's Supper; and so he appointed the form of a table to be used in his diocese; and in the church of St. Paul he broke down the wall then standing by the high altar.

Now we will enter into those matters which happened between King Edward and his sister Mary, as by their letters here following are to be seen:

To my Lord Protector and the rest of the King's Majesty's Council.

"My lord, I perceive by the letters which I lately received from you, and others of the king's majesty's council, that ye are all sorry to find so little conformity in me touching the observation of his majesty's laws. I am well assured, that I have offended no law, unless it be a late law of your own making, for the altering of matters in religion, which in my conscience is not worthy to have the name of a law, both for the king's honour-sake, the welfare of the realm, and giving an occasion of an evil report through all Christendom, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my conscience is very well persuaded) the offending of God, which passes all the rest; but I am well assured that the king's father's laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all you executors sworn upon a book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorised law, and I have obeyed that, and will do so with the grace of God, till the king's majesty, my brother, shall have sufficient years to be a judge in these matters himself. Wherein, my lord, I was plain with you at my last being at the court, and declared to you at that time whereto I would stand, and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion, is for two causes.

"One principally for my conscience sake; the other, that the king, my brother, shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the king, my father, to every indifferent person it well appears, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietness of the realm.

"Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his realm, as the best of you all, and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his majesty's poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and to this his realm (being born within the same) wish all health and prosperity to God's honour.

"And if any judge of me the contrary for mine opinion's sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with God's help, to prove myself as true a natural and humble sister, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their devices and altering of laws, shall prove themselves true subjects; praying you, my lord, and the rest of the council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with God's help, whatever shall happen to me, intending, with his grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live in quietness, and pray for the king's majesty, and all of you, heartily wishing that your proceedings may be to God's honour, the safeguard of the king's person, and quietness to the realm.

"Moreover, where your desire is, that I shall send my controller, and Doctor Hopton, to you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply, to my content and honour; it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house rests only upon the labours of my controller, who has not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters patent; so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my chaplain, by occasion of sickness has been long absent, and is not yet able to ride.

"Therefore as I cannot forbear my controller, and my priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you, my lord, and all the rest of the council, that having any thing to be declared to me, except on matters of religion, you will either write your minds, or send some trusty person, with whom I shall be contented to talk, and make answer as the case shall require; assuring you that if any servant of mine, either man or woman, or chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish to you and the rest as well to do as myself.

"From my house at Kenning Hall, the two-and-twentieth day of June, 1549.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"MARY."

To this letter the council replied, giving instructions to Doctor Hopton, who should himself inform the princess of the mind of the council, after which the king wrote to her as follow:

The King's Letter to the Lady Mary, twenty-fourth of January, 1550.

"Right dear, &c. We have seen by letters of our council, sent to you of late, and by your answer touching your chaplains having offended our laws in saying mass, the good and convenient advices of our council, and your fruitless and indirect mistaking the same: which moves us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our council has not prevailed, yet the like from ourself may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive rests in this, that you being our next sister, in whom above all others our subjects, nature should place the most estimation of us, would wittingly and purposely, not only break our laws yourself, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly, however, the matter may have other terms, other sense it has not: and although by your letter it seems you challenge a promise made to you, that you may do so, yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, either to maintain, or to continue your fault. You must know this, sister, you were at first, when the law was made, borne with, not that you should disobey the law, but that by our lenity and love you might learn to obey it. We made a difference between you and our other subjects, not that all others should follow our laws, and you only oppose them, but that you might be brought as far by love, as others were by duty. The error in which you rest is double, and so great, that neither for the love of God can we suffer it unredressed, neither for the love of

you can we but wish it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who indeed, is thereby dishonoured, and you err in zeal for lack of knowledge, and having knowledge offered to you, you refuse it, not because it is knowledge, we trust (for then should we despair of you), but because you think it is not. And surely in this we can best reprehend you, because we learn daily in our school, that therefore we may learn things, because we know them not, and we are not allowed to say we know not those things, or we think they are not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to which you have been hitherto used; and now for very love we will, ourself, offer you reason. If you are persuaded in conscience contrary to our laws, you or your persuaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what shall be said again.

"In this point you see I pretermit my estate, and talk with you as your brother, rather than your supreme lord and king. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light as now, before you learn, you are loath to see it. And if thus much reason with our natural love shall not move you, whereof we would be sorry, then we must consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our laws. For though hitherto it has been suffered, in hope of amendment, yet now, if there be no hope, how shall there be sufferance? Our charge is to have the same care over every man's estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house as you would be loath openly to suffer one of your servants, being next you, most manifestly to break your orders, so must you think in our state it shall miscontent us to permit you, so great a subject, not to keep our laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time makes your fault the greater. The example is unnatural, that our sister should do less for us than our other subjects. The cause is slanderous for so great a personage to forsake our majesty.

"Finally, It is too dangerous in a troublesome commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a faction. We are young, you think, in years to consider this. Truly sister, it troubles us the more; for it may be, this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern, and so we are as much troubled because we doubt whether we see the whole peril, as we do for what we do see. Indeed we will presume no further than our years gives us; that is, in doubtful things not to trust our own judgment, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other subjects do, were it not evident that you would not be a good subject? Were it not plain in that case, that you would use us not as your sovereign lord? Again, if you should be suffered manifestly to break our laws, would it not be a covert for others to do so? And if our law be broken, and contemned, where is our estate? These things are so plain, as we could almost have judged them six years past. And indeed it grieves us not a little, that you, who should be our greatest comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. Think you not but it must needs trouble us, and if you can so think, you ought, sister, to amend it. Our natural love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminish it not yourself. If you will be loved by us, shew some token of love towards us, that we say not with the Psalm, "They rendered me evil for good." If you will be believed when by writing you confess us to be your sovereign lord, hear that which in other things is often alleged, "Shew me thy faith by thy works." In the answer of your letter to our council, we remember you hold only upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of religion your faith is no other, than as all Christendom does confess. The next is, you will assent to no alteration, but wish things to stand as they did at our father's death. If you mean in the first to rule your faith by that which you call Christendom, and not by this church of England, wherein you are a member, you shall err in many points, such as our father's would not have suffered, whatever you may say of the standing still of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write, what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authority, of things not altered by our father, you should do us too great an injury. We take ourself, for the administration of this our commonwealth, to have the same authority which our father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of scripture, nor by universal laws. The histories in scripture are plenteous, which show us that almost the best ordered church of the Israelites was by kings younger than we are. Well, sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings to the worst; love and charity shall expound them. But yet you must not be bold to offend in that whereunto you see your writings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty, and if there be any impediment, not of purpose, you shall find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the same. To teach and instruct you we will give order, and so procure you to do your duty willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used merely as a subject, and only commanded; but as a daughter, a scholar, and a sister, taught, instructed, and persuaded. For which cause, when you have considered this our letter, we pray you that we may shortly hear from you."

The Lady Mary's Answer to the King.

"My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty, please it the same to understand that I have received your letters by Master Throgmorton, this bearer. The contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your highness doth charge me to be both a breaker of your laws, and also an encourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your majesty to think that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty compelleth me unto; that is, to wish your highness all honour and prosperity, for which I do and daily shall pray. And where it pleaseth your majesty to write, that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your majesty's presence, at my last waiting upon you. And although, I confess, the ground of faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an handmaid) and my conscience also hath and do agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, it was not so meant. I shall most humbly desire your highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either your majesty's ambassador, now being with the emperor, shall inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the emperor's ambassador here, although he were not within this realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear that in this point I have not offended your majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your majesty (God be praised) hath at these years as much understanding, and more, than is commonly seen in that age, yet considering you do hear but one part (your highness not offended) I would be a suiter to the same, that till you were grown to more perfect years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the soul. So undoubtedly should your majesty know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your majesty hath conceived of me, either by letters to your council, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove myself as true to you, as any subject within your realm, and will by no means stand in argument with your majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for God's sake, to suffer me, as your highness hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my judge; but rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have, and also my life; and nevertheless, live and die your humble sister and true subject. Thus, after pardon craved of your

majesty for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in honour with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had noble king.

"From Beaulieu, the third of February.

"Your majesty's most humble and
"unworthy sister, MARY."

After many other letters from the council to the princess Mary, and from her in reply, as also to his majesty, the king wrote the following:—

The King's Letter to the Lady Mary.

"Right dearly and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieves us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that, which we for God's cause, your soul's health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentment of our conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love; yet we are loath to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we are provoked to be.

"And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found guilty in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor, the lord Rich, chancellor of England, and our trusty and right well beloved councillors, Sir Anthony Wingfield, knight, controller of our household, and Sir William Paget, knight, one of our principal secretaries, in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those matters they shall say to you from us, and do there, in our name.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 24th day of August, in the first year of our reign."

A Copy of the King's Instructions, given to the said Lord Chancellor, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir William Paget, knights, &c., the 24th of August, 1551.

"You the said lord chancellor and your colleagues shall immediately repair to the lady Mary, giving to her his majesty's hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as follows:—

"Although his majesty has a long time, as well by his majesty's own mouth and writing, as by his council, endeavoured that the lady being his sister, and a principal subject and member of his realm, should both be indeed, and also shew herself conformable to the laws and ordinances of the realm, in the profession and rites of religion, using all gentle means of exhortation and advice that the reformation of the fault might willingly come of herself, as was the expectation and desire of his majesty, and all good and wise men; yet notwithstanding his majesty sees that hitherto no manner of amendment has followed; but by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws no small peril may happen to the state of his realm, the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his majesty's conscience, and that of all other good men; and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his privy council, and divers others of the nobility of his realm, whose names you may repeat, if you think convenient, his majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary, and expedient, that her grace should not in anywise use or maintain the private mass, or any other manner of service, than such as by the law of the realm is authorized and allowed: and to signify this his majesty's determination to her grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with herself, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own officers and servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her grace was then by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose, her three servants, Rochester, Englefield, and Waldgrave were sent in message in this manner. First, to deliver his majesty's letter to her; next to discharge the complaints of saying mass, and prohibiting all the household from hearing any. Wherein the king's majesty perceives upon their own report being returned to the court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his majesty. Insomuch as they have before his majesty's council refused to do that which pertains to every true faithful subject, to the offence so far of his majesty, and derogation of his authority, that the punishment of them could in nowise be forborne, and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his majesty and his council hath such consideration and respect of her person, being his sister, that without doubt his majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest councillor he has, if any of them had so offended; and therefore his majesty has sent you three not only to declare to her grace the causes of his sending thither of late his officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the officers, to take order, as well with her chaplains, as with the whole household, that his majesty's laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his majesty's name certain points of her letter lately sent to his majesty. The copy of which letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the emperor must be so answered as the truth of the matter serves, whereof every one of you have often heard sufficient testimony in the council. For her offering of her body at the king's will, rather than to change her conscience, it grieves his majesty much that her conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his majesty, nor of any of his council, once to hurt or will evil to her body; but even to the bottom of their hearts they wish to her a sound mind in a sound body. And therefore you shall do well to persuade her grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the conscience, the king hath to avoid offence to God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to see his laws in so weighty causes executed. Also, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her grace's provision of her household, and by his absence the same might be disordered or disfurnished; his majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man of his own household, to serve her grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed by Rochester of the state of things in her household. And if there shall be anything lacking in the same, his majesty's pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief officers of his household, to the intent that the same may be supplied from any store here, or otherwise conveniently helped, so that her grace shall not lack.

"Having thus proceeded with her grace, for the declaration of the causes of your coming, you shall then cause to be called before you the chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present, and in the king's majesty's name most straightly forbid the chaplains either to say or use any mass or kind of service other than by the law is authorised; and likewise you shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain of being most severely punished; as deservedly falling into the danger of the king's indignation, and alike charge them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of his majesty's council. In which case you shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance that they owe as subjects to their sovereign lord, which derogates all other earthly duties.

"Also, if you shall find any of the priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, then you shall

commit them forthwith to prison, as ye shall think convenient

"Also, forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at Richmond, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his majesty upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, remits to your discretion the manner of proceeding herein; and if any thing shall chance to arise there otherwise than according to these instructions, then to assist you in the execution of your charge, our instructions in one sum are, to avoid the use of the private mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the lady Mary.

"Also, you shall devise by some means as you think fit, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and, as you shall judge fit, to certify the same to me."

Some Account of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

Although the first imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was before the deprivation of bishop Bonner, yet as he was not deposed from his bishopric till the next or second year after, (A.D. 1551,) I have therefore put off his history to this present place.

When the king's injunctions for a visitation of the whole realm were sent forth, this bishop displayed a spirit of neglect and disobedience; and warned, in his sermons, the people against the preachers of the gospel, and generally against the king's proceedings. Having disobeyed the king's injunctions, he was sent to the Fleet, and there so misconducted himself, as also before the council, that he was committed to the Tower.

Certain of the council, by the king's appointment, had many times access to him in the Tower, to persuade him; the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Petre. Who repairing to him on the tenth day of June, A.D. 1550, he desired of them to see the king's book of proceedings; upon the sight of which he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself to the king's proceedings, and promising that in case anything offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. Upon which it was agreed, that the book should be sent to him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon, and that he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk should be absent.

The answer of the bishop being received, through the report of the lords which had been with him, declaration was made the eighth of July, 1550, that his answers were doubtful. Therefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself to the king's proceedings or not.

The following articles were therefore sent to him for his subscription as a proof of his conformity.

"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, having been suspected as one too much favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, decrees, and ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the king's majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was summoned before the king's highness's council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the king's majesty's indignation, but also divers of his highness's subjects have by my example taken encouragement (as his grace's council is certainly informed) to repine at his majesty's most godly proceedings; I am right sorry therefore, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his majesty, that of his great clemency it hath pleased his highness to deal with me, not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own will, without any compulsion, as ensueth:—

"I. That by the law of God, and the authority of the scriptures, the king's majesty, and his successors, are the supreme heads of the churches of England and of Ireland.

"II. That the appointing of holy-days and fasting days; as Lent, Ember days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the king's majesty's authority and power: and his highness as supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland, and governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy-days and fasting days, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient for the honour of God and the wealth of this realm.

"III. That the king's majesty hath most christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and christian book of service of the church, to be used by the church; which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers, ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall happen to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a godly and christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the king's majesty's true subjects.

"IV. I do acknowledge the king's majesty, that now is (whose life God long preserve), to be my sovereign lord and supreme head, under Christ, to me as a bishop of this real, and natural subject to his majesty, and now in this his young and tender age, to be my full and entire king; and that I, and all other his highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his highness's young age, as well as though his highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

"V. I confess and acknowledge, that the statute commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by authority of parliament repealed and disannulled.

"VI. That his majesty and his successors have authority in the churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the scriptures and law of God.

"Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the council to the same."

To these articles, although Winchester with his own hand subscribed, granting the supremacy of the king, yet, because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe, but only made his answer in the margin, it was therefore thought good, that the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Petre, should repair to him again, exhorting him to look better upon it, and at the same time his subscription or answers were required to the following articles:—

Copy of the last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the king's majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the king's highness's council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his majesty's displeasure; I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his highness's doings, which are in religion most godly, and to the

commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as follows:—

"I. That the late king, of most famous memory, king Henry the eighth, our late sovereign lord, justly and of good reason and ground hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, bonhoms, and other persons called religious, and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

"II. That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the Levitical law.

"III. That the vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, hath been superstitiously used, and the cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore justly has been abolished by the late king, and the images and relics so abused have been (great and godly considerations) defaced and destroyed.

"IV. That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Catharine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

"V. It is convenient and godly, that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repel and discourage men from reading thereof, doeth evil.

"VI. That the said late king, of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries, and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

"VII. The king's majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of them that are dead, or finding of *obites*, lights, or other like things: The mass that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christ's institution, besides the epistle, gospel, the Lord's prayer, and the words of the Lord's supper; the rest, for the greater part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which is placed instead thereof, is very godly, and agreeable to the scriptures.

"VIII. That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine.

"IX. And the mass, wherein only the priest receiveth and others do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, but not agreeable to the scriptures.

"X. That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and shewed to the people to be adored, but to be with godly devotion received, as it was when first instituted.

"XI. That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's majesty by act of parliament, hath commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be abolished and defaced, lest hereafter at any time they should give occasion of idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages, and such idolatrous worshipping.

"XII. That, by the same authority of parliament, all mass-books, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions contained in them, as also to avoid dissension: And that the said service in the church should be through the whole realm in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary.

"XIII. That bishops, priests, and deacons, have no commandment of the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage.

"XIV. That all canons, constitutions, laws positive, and ordinances of man, which prohibit or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

"XV. The homilies lately commanded and set forth by the king's majesty, to be read in the congregation of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

"XVI. The book set forth by the king's majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of by all the faithful members of the church of England, and especially the ministers of God's word, and by them commended to the people.

"XVII. That the orders of sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called minores ordines, are not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and are justly left out in the said book of orders.

"XVIII. That the holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the holy scriptures.

"XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king's majesty's injunctions, that the paraphrases of Erasmus in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, that the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

"XX. And because these articles aforesaid, do contain only such matters as are already published, and openly set forth by the king's majesty's authority, by the advice of his highness' council, for many great and godly considerations; and amongst others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm: his majesty's pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, that you the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready, to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite, upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments as for not doing the same, may by his majesty's laws be inflicted upon you.

"These articles were sent to him on the fifteenth of July.

The bishop of Winchester receiving and perusing these articles, made this answer again:—That first touching the article of submission, he would in no wise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought to his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he was past his trial on the first point, and was at liberty, then it should appear what he would do; if not being reasonable, as he said, that he should subscribe them in prison.

Of this answer, when the king and his council had intelligence, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council, and peremptorily required to subscribe the articles which had been sent to him; but this he refused to do. Upon this the fruits of his bi-

shopric were sequestered, and he was required to conform himself to their orders, within three months, upon pain of deprivation.

After this sequestration, the bishop was brought to Lambeth before the king's commissioners, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury; Nicholas bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Ely, Henry bishop of Lincoln; Secretary Petre, judge; Sir James Hales, knight; Dr. Leyson, Dr. Oliver, Lawyers; and John Gosnold, esquire, &c., to be examined by them on nineteen articles which were objected against him, charging him with direct disobedience to the royal injunctions.

After the articles were exhibited to him, and he had leave to answer, he used all the wary shifts and remedies of the law, by way of protesting, recusing, and excepting against the commission, and requiring also the copies both of the articles and of his protestation, of the actuaries; yea, he so cavilled and dallied from day to day to answer directly, that at last he appealed from them, reputing them not to be competent and impartial judges to hear and determine his cause, to the king's royal person; and in the end the commissioners proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, deposing him from all the rights and emoluments of the see of Winchester.

This sentence being given, the bishop of Winchester excepted against it as unjust, and of no effect in law, and then and there, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth, appealed to the king's royal majesty.

And here we leave Winchester for a while, till we come to treat of his death hereafter. Whom as we number amongst good lawyers, so is he to be reckoned among ignorant and bad divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as both by his cruel life and pharisaical doctrine may appear.

The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector.

After having recorded so many troublous matters, we come now to the lamentable and tragical history of the lord Edward, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person, and of his realm; and purpose to relate in order the origin and whole occasion, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after both his father and mother were dead, had three uncles by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; of the two first, one was made protector of the realm and the other high admiral. These two others so long as they were joined together in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues, sought to sow discord between them; then suspicion; and last of all extreme hatred; so that the protector suffered his brother to be condemned, and to lose his head. By which it came to pass by God's judgment upon him, or because he, after the death of his brother and the king, (being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself) that not long after, he was overthrown by his enemies, and imprisoned in the Tower, and at last lost his head also, to the great lamentation of many good men.

For the better introduction of this history, we will begin with the brother of the lord protector, Sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, who had married queen Catharine, late wife to king Henry VIII. Now it happened (upon what occasion I know not) that a difference took place between the queen and the duchess of Somerset, and then also in behalf of their wives, displeasure began between the brothers. Which although through the persuasion of friends it was for a time appeased, yet in a short period after it broke out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the confusion of themselves. First, it was laid to the lord admiral's charge, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and to transfer the crown to himself, and being attainted and condemned, he suffered at Tower-hill on the twentieth of March, 1549. As there were many who reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death, so there were many who thought and affirmed that the fall of one brother would be the ruin of the other.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began in divers quarters of the realm. By occasion of which, the lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the West parts, and the lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk; where both he and a great number of gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the rebels were overthrown, which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victory, in the month following, at the return of the earl of Warwick, there was great working and consultation among the lords, who assembled themselves in the house of Mr. York, and at Baynard's Castle, and in the lord mayor's house at London, against the lord protector, who then remained with the king at Hampton Court. Of which business and trouble thus the lord protector writes in his letters to the lord Russel in the West country.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal, concerning troubles working against him.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we withhold wages from the soldiers, and such other tales and letters they spread abroad (of which, if any one thing be true, we would not wish to live); the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, especially of those men towards the king's majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten hither to the defence of the king's majesty, with such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a sincere friend: which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's majesty in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but as you tender your duty to the king's majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as you have to his highness's Castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as you may command to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

"From Hampton Court, the sixth of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

"Edward Somerset."

To this letter of the lord protector, sent the 6th of October, the lord Russel returning answer upon the 8th, first laments the heavy dissension between the nobility and him, which he takes for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent by Almighty God upon this realm, being the next way, saith he, "to make us conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole realm an universal calamity and thraldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities." And as to the duke's request in his letters, forasmuch as he heard before of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king's person, he hastened forward with such force as he could command for the safety of the king.

But to return to the matter of the lords, who, together with the earl of Warwick, were assembled at London against the lord protector; when the king with his council at Hampton Court heard of this, secretary Petre, with the king's message, was sent to them; but the lords detained him with them, making no answer to the mes-

sage. Then the lord protector wrote to them as follows:

"My lords, we commend us most heartily unto you; and whereas the king's majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain, and was advised by us and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send Master Secretary Petre unto you, with such message as thereby might have ensued the surety of his majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare to you: his majesty and we of his council here do not a little marvel that you detain with you the said Master Secretary, and have not vouchsafed to send answer to his majesty, neither by him nor any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the king's majesty and us to these extremities. Now we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and to put all into God's hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean), and that you do seek no hurt to the king's majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of christian blood, and to preserve the king's majesty's person, his realm, and his subjects; you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the king's safety and the tranquillity of the realm more than all other worldly things; yea, more than our own life. Thus praying you to send your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Petre, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer. We beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

From the king's majesty's Castle of Windsor, the seventh of October, 1549."

After these letters received, and the reasonable condition of the lord protector,—yet not much regarded of the lords,—they, persisting still in their purpose, took this advice; first to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might; and therefore calling upon the mayor and aldermen, they commanded them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates; which was consented unto, and the companies of London in their turn kept watch and ward accordingly.

Then these lords and councillors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king; but the mayor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common council of the city. So the next day a common council was warned. But in the meantime the lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes, fishmonger; and William Lock, mercer, and Sir John Aileph, were sheriffs; and there the council did agree and publish a proclamation against the lord protector, charging him as follows:

First, that the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realm.

2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.

3. That he was ambitious and sought his own glory, as appears by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.

4. That he esteemed not the grave counsel of the councillors.

5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

6. That the nobles have assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose but to cause the protector to live within limits, and to take such order for the surety of the king's majesty as was fit, whatever the protector's doings might be; which they said were unnatural, ungrateful, and traitorous.

7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.

8. That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king.

And in witness and testimony of the contents of the proclamation, the lords subscribed their names.

After the proclamation, the lords, or the most part of them, continuing in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the Lord Mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and communed a long while with the mayor: and at last the mayor and his brethren came forth to the common council, where was read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well appointed men out of their city, and to send them with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter was directed to Sir Henry Amcottes, knight, lord mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill, knight, mayor elect, and to the aldermen and common council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the sixth of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and of the lord protector.

This letter of the king and of the lord protector was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the lords still remaining in London had knowledge immediately of it (by the means, as some suppose, of the lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector), being there ready furnished with their own bands of serving-men, and other soldiers and men-at-arms.

The lords forthwith addressed their letters to the said lord mayor and aldermen also, in the king's name, not only for a support of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortify their city, but also that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the duke. These letters of the lords came to the lord mayor and his brethren, the sixth day of the month of October.

After the receipt of these two letters, the one from the king, the other from the lords, which came both at one time, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, they were perplexed what measures to take. On one side the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side the power of the lords, lying then in London, was not little, and seemed then to be such as would have no refusal.

The case thus standing in doubt, the recorder requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather to the lords, for that the protector had abused both the king's majesty and the whole realm, and that unless he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard; he therefore required that the citizens would assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

By a great part in the common council no other answer was made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was Mr. Brook) still looked to them for an answer. At last stepped up a wise and good citizen, named George Stadlow, and said:—

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember," said he, "in a story written in Fabian's Chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of King Henry III., and then the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid of the mayor and city of London, and that in a rightful cause for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good laws against the king, who would not suffer those laws to be put in execution; and the city did aid them, and it came to an open battle, and the lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners, and upon certain conditions the lords restored the king and his son again to their liberties; and among all other conditions this was one, that the king should not only

grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London; which was granted, yea, and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed? Was it forgotten? No surely, nor forgiven neither, during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away, body and goods, and with one persecution or another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Solomon saith, 'The wrath and indignation of a prince is death.' Wherefore, as this aid is required of the king's majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken to (for he is our high shepherd) rather than to the lords, and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's majesty, that it would please his highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved, and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king nor yet the lords have cause to seek for further aid, nor we to offend either of them."

After this the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the lords. The conclusion was, that the lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in council in the star-chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobby with the letter of credence to the king's majesty, beseeching and requesting his majesty to give credit to that which Sir Philip should declare to his majesty in their names; and the king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. Who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castle of Windsor; and soon after were arrested Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Fisher, and many other gentlemen that attended upon the lord protector. The same day the lords of the council resorted to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the lord protector, and the others that were there arrested, and conveyed them through the city of London to the Tower, and there left them.

And thus much concerning the first trouble of the lord protector duke of Somerset. Though his enemies seemed to intend no less than the spilling of his blood, yet the Lord above, the only Disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter by means of the intercession of the king, that the proclamation which had made him a traitor, within three days after was called in again; and the duke was restored to liberty, which lasted two years and two days.

After which time, the duke of Somerset was again apprehended and committed to the Tower, and with him also Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Myles Partridge, and others. At length the time of his arraignment being come, the duke being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparation of bills, halberds, pikes, &c. A watch also was set and appointed before every man's door through the High street of London, and thus he was brought into Westminster-hall, where the lords of the council sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, he was arraigned and charged both with treason and felony.

I pass over the unseemly speeches, the vile taunts, and despiteful rebukes used by certain of the sergeants and justices, and some others sitting there; all which he patiently and quietly suffered, and like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands; and with no less patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their fulsome words and flatterings in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous towards his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less displayed in answering the articles objected to him; to these he replied, putting himself in the end to be tried by his peers. Who then framed their verdict thus: "That as concerning treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of felony." When the people (who were present in great numbers) heard the lords say, "Not guilty," (meaning of the treason) supposing that he had been entirely acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower carried away, for great joy and gladness made an outcry, declaring their loving affection and hearty favour to the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But the people were deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony. Which act of felony had been made a little before against the rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any counsellor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be adjudged felony. By virtue of which act the duke being accused, with others, to intend and purpose the death of the duke of Northumberland, and of others beside, was condemned of felony, and sent back to the Tower.

At whose passage through the city great exclamations and outcries were made by the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

He continued in the Tower till the twenty-second of January; upon which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the king and the council, the duke and uncle to the king being found no traitor, only being cast by the act of felony, was delivered unto the sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

The order and manner of the execution have been related to us by a certain noble personage, who was there present, and near to him on the scaffold, beholding all things with his eyes, and with his pen also reporting them:

"On the twenty-second of January, 1552, in the sixth year of Edward VI., the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and delivered to the sheriffs of the city; and, surrounded by a great number of armed men both of the guard and others, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he nothing changing either voice or countenance, as calmly as if at home, kneeling down, and lifting up his hands, commended himself to God.

"After he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, not at all abashed, neither with the sight of the axe, nor yet of the executioner, nor of present death; but with alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before times he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always shewed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people:

"'Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, although I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true to this realm as any man has been. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe to the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks to God, that has given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself.

"'Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching the christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, since now the state of the christian religion comes much nearer to the form and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out

the same in your living. Which thing, if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.'

"When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise; and there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as if it had been the noise of some great storm; as if a great deal of gunpowder enclosed in a magazine had exploded. To some again it seemed as if it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. So great was the noise in the ears of all men, although they saw nothing, that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, or any man seen, ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses; others being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling to the ground, with their pole-axes and halberds; and most of them cried out, 'Jesus save us, Jesus save us!' Those who stood still knew not where they were; and I myself who was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this confusion, stood still altogether amazed, expecting that some one would knock me on the head.

"In the mean time, the people by chance spied Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise; for when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for,—that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoicing and casting up their caps they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come; God save the king!' Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of man's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so many deaths of dukes as have been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men saw in the fall of this duke the public ruin of England.

"But now to return. The duke standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which being done, and silence obtained, he spake to them in this manner.

"'Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seems thus good to Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, to whom hitherto I have always shewed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm!'

At which words all the people cried out and said, 'It is most true!'

"Then the duke proceeding, said, 'To whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success.'

The people again cried out, 'Amen!'

"'Moreover, I do wish to all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. To whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty.

"'Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and it is hard to please every man, therefore if there be any that has been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended; and all others, whatever they be, that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For although the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end.'

"After this he, turning himself again about like a meek lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Doctor Cox, who was there present to counsel and advise him, delivered a scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession to God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bade the sheriffs farewell; then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money. Which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the hangman coming to him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which hindered him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, where only is hope, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down, shewing no token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change; but before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

"Thus this most meek and gentle duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, 'Lord Jesus save me!' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the promotion of whose truth and gospel he always shewed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore has received the reward of his labours."

As to the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the duke, what shall we need to say, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give ear to the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive to the affairs of the commonwealth; and if he, together with King Edward, had lived, they were like to have done much good in reforming many disorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. He ever showed his nobility along with love and zeal for the gospel and for religion. The proof of which was sufficiently seen in his constant standing to God's truth, and zealous defence of it, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others, in the consultation at Windsor, in the first year of the king's reign.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice; so among the manifold commendations of this duke, there was one thing which both stained his honour and estimation much, and also more endangered his own life; which was, that he, in consenting to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the persuasion of others, and weakened his own power, and also provoked the chastisement of God's scourge.

Before we conclude the history of this good king, this place seems not unfit to mention a few other things concerning the church and religion. Religion began to grow well, and to come happily forward during this king's days, had not the unhappy troubles of the state, owing to the lords not agreeing among themselves, disquieted the good prospect. But the malice of the devil, how subtlely it works! So long as the lords agreed among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, were cut short, and began to yield to conformity. But afterwards perceiving the nobles to be divided, the lord protector displaced, his brother the ad-

miral beheaded, and the young king now left to himself, they began to take more heart. And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us what discord works in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is to the advancement especially of God's matters appertaining to his church. For, as to the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel joined together, it was wonderful how error and popery were confounded, and ashamed to shew their faces. So that both Dr. Smith, Chadsey, Standish, Young, Oglethorpe, with many others, recanted their former ignorance. Bonner, with his own hand, subscribed to the king's supremacy, and promoted his injunctions. The same also did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand the first book of the king's proceedings, and no doubt had done the same to the second book also, had not the unfortunate discord fallen among the nobles in so unfortunate a time.

I shewed before, how in these peaceable days Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Phagius, with other learned men, were entertained and provided for in the two universities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge; and how they there, with their diligent industry, did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the largeness of this volume compels me to make short, especially seeing the length of their disputations.

First, Peter Martyr, being called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity to be disputed and tried by argument. At which disputations were present the king's visitors, to wit, Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Doctor Cox, chancellor of that university; Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter; Richard Morison, Esq.; and Christopher Nevinson, doctor of civil law. The conclusions propounded were these:—

"1. In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

"2. The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine; nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine.

"3. The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

They who were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Doctor Tresham, Doctor Chadsey, and Morgan.

The like disputation also about the same time was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the matter of the sacrament, the king's visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the king. The names of which visitors were these, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester; Thomas, bishop of Ely; Master John Cheek, the king's schoolmaster; Doctor May, civilian; and Thomas Wendy, the king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these:—

Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past.

This disputation continued three days. In the first, Dr. Madew answered; against whom disputed Dr. Glin, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Segewick, Mr. Young. In the second disputation Dr. Glin answered; against whom disputed Mr. Grindal, Mr. Perne, Mr. Gest, Mr. Pilkington. In the third disputation Mr. Perne answered; against whom disputed one Mr. Parker (not Dr. Matthew Parker), Mr. Pollard, Mr. Vavisor, Mr. Young.

At length, the disputations being ended, the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, after the manner of the schools, made the following determination upon the conclusions:—

There has been an ancient custom among you, that after disputations in your schools there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching the Christian religion. It has seemed good to these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which I wish that afterwards ye would with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home.

The principal grounds or rather head-springs of this matter are specially five:—

The first is the authority, majesty, and truth of holy scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who after my judgment do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may follow out of transubstantiation.

The fifth is the most sure belief of the article of our faith, "he ascended into heaven."

I. This transubstantiation is clearly against the words of the scriptures, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The scripture saith, "I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine," &c. Now the fruit of this vine is wine; and it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appears both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There are not many places of scripture that confirm this, neither is it very material: for it it is enough if there is any one plain testimony for it. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of scriptures, but by the authority, and by the truth of the scriptures. And the majesty of this truth is as ample in one short sentence of the scripture as in a thousand.

Christ took *bread*, he gave *bread*. In the Acts, St. Luke calls it *bread*. So St. Paul calls it *bread* after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongs to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body, for the scripture says, "A bone of him shall not be broken." Christ says, "Do ye this in remembrance of me." St. Paul also says, "Do ye this in remembrance of me." And again, "As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me." And our Saviour Christ, in the sixth of St. John, speaking against the Capernaums, saith, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth." And when they asked, "What shall we do that we might work the works of God?" He answered them thus, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." You see how he exhorts them to faith, "For faith is that work of God." Again, "This is the bread which came down from heaven." But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh," saith he, "is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." When they heard this they were offended; and whilst they were offended, he said to them, "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?" Whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life," and must be spiritually understood. These are the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

II. Now my second ground against this transubstantiation are the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far are they from confirming transubstantiation, that they seem plainly to me to think and speak the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calls it "bread." The places are so manifest and plain, that I need not recite them.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians says, "I beseech you, brethren, cleave fast to one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one kind of preaching, using together one kind of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church."

Irenæus writes thus, "Even as the bread that comes of the earth receiving God's name is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two

natures, earthly and heavenly, even so our bodies receiving the eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection."

Tertullian is very plain, for he calls it a figure of his body, &c.

Chrysostom writes to Cæsarius the monk, although he is not received by some, yet will I read the place to impress it more deeply in your minds, for it seems to shew plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these:—"Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding still remains therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son," &c.

Cyprian saith, "Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed."

The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation; for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Gelasius also is very plain in this manner, "The sacrament," saith he, "which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a divine matter; by reason of which we are made partakers by the same of the divine nature, and yet it ceases not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And therefore the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries," &c.

After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril which were not noted.

Isichus also confesses that it is bread.

Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

III. The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consists of three things, that is unity, nutrition, and conversion.

As touching unity, Cyprian thus writes, "Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ." Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

Also they that take away nutrition, which comes by bread, take away likewise the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourishes the soul, even so does bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance of it, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. For they who affirm transubstantiation are indeed sacramentaries and Capernaites.

As touching conversion, that as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christ's body, Rabanus and Chrysostom are sufficient witnesses.

IV. They who say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, take from him the truth of man's nature. Eutyches granted the divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation ascribe that to the human nature which only belongs to the divine nature.

V. The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith: "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand," &c.

Augustine says, "The Lord is above, even to the end of the world; but yet the truth of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his truth is spread abroad every where."

Also in another place, he saith, "Let the godly also receive that sacrament, but let them not be anxious (speaking there of the presence of his body.) For as to his majesty, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, 'I am with you unto the end of the world.' But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, wrapped in linen clothes, was buried and arose again, and appeared after his resurrection, so 'you shall not have me always with you,' and why? because as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him; he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty."

Mark and consider well what St. Augustine says: "He is ascended into heaven, and is not here," says he. Believe not them therefore who say that he is here still on the earth.

Moreover, "Doubt not," saith the same Augustine; "but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a christian man, that he arose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other (not from the altars) shall he come to judge the quick and the dead, and he shall come as the angel said, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto which he gave immortality, but changed not his nature. After this form (meaning his human nature) we may think that it is every where."

And in the same epistle, he says, "Take away from our bodies limitation of places, and they shall be nowhere; and because they are nowhere, they shall not be at all."

Virgilius says, "If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the word is every where, why then is not the flesh also every where? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certain, that it is not in earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we believe to be with us on earth."

Also the same Virgilius says, "Which things seeing they be so, the course of the scriptures must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things to the property of the divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh; and contrarywise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, which do properly belong to the divine nature." Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanity, which properly belongs to his divinity, as they do who will have Christ's body to be limited in no one certain place.

Now, in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it depends upon the first, I will in a few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there are which persuade me that this conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the scriptures, and also certain testimonies of the fathers. St. Paul saith, (Hebrews ix. 11, 12.), "Christ being become a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us," &c. And "now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."

And again, "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many."

Moreover, he saith, "For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

These scriptures persuade me to believe that there is no other oblation of Christ (although I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices), but that which was once made upon the cross.

The testimonies of the ancient fathers, which confirm the same, are out of "Augustine ad Bonif." epistle 23. Again in his Book of Forty-three Questions, in the

Forty-first Question. Also in his Twentieth Book against Faustus the Manichæan, cap. xxi. And in the same book against Faustus, cap. xxviii. thus he writes: "Now the christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ."

Fulgentius, in his Book "De Fide," calls the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient for this time for a scholastical determination of these matters.

Disputations of Martin Bucer.

Beside these disputations, others were also held at Cambridge shortly after, by Martin Bucer, upon these conclusions following.

1. The canonical books of holy scripture alone do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation.

2. There is no church in earth which errs not in manners as well as in faith.

3. We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provokes God's wrath against us whatever good work we seem to do. Then being justified, we do good works.

In these three propositions against Bucer disputed Mr. Sedgewick, Young, and Pern. Which disputations, because they are long, I mind to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the meantime, because great controversy has been, and is yet among the learned, and much effusion of christian blood about the words and meaning of the sacrament; to the intent that the truth of it may more openly be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoin a certain learned treatise in form of a dialogue, as appertaining to the argument, compiled, as it seemed, out of the writings of Peter Martyr, and other authors, by a learned and reverend person of this realm, who, under the persons of Custom and Truth, lays before our eyes, and teaches all men not to measure religion by custom, but to try custom by truth and the word of God; for else custom may soon deceive, but the word of God abides for ever.

A Dialogue explaining the Words of Christ: "This is my Body."

Custom.—I marvel much what madness is creeping into those men's hearts, who now a-days are not ashamed so violently to tread down the lively word of God, yea, and impudently to deny God himself.

Truth.—God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the Romish bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstool, and so to tread down God's word when he stood at his mass. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and his abominations opened and blown throughout all the world. And I hear of no others that oppress God's word.

Custom.—No more? Yes, doubtless there are an hundred thousand more, and it is your duty to withstand them.

Truth.—As to my duty, you know it agrees not with my nature to bear with falsehood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reproved.

Custom.—What! are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how men daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?

Truth.—In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but lately into this country. So you must pardon me if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go on in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?

Custom.—Than this? Why what can they possibly say more?

Truth.—Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seems in some respects to be tolerable.

Custom.—What! methinks you dally with me. Seems it tolerable to deny the sacrament?

Truth.—They do not deny it, so far as I can gather by your words.

Custom.—Nay, then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Truth.—I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth.

Custom.—I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, who is truth itself? Or who ever was so hardy before as to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, "This is my body?" The words are evident and plain: there is not in them so much as one obscure or dark letter; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, though Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, "Christ lied, it is not his body." The evangelists all agree, the old writers stand on our side, the universal and catholic church has been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, all the whole catholic church has been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?

Truth.—You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and to it, without many words, I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me to it, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reproved Christ of any lie. But on the other hand, they say, that many men of late days, not understanding Christ's words, have built and set up many fond lies in his name. Therefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, "This is my body;" and next in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First therefore you shall understand, that scripture is not to be taken always as the letter sounds, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the christian faith. What is plainer than these words, "My Father is greater than I?" Of those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Arians, who denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, "I and my Father are one?" Yet thence arose the heresy of them who denied three distinct persons. "They all had one soul and one heart," was spoken by the apostles: yet each of them had a soul and heart peculiar to himself. "They are now not two, but one flesh," is spoken of the man and his wife; yet hath both the man and his wife their own bodies. "He is our very flesh," said Reuben of his brother, who notwithstanding was not their real flesh. "I am bread," said Christ, yet was he flesh, and no bread. "Christ was the stone," says St. Paul, and yet was no material stone. "Melchizedeck had neither father nor mother," and yet indeed he had both. "Behold the Lamb of God," says John the Baptist of Christ, notwithstanding Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the covenant, whereas it was but a token of the covenant. The lamb was named the passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it "The mighty God of Israel." Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, Jehovah, and Tetragramatum. "We are all one bread," says St. Paul, yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ hanging upon the cross, pointed out St. John to his mother, saying, "Behold thy son," and yet was he not her son. "So many as are baptised into Christ," says St. Paul, "have put on Christ," and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ. Notwithstanding no man took the font water to be the natural blood of Christ. "The cup is the new testament," says St. Paul, and yet is not the cup indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor a thing unusual in the scriptures, to call one thing by another's name. So that you can no more prove the changing of the bread into Christ's body in the sacrament, because of the words, "This is my body," than prove the change of the wife's flesh into the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, "They are not two, but one flesh;" or the altar

of stone to be very God, because Moses pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. However, if you will needs stick to the letter, you make for me, and hinder yourself. For I will reason thus, and use your own weapon against you. The scripture calls it "*bread*." The evangelists agree in calling it "*bread*." St. Paul nameth it "*bread*" five times in one passage; wherefore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe that in the sacrament there remains *bread*.

Custom.—Methinks your answer is reasonable, yet I cannot be satisfied. Declare you therefore more at large, what moves you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long held and taught, unless you were forced by some strong reasons.

Truth.—First, in examining the words of Christ, I look to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselves are forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was necessary that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens, as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. For the brazen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stung and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, which, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup means, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise as wine restores and comforts the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament. For Christ charged the apostles to do this in remembrance of him. I therefore argue that as nothing is ever done in mere remembrance of itself; and as the sacrament is used in remembrance of Christ; therefore the sacrament is not Christ, or it would be a memorial of itself. And I again argue that Christ never devoured himself, and yet Christ did eat the sacrament with his apostles; and therefore we may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ himself.

Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament, as St. Augustine declares, is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum*. Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this; the sign of the body of Christ is not the thing signified, therefore they are not one. And again, one thing cannot be both visible and invisible; but the sacrament we know is visible, and the body of Christ invisible; and we may therefore conclude that they are not one, and the same.

I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishermen, who notwithstanding understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it, even as they took it at Christ's hand, to the people, and fully declared to them the meaning. But neither they, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, accidents, without subjects, &c. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than has been taught of late days. Further, Christ's body is food, not for the body, but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as you receive sustenance for your body by the mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that St. Augustine sharply rebukes them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, "Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? believe, and thou hast eaten Christ." Likewise speaking of eating the same body, he saith to the Capernaites, who understood him grossly as men do now a-days: "The words that I speak are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

Custom.—What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ has a body, and therefore must be eaten, as I think, with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul as it has no body and flesh, so it has no mouth.

Truth.—You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul. And each of them has his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot live; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we justly say that the Turks, Jews, and heathen are dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what means will you find the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul. For that which is received into the body, has no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, "That whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught." And whereas you say that the spirit has no mouth, as it has no body or bones; you are deceived. For the spirit has a mouth, or else how could a man eat and drink justice For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is not a fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungers and thirsts for righteousness. If he hunger and thirst for righteousness, he must both eat and drink it, for otherwise he neither abates his hunger, nor quenches his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I argue that as the mouth of the soul is spiritual, so must be the food.

And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, names himself "The bread," not for the body, but "of life," for the soul; and saith, "He that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." Wherefore, whoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of faith, and not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's body must be received and taken with faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place; but that you must with your faith rise and spring up to him, and leaving this world dwell above in heaven, putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty, creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ, so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's body. And, therefore, St. Gregory calls it "The food of the mind, and not of the stomach." And St. Cyprian saith likewise, "We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our stomach."

Now to return. Seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and has nothing to do with our body, I will say that the sacrament is bodily food and increases the body; and therefore the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourishes the body is evident; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table bread. And if a little mouse get a host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner. Wherefore, as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily meat, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ's body. Besides this, where it was forbidden in the old law that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles notwithstanding took the cup at Christ's hands, and drank of it, and never staggered, or shrunk at the matter; whence it may be gathered, that they took it for a mystery, for a token,

and a remembrance, far otherwise than it has of late been taken.

Again, when the sacrament was given, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sate there present before their eyes; but took it, and eat it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ's body. Yea, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the apostles' time, as Tertullian writeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lay it up in their chests. And the priests many times sent it to sick persons by a child, which no doubt would have given more reverence to it, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about three hundred years ago, Honorius III., bishop of Rome, took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to deify him.

If the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that God ever wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen, an old writer, and St. Augustine, treating of all the miracles that are in the scripture, do not number the sacrament for one. As for the apostles, it appears that they took it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas in other things they evermore were full of questions. As to St. Augustine, he not only skipped over it, as no wonder, but by plain and express words testifies that there is no marvel in it.

A little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more." "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid," because I go from you: "I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you:" with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God; but he never said that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter saith, "That the heaven must receive Christ until the times of restitution of all things." Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, "That God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hand." St. Paul wisheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ; not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be brief, it is in our creed, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Father's right hand; and no promise have we that he will come down at every priest's calling.

Custom.—Fye, you be far deceived, I can in nowise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straightly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. He has deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short.

Truth.—I do neither lock up, neither imprison Christ in heaven, but according to the scriptures declare that he has chosen a blessed place, and one most worthy to receive his majesty; in which place whoso is enclosed, thinks not to be a prisoner; but if you take it for so heinous a thing that Christ should sit in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little box, yea, and keep him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and over-grown with vermine, and when he is past men's feeding on, are not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extremely cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man, and that he walked and was conversant among men in that one, and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the selfsame body; and that he sitteth at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of that body. This is our belief; this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, who, leaving heaven, will grope for Christ's body upon the earth.

Custom.—Nay, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ has not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body, and therefore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

Truth.—You say right well, and grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But I pray you answer me by the way; can any other body than that which is spiritual be at one time in sundry places?

Custom.—No, truly.

Truth.—Have we that selfsame sacrament that Christ gave to his disciples, or not?

Custom.—Doubtless we have the same.

Truth.—When was Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?

Custom.—No; for doubtless before he arose from death his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are.

Truth.—Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his disciples? Before he rose from the dead or afterwards?

Custom.—You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion.

Truth.—Why then, methinks, he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual.

Custom.—Even so.

Truth.—And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles, and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?

Custom.—Yea, doubtless.

Truth.—Mark well, what ye have said, for you have granted me a great contradiction. First, you say, that no body being not spiritual can be in several places at once. Then you say, that Christ's body at the last supper was not spiritual; and yet you hold, that he was there present visibly before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at once.

Custom.—Indeed you have driven me into the straits before I was aware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you.

Truth.—I desire you not to give credit to me, believe the word of God, yea, believe your own creed; for they both witness against you, that Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge.

Custom.—Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there are many dark sayings in it which every man cannot attain to.

Truth.—I grant you there are obscure places in the scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man with the grace of God may perceive them; for it was written not for angels, but for men. But, as I understand, custom meddles but very little with the scripture. How say you of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? what if they stand on our side?

Custom.—No, no, I know them well enough.

Truth.—Well, as you know them, if they be called to witness it, they will give evidence against you. For St. Augustine, in all his books declares that Christ's body is placed in one room. Dei, i. he says, "Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe the christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence, he shall come and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his divinity that we destroy not his humanity." All the old fathers witness the same. Now, to return to the matter; seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the creed, seeing all the old fathers do agree, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remains at the right hand of the father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in heaven,

neither sitteth at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in an hundred thousand boxes, whereas Christ's body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ.

Custom.—Marry, and so they do. For St. Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion.

Truth.—No, not so. These are not St. Paul's words, but he saith, "Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." (1 Cor. xi. 27—29.) Here he calls it in plain words *bread*. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet the injury redounds to the body of Christ. As if a man break the king's mace, or tread the broad seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injury the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. He that reads the gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and lives contrary to the gospel, shall doubtless be the more guilty of the death of Christ, because he hears and reads the word of God, and regards it not. In a certain country the manner is, that when the gospel is read, the king shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he bears his sword in defence of the gospel. But if he himself oppresses the gospel, he bears the sword against himself; for the gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, who knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet notwithstanding will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this St. Paul meant, by the unworthy receiving of the sacrament of Christ's body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christ's body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every massing priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?

Custom.—I dare say you cannot prove it.

Truth.—But if I do prove it, will you believe me?

Custom.—I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it. For priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass, and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?

Truth.—Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience is as good as a sermon; but because it was never commanded by Christ, nor received by the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how do you like these words of St. Ambrose, "He takes it unworthily, that takes it otherwise than Christ ordained it?"

Custom.—That I like very well. But what do you gather from it?

Truth.—This will I gather. The massing priest takes the sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught, and thus he takes it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation.

Custom.—That is not so, for he does altogether as Christ commanded him.

Truth.—That shall appear. For Christ commanded it to be done in remembrance of him; the priest does it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread; the priest takes bread and conjures it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks; the priest takes bread and breathes upon it. Christ took bread and brake it; the priest takes bread and hangs it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his apostles; the priest, because he is an apostle himself, takes bread and eats it every whit alone. Christ in the sacrament gave his own body to be eaten in faith; the priest for lack of faith receives accidents and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith; the priest gives a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be *eaten*; the priest gives it to be *worshipped*. And to conclude, Christ gave *bread*; the priest saith he gives *a God*. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet, moreover, Christ at his supper spake his words out and in a plain tongue; the priest speaks nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he often perceives not, and he whispers lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it comes to pass, that the priest often knows no more what he himself says, than what he does. Thus you may see that the massing priest receives the sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded, and so unworthily and to his condemnation. Now if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten by the wicked, which must necessarily ensue if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ in the sixth of St. John, speaking of the eating of his body, says, "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." (verse 58.) But sinful men take the sacrament of their condemnation, and live not for ever, therefore in the sacrament they receive not the body of Christ.

The sacrament in holy scripture is named "the breaking of bread;" which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain fantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one God; but they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they are able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite must needs be a God. After the apostles' time there arose up heretics, who said that Christ walking here among men bodily upon the earth, had no real body, but a thing like a body; and so therewith dimmed men's sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, ate, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body; wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning: it feeds, it tastes like bread, it looks like bread, the little silly mouse takes it for bread, and to be short, it has all the properties and tokens of bread. The old fathers, when there remained any part of the sacrament more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christ's body to ashes). The emperor Henry, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood. What needs many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, "There is *bread*." Wherefore, if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, especially being such as will lie for no man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament itself to record: it cries to you, and plainly advertises you what you should think of it: "I am," it saith, "grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can live no time; I canker; I suffer green mould; blue mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats; if you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get at me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God; believe them not." Thus cries the sacrament daily, and bears witness itself.

Custom.—The devil on such reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but if it be true what you have said, why is the sacrament by Christ himself, as by his apostles, and the old fathers, called the body of Christ?

Truth.—Because it is no strange thing in scripture so

to speak, as I have declared before. But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitration in this matter?

Custom.—To no man sooner

Truth.—St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, gives a good cause why the sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is, notwithstanding, called the body of Christ his words are these "If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they may be sacraments, then were they no sacraments. Of which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore, *after a certain manner* the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ," &c. Now, I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, "This is my body"

Custom.—Yet one thing moves me very much.

Truth.—What is that?

Custom. The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy.

Truth.—As to the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, as every man ought to do, but where they deliver their mind with their right hand, you, Custom, receive it with the left. For where they say, that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be truly eaten, meaning that it effectually lays before the eyes Christ's body, and that it is to the faithful man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth: you say that however it is taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is no other eating but with the mouth.

And that the fathers meant no other thing than I have said, shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy; for they would condemn all ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you as to them directly. In the meanwhile, mark you how well their learning agrees. They say you must follow the letter, you must stick to the letter. But Origin saith, "If ye follow after the letter that which is written (unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, there shall be no life in you) this letter killeth." Augustine says, "If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech; unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and shall drink his blood, there shall be no life in you: because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance."

Athanasius says, on John vi, "The words that Christ here speaketh are not carnal, but spiritual For what body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole world? But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Son of Man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation" And it is in this way that all the ancient fathers explain these words.

But what need I speak of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word transubstantiation, whereby they signify the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard, or thought of among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about 500 years past, Pope Nicholas II (about 1059), confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, and would have it made an article of faith; but this was not done until it was so declared by the council of Lateran (A.D. 1215,) in Rome. After which time ensued *Corpus Christi* day, masses of *Corpus Christi* reservation of the sacrament, with honour, with canopies, with incensing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, &c. For they thought they could not do too much to him after the bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

But not quite 200 years before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himself), Charles the Great, king of France, and emperor of Germany, demanded of a learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little bit of bread into his natural body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise "This we say, that there is a great difference betwixt the body in which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth itself. It appeareth that these are separated asunder by no less difference than is between a pledge and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an image of a thing and the thing itself, whereof the image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the truth itself" Thus wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others, and yet in all their time they were never once reproved of heresy. Thus wrote John Scotus also, but in about 200 years after his death he was judged and condemned for an heretic, and his books burned. Since which time, even till this day, although idolatry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men who boldly would profess and set forth the truth, although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, "This is my body;' what the apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church hath evermore taken them.

The End and Death of King Edward the Sixth.

Thus having discoursed of events in the reign of king Edward, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josiah Who, about a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset, his uncle, in the year 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign, in the month of June, was taken from us, for our sins, no doubt, whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, it was not unlikely that he would have so reformed the commonwealth here in the realm of England, as by good cause it might have been said of him that was said in the old time of the noble emperor Augustus, in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome, which empire he received of brick, but he left it of fine marble. But the condition of this realm, and the behaviour of the English people deserved not the benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather such a plague of deformation as happened after his reign, as will appear in the history of his successor.

The time having now approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, we are told that about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have been near him, was heard to pray thus —

The Prayer of King Edward before his Death.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done: Lord, I commit my spirit to thee O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he turned his face, and seeing who was by him, said to them, "Are you so nigh? I thought you had

been further off" Then Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself He then smilingly said, I was praying to God" The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit" And thus he yielded up the ghost on the 6th of July, 1553, and left a woeful kingdom behind to his sister Although in his will he had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion, yet the plague, which God had destined to this sinful realm, could not so be avoided, but that she, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown Of whose dreadful and bloody government it remains now to discourse

This briefly it may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by bishop Ridley, yet she would not be reclaimed from her own opinion to give any hearing to the word and voice of truth Which positive will of the lady Mary, both this young king and also his father king Henry before him, knew right well, and were both much displeased against her for it, so that not only her brother did utterly sequestrate her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he secluded her from the title of princess, yea, and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully inclined to proceed further with her, had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king again to favour and pardon his own daughter.

As you have heard already of the stout courage of the lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters to her brother King Edward and his council so now let us infer somewhat of the stout talk and demeanour of the lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, who gently coming to her of mere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here follows —

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham, in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary, then at Hunsden, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven o'clock, about which time the lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the bishop saluted her grace, and said, that he was come to do his duty to her grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said, that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c, and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop, being called for by Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was; first the bishop begins in manner as follows —

Bishop.—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me" At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus

Mary. "My lord as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself"

Bishop "Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary —"Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself, for you know the answer well enough But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer, the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and you may preach if you list, but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you."

Bishop —"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word"

Mary —"I cannot tell what you call God's word, that is not God's word's now, that was God's word in my father's days"

Bishop —"God's word is all one in all times, but has been better understood and practised in some ages than in others"

Mary.—"You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days that you now do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor never will"

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the youth of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, when, she affirmed, she would obey them, she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council· he answered, "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goes now a-days"

And so she concluded with these words "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit."

Then the bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink And after he had drank, he paused a while, looking very sadly, and suddenly broke out into these words: "Surely I have done amiss" "Why so?" said Sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drank," said he, "in that place where God's word, offered, has been refused. whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house" These words were spoken by the bishop with such vehemence, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads This done, the bishop departed, and so returned to his own house.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING

THE FIRST ENTERING OF QUEEN MARY TO THE CROWN, WITH THE ALTERATION OF RELIGION IN THE REALM.

DURING the time of his sickness, when King Edward began to appear more feeble, a marriage was solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's second sister, who was first married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles duke of Suffolk. The marriage being concluded, and the king waxing every day more sick, and when there seemed to be no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king by his testament should appoint the lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheretrix to the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this all the king's council subscribed, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, saving only justice Hales, of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also as upright a judge as any in this realm, who, giving his consent to lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to lady Jane. Of this man (God willing) you shall hear more in the sequel of this history.

The causes laid against lady Mary, were that it was feared she would marry a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown, and also that she would alter the religion, used both in the days of King Henry her father, and also in those of her brother King Edward, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm, which indeed afterwards came to pass, as by the sequel of this history will well appear.

When king Edward was dead, this lady Jane was established in the kingdom by the consent of the nobles, and was forthwith proclaimed queen at London, and in other cities. Between this young damsel and king Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior to him, being instructed by a master right nobly learned.

In the mean time, while these things were working at London, lady Mary, who had knowledge of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council, as follows —

A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lords of the Council, wherein she claims the crown after the decease of King Edward.

"My lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy, which news how woeful they be unto our heart, He only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdom and prudence to be such, that having oftentimes amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not for the worst; and that you will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some political consideration, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon

the same, and that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we shall not be forced to use the service of others our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the safety of our person only employ yourselves, and forthwith upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our Manor of Kenning Hall, the ninth of July, 1553."

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council made answer again, as follows —

Answer of the Lords to the Lady Mary's Letter.

"Madam, we have received your letter, dated the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title to the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of the ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with several others, grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: We must therefore, as of the most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities Wherefore we can do no less, but for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, and the lady Catharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you were justly made illegitimate and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes, lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and great personages aforesaid, cease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane her subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace Assuring you, that if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily farewell.

"From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

"Your ladyship's friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject.

Thomas Canterbury.	R. Rich.
The marquis of Winchester.	Huntington.
John Bedford.	Darcy.
William Northampton.	Cheyney.
Thomas Ely, chancellor.	R Cotton
Northumberland.	John Gates.
Henry Suffolk.	W. Petre.
Henry Arundel.	W. Cecil.
Shrewsbury.	John Cheke
Pembroke	John Mason.
Cobham.	Edward North.
	R. Bowes.

After this answer the lady Mary stole secretly away from the city, resting chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advice of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, they speedily gathered an army, and assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand But afterwards altering their minds, they thought it best to send the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and gentlemen, and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the lord Guilford and the lady Jane were lodged.

Mary in the meanwhile withdrew into Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name was in much hatred, for the service he had done there under king Edward, in subduing the rebels, and there gathering to her aid such of the commons as she could, at the same time keeping herself close within Framlingham Castle. To her, first of all, there resorted the Suffolk men; who being always forward in promoting the gospel, promised her their aid and help, provided she would not attempt an alteration of the religion, which her brother king Edward had before established by law publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm.

To this condition she soon agreed, with such promises to them that no innovation should be made in the matter of religion, so that no man would or could then have doubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they willingly preserved her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her reign more stable to herself. For though a man be never so mighty of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness, fear is worse, but cruelty is the worst of all.

Thus Mary being guarded by the power of the protestants of Suffolk, vanquished the duke, and all those that came with her. In return for which it was (methinks) an heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who made supplication to her grace to perform her promise: "Forasmuch," saith she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive, that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over it." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror to others, a certain gentleman named Master Dobbe, for reminding her of her promise, was punished, being three times set on the pillory to be a gazing stock to all men Others delivered to her books and supplications made out of the scriptures, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then established, and these were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship when we stand in need of help than ready to requite a benefit once past and received.

The greatest help that made for the cause of the lady Mary was the short journeys of the duke, which by commission were assigned to him before For the longer the duke lingered in his voyage, the lady Mary the more increased in power; the hearts of the people being mightly bent to her which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude withdrew their hearts from them to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go over to her, they changed also, and proclaimed the lady Mary queen.

And thus the duke of Northumberland was left destitute and forsaken at Cambridge with some of his sons and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntington was one, where they were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown.

Thus Mary was made queen, and the sword of autho-

rity put into her hand. When she had been thus advanced by the Protestants of Suffolk, and saw all things quiet, as her enemies were conquered, and the duke sent to the Tower, she followed not long after, being brought on the third day of August to London, to the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of many

Thus coming up to London, she took her first lodging at the Tower, where the lady Jane, with her husband the lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned, and where they remained waiting her pleasure for more than six months But the duke of Northumberland, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded, August 22 Having received a promise and hope of pardon that if he would recant and hear mass, he consented, and denied in words that true religion which before in king Henry VIII and in king Edward VI 's days he had declared himself both to favour and promote; exhorting also the people to return to the Catholic faith, as he termed it

At the same time, the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were put to death. This Palmer on the other side, confessed his faith, which he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more gospel like. In the meantime queen Mary entering thus upon her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass in the Tower, gave a sad sign, especially by the delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she would not stand to that which she had promised so faithfully to the Suffolk men, concerning the not altering the state of religion

Other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, shewing that the queen bore no good will to the present state of religion she not only released Gardiner, but made him lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester (doctor Poynet being put out), and also Bonner was restored to his bishopric again, and Doctor Ridley displaced. Doctor Day was appointed to the bishopric of Chichester; J. Scory being put out. Doctor Tonstal to the bishopric of Durham; Doctor Heath to the bishopric of Worcester, (Hooper being committed to the Fleet.) Doctor Veysey was appointed to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more among all good men, so that there was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole commonwealth of England. They that could dissemble took no great care how the matter went, but those whose consciences were joined with the truth, perceived already the coals to be kindled, which would be the destruction of many a true christian man. In the meanwhile, queen Mary removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, and caused a parliament to be summoned for the 10th of October.

You heard before how several bishops were removed, and others placed in their sees among whom was Doctor Ridley bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Doctor Ridley, in the time of queen Jane, had made a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, declaring his mind to the people as to the lady Mary, and dissuading them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniencies which might arise by receiving her as their queen, prophesying as it were before that which afterwards came to pass, that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over them; besides the subverting also of the christian religion then established; showing too, that Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty, had laboured much with her to turn her to his religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she shewed herself sensible and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate that there was no other hope of her, but that she would disturb and overturn all that had been confirmed and planted by her brother before. Shortly after this sermon, queen Mary was proclaimed, upon which he repaired to Fremingham to salute the queen, but had such cold welcome, that, being spoiled of all his dignity, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

Queen Mary seeing things not yet going on after her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring that to pass by other means which by open law she could not accomplish, setting forth a prohibition by proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other things also in the same proclamation.

A Prohibition of the Queen for Preaching, Printing, &c

"The queen's highness well remembering what great inconveniencies and dangers have grown to this her highness' realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in question of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions are again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil disposed persons, hath thought good to make known to all her highness' most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following "First, her majesty, being now, by the alone goodness of God, settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy Which as her majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace, during her time, so doth her highness much desire, and would be glad the same were by all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

"And yet she signifies to all her majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency her highness mindeth not to compel any of her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fancies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said,) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and straightly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and christian charity, leaving those new found devilish terms of papist or heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travel to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing as their lives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which by rash talk and words many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her highness shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her highness' laws.

"And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, who take upon themselves without sufficient authority to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own heads in churches, and other places both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other improper treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of christian religion, which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her grace's subjects, of an evil zeal for lucre and covetousness of vile gain. Her highness therefore straightly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, except in schools of the university, to interpret or teach any scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion, neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme,

interlude, process or treatise, nor to play any interlude, except they have her grace's special licence in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her highness' indignation and displeasure.

"And her highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her subjects; that none of them of their own authority do presume to punish, and to rise against any offender in the causes aforesaid, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his accomplices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking, imprisoning, or threatening the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of allsuch offenders unto her highness and the public authority, whereof her majesty mindeth to see due punishment according to the order of her highness' laws.

"Nevertheless, as her highness intendeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes aforesaid, unto her grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her highness' laws provided in that part. so her said highness exhorteth and strictly chargeth her subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her highness' indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and vigour whereof, as her highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put in execution, so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects, whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate, to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly her highness straightly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her commandments and pleasure, and apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till upon certificate made to her highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings, and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

"Given at our manor of Richmond, the 18th day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

Master Bourne Preaching at St. Paul's Cross.

About this time, or not long before, Bonner, bishop of London, being restored, appointed Master Bourne, a canon of St. Paul's, to preach at the Cross; he afterwards was bishop of Bath and Wells. Bourne taking occasion of the gospel of that day to speak something largely in justifying Bonner who was then present, "which Bonner," said he, "had preached before upon the same text in that place, that dayfour years, and was for the same most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of king Edward." His words sounded so ill in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence, and began to murmur and stir so that the mayor and aldermen, who were then present, greatly feared an uproar One person hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was could not then be proved; though afterwards it became known

Indeed, the stir was such, that the preacher drew in his head, and durst appear no more in that place. The matter of his sermon tended much to the dispraise of king Edward, which the people could not bear Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, stood forth and spake so mildly, christianly, and effectually, that with a few words he appeased all: and afterwards he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher between them from the pulpit to the grammar school, where they left him safe. But for this they were shortly after both rewarded with long imprisonment, and last of all with fire in Smithfield!

By reason of this tumult at St. Paul's Cross, an order was made by the lords of the council, and sent to the mayor and aldermen of London, desiring that they should call the next day following a common council of the city, and should charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants to keep their own parish churches upon the holydays, and not to suffer them to attempt to break the peace. Commanding them also to signify to the assembly the queen's determination, which was, that her grace meant not to compel other men's consciences otherwise than God shall put into their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she herself believed in.

It was also ordered, that every alderman in his ward should forthwith send for the curates of every parish, and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach; or make any open or solemn reading of the scriptures in their churches, unless the preachers were licensed by the queen.

On the next day after this sermon at St Paul's Cross, the queen's guard was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when the people withdrew themselves from the sermon, an order was given by the mayor, that the elders of all companies should be present so as to make a congregation, least the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

On the 15th of August, A.D 1553, one William Rutler was committed to the Marshalsea, for uttering words against Master Bourne, for his sermon at St Paul's Cross.

On the 16th of August, Humfrey Palden was committed to the Compter, for words against Bourne's sermon at St. Paul's Cross

A letter was sent to the sheriffs of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, to apprehend Fisher, parson of Ammersham, a preacher.

Another letter was sent to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the scriptures openly without special license from the queen.

The same day Master Bradford, Master Vernon, and Master Beacon, preachers, were committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day also Master John Rogers, preacher, was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at St. Paul's, without having any conference with any others than those of his own household.

On the 22nd of August there were two letters directed to Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, to repair forthwith to the court, and there to attend the council's pleasure.

The same day Fisher, parson of Ammersham, made his appearance before the council, according to their letter of the 16th of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon.

On the 24th of August, one John Melvin, a Scotchman and preacher, was sent to Newgate, in London, by the council.

On the 28th of August there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Sanders, then vicar of St. Michael's, in Coventry, and to send him up to the council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a commission to punish all such as had by means of his preaching used any talk against the queen's proceedings

On the 26th of August, Master Hooper, bishop of Worcester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters of the 22nd of August

On the 31st of August, Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters of the 22nd of August.

On the 1st of September, Master Hooper and Master Coverdale appeared again before the council, when Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

On the 2nd of September, Master Hugh Sanders, vicar of St. Michael's, in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon, and was commanded to appear again upon the Monday following.

The 4th of September, a letter was directed from the council to Master Hugh Latimer for his appearance before them.

About the 5th of September, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by the scriptures and the doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But while they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned, but Peter Martyr was suffered to return.

The same day there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his sermon, or if not, to detain him in prison

On the 13th September, Mr. Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter of the 4th of September, and was committed as a close prisoner to the Tower

The same day the archbishop of Canterbury appeared before the council, and was commanded to appear on the next day before them in the star-chamber.

On the 14th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury made his appearance before the lords in the star-chamber; where they, charging him with treason and spreading abroad seditious bills to the disquieting of the state, committed him to the Tower of London, there to remain till further sentence, or order, at the queen's pleasure.

On the 15th of September, there was a letter sent to Master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them, and another was sent to him on the 7th of October, for his speedy appearance.

On the 16th of September, there were letters sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except such as should be signified to them by the French ambassador.

On the first day of October, queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and on the tenth day of the same month began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the popish manner, which was celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster. To which mass, among the other lords, according to the custom, the bishops should have come. Those bishops who yet remained undeposed were the archbishop of York; Doctor Taylor, bishop of Lincoln; John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of these bishops, Taylor and Harley, presenting themselves according to their duty, took their places among the lords, but after they saw the mass begun, and not bearing the sight, they withdrew: for which the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was commanded to attend; but not long afterwards died by sickness Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied by the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament-house, to enter and begin the consultation at which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of king Henry VIII. for *premunire*, and statutes made by king Edward VI. for the administration of common prayer and the sacrament in the English tongue and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was confirmed by this parliament. In the meanwhile many men were forward in erecting altars and masses in churches. And of such persons as would adhere to the laws made in king Edward's time, till others should be established, some were marked and some apprehended. Among whom Sir James Hales, a knight of Kent, and justice of the Common Pleas, was one, who, although he had ventured his life in queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the king's will yet because at a quarter sessions he charged upon the statutes made in the time of king Henry VIII and Edward VI for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned, and so cruelly handled and put in fear by the talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were preparing for heretics, (or for what other cause God knoweth,) that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife, and afterwards was contented to say as they desired him upon which he was discharged, but he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise held a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's command, at St Paul's church in London In the convocation, Master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon to the clergy. After the sermon, it was agreed by the bishops, that they of the clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose a prolocutor. To which office, by common assent, was named Doctor Weston, dean of Westminster, and presented to the bishops with an oration by Master Pye, dean of Chichester, and Master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London. Which Doctor Weston being chosen and brought to the bishops, made his oration to the house, with an answer again by Bishop Bonner.

After these things arranged in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, by the queen's command, about the matter of the sacrament. Which disputation lasted six days. Wherein Doctor Weston was chief on the pope's part; who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. Such as disputed on the other side were compelled some to fly, some to deny, and some to die, though to most men's judgments that heard the disputation they had the advantage, as may appear by the report of the disputation, the copy of which we here annex.—

The true Report of the Disputation had and begun in the Convocation-house at London, the 18th of Oct. A.D. 1553, written by one who was present at it.

Act of the First Day.

First upon Wednesday, being the 18th of October, Doctor Weston the prolocutor certified the house, "that it was the queen's pleasure, that they, being learned men, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And as there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consent as I have learned, being a very pestiferous book, and full of heresies, and likewise a book of common prayer very abominable, I thought it therefore best to begin with the articles of the catechism concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation Wherefore, it shall be lawful on Friday next ensuing for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein"

Act of the Second Day.

On Friday, being the 20th of October, when men thought they should have entered on the disputation of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two bills to the house, one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, the other concerning the catechism, that they did not agree thereto requiring all to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. The whole house immediately assented, except six, who were Philips, dean of Rochester; Haddon, dean of Exeter; Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Young, chanter of St. David's. And while the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot stood up and spake concerning the articles of the catechism, that it beareth the title of the synod of London last before this, although many of them who then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; because this house had granted authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons appointed by the king's majesty, therefore it might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now had no notice of it before the promulgation.

And he said, concerning the article of the natural

presence in the sacrament, that it was against order, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter was thoroughly examined; he therefore made this request to the prolocutor; that as there were so many learned men present on that side, and as on the other side there were not past five or six that had not subscribed; therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would arrange that some of those that set forth the catechism, might be brought to the house to shew what moved them to set it forth; also that Doctor Ridley and Master Rogers, with two or three more, might have leave to be present at this disputation, and be associated with them. This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed to Bishop Bonner, but it was refused to be allowed by him.

The Act of the Third Day

On Monday the 23rd of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of the court and of the city, the prolocutor made a protestation, that the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubt, but that these gainsayers might be resolved of their argument.

Then he demanded of Master Haddon, whether he would reason against the questions proposed or not. He made answer, that he had certified him before in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them would not be granted Master Aylmer likewise was asked, who made the prolocutor the same answer; adding, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed and that it would avail little or nothing to reason for the truth, since they were now determined to the contrary After this he demanded of Master Cheyney whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation or not, "Yea," said he, "I would gladly my doubts were resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation.

"The first is out of St Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calls it often 'bread' after the consecration.

"The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, 'That the material part goes down to the excrements'

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, "That they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape.'"

Then the prolocutor assigned Doctor Moreman to answer him, who, to St Paul, answered thus; "That the sacrament is called by him bread indeed. but it is thus to be understood, That it is the sacrament of bread, that is, the form of bread."

Then Master Cheyney alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh.

"Yea," said Moreman, "Hesychius calls it bread, because it was bread, and not because it is so" And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, "That men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done, interpreting *οὐσία*, for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *οὐσία* is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance, and therefore I answer thus to Theodoret, That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape, that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

After this Master Cheyney sat down, and Master Aylmer stood up as one that could not bear to hear such an answer to so grave an authority; and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by Master Cheyney, and declared, "That Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just nor sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning For, if *οὐσια*, 'substance,' should signify an accident in the place allleged, then were it a word superfluous there, as there follow two other words which sufficiently signify the accidents of the bread, which are, 'shape' and 'form.'"

After this John Philpot stood up and said, "That Doctor Moreman's interpretation was incorrect, and that it could not be taken to signify an accidental substance, as he would interpret it. For the occasion of Theodoret's writing plainly shewed that was a vain cavil, for the dispute was with Eutyches, an heretic, whether the body and human nature of Christ had yet an existence distinct from the divine nature? Eutyches said, that Christ, in his human nature, having ascended into heaven, and being there joined to the divinity, was absorbed or swallowed up, so that Christ became of one divine substance only. Against which opinion Theodoret writes, and, by the similitude of the sacrament, proves the contrary against the heretic: That like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorbed by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the divine operation; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there are two substances, that is, his divinity and humanity united in one person, which is Christ, the humanity not being absorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in his former substance.

"And this similitude," said Philpot, "brought in by Theodoret to confound Eutyches, proved nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Doctor Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have made a strong argument, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good christian man, and he might well say thus to Theodoret: That as after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is transubstantiated into the human body of Christ, so in the sacrament it is now but one substance of the humanity, and not the substance of bread as it was before, even so, likewise, the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and joined to the Deity, was turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remains but one divine substance in Christ, which is no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's Supper, after the consecration, there remains but one substance, according to that construction"

In answering to this, Doctor Moreman staggered, whose defect Philpot perceiving, said, "Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer at present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again."

With that the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not boast there; but that he would be fully answered. Then said Philpot, "It is the thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do" No other answer was then made to Philpot's argument, except that he was commanded to silence.

Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to argue against the natural presence, wishing that the scriptures, and the ancient doctors, in this point might be weighed and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ, in St. Matthew, sufficient, who said of himself, That the poor you have always with you, but me you have not always "which," said he, "was spoken concerning the natural presence of Christ's body, therefore we ought to believe as he taught, That Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar"

To this it was answered by the prolocutor, "That we should not have Christ always present to exercise alms deeds upon him, but upon the poor, which is all that was here intended to be meant."

But the dean prosecuted his argument, and shewed it out of St. Augustine further, That that interpretation of the scriptures was no sufficent answer, who writes in the fiftieth Treatise of St. John, on this wise, on the same sentence, "When, as he said," saith St Augustine, 'Me you have not always with you,' he spake of the presence of his body. For, by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold I

am with you until the consummation of the world. But in the flesh which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in grave clothes, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, You shall not have me always with you. And why? For, after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended, and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always by the presence of his majesty, but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes."

To this authority Doctor Watson took upon him to answer, and said, "He would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine, and having a book of notes in his hand, he alleged out of the seventieth Treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was before his passion."

Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, "That Master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St Augustine, as he would seem to have done, for that in the place above mentioned by the Dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection in which mortal body St. Augustine seems plainly to affirm, That Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, nor in corporal substance invisibly."

To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation of it. To which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, "That the Dean had recited many words of doctors, but he had not made one argument."

Then said the dean, "The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed, are sufficient arguments to prove my intent, to which my desire is to be answered by you." But still Moreman cried, make an argument, to shift off the authority which he could not answer. After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament, "'This do ye in remembrance of me and thus ye shall shew forth the Lord's death until he come.' The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ, and therefore the sacrament is not very Christ, for he is not yet come. For these words, 'Until he come,' plainly signify the absence of Christ's body." Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, "Until he come," did not import any absence of Christ on the earth; but he answered nothing directly to the purpose In conclusion, the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples or not? He answered, "Yea." Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, "Yea." Then he asked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then said the dean, "It is a great absurdity," and so he sat down

Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove by good reason deduced out of the scriptures, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this

The receiving of Christ's body has a promise of remission of sins annexed to it, but Christ's own eating the sacrament had no promise of remission of sin, and therefore Christ in the sacrament did not eat his own body.

To this reason Moreman answered, denying that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed to it.

Then Philpot shewed the promise in the sacrament, "Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins." But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drove Philpot to the sixth of St. John, to vouch his saying with these words "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf, and thinking to answer Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, "Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, 'This is my body which is broken for you,' and not for Christ himself."

"You have said well for me," replied Philpot, "for that is my argument The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: I conclude therefore Christ ate not his own body"

Then the prolocutor said the argument was naught. For by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed to baptism, took no effect in Christ. To which Philpot replied, that as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament, but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need of it, or that it took any effect in him, but as our Master to give the church an example to follow him in the administration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit himself *to us*, and not to give himself to *himself*.

No more was said in this. But afterwards the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence or not? He answered, "Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many, which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory." By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor broke up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day, concerning the presence of the sacrament.

The Act of the Fourth Day.

On Wednesday, the 25th of October, John Philpot was ready for the disputation, intending first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin, of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which the prolocutor perceiving, forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him also that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude his argument in English.

Then said Philpot, "This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all mine arguments in Latin" But the prolocutor bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace.

Then said Philpot; "You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order; but I will comply with your command, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments But before I submit any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, that the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect my arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed to, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the scriptures, that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence imagined by men I do deny," continued Philpot, "and against this I will reason." But before he could make an end of what he would have said. he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to come to his argument. Philpot, being offended, fell down upon his knees before the earls and

lords who were there present, of whom some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man, which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor would not permit him, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument" "I am about it," said Philpot, "if you will let me alone But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent (who was Doctor Chedsey) concerning a word or two of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar, what he means thereby, and whether he takes it, as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's Supper the sacrament of the altar, partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross, and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, did prefigure and signify to us; or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar, which is made of lime and stone, over which the sacrament hangs, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places. This done, I will direct my arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.

Then Chedsey made this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one

"Then," said Philpot, "I will speak plain English, as Master Prolocutor wishes me, and make a short resolution of it, that the sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it," and this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they chose to call him to it And likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's grace and her most honourable council, before the face of six of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and would except none. "And if I shall not be able," said he, "to maintain by God's word what I have said, and confound those six who shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many fagots as are in London, before the court gates" This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

At this the prolocutor, with others, were very much offended, demanding of him whether he knew what he said, or not? "Yea," said Philpot, "I wot well what I say," desiring no man to be offended with his saying for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. "And praised be God," continued he, "that the queen's grace has granted us of this house (as our prolocutor has informed us) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion; and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth, although some of you here present dislike it."

Then several of the house, beside the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking thus against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease speaking in that manner.

Philpot seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards heaven, and said, "O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and adhered to?" And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

After this, the prolocutor being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, provided he would be brief "I will be as brief," said Philpot, "as I may conveniently be in uttering all that I have to say. And I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of the scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded, and I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the first argument out of the twenty-eight chapter of St. Matthew, of the saying of the angel at the sepulchre, saying, 'He is risen, he is not here.' and in St. Luke, in the twenty-third chapter, the angel asks why they sought the living among the dead? Likewise the scripture testifies, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father all which is spoken of his natural body; and therefore his natural body is not on earth included in the sacrament.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in the sixteenth chapter of St. John; 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world' 'Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.' Which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm that it is not found in the world.

"But I expect here," continued he, "to be answered with a distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remains notwithstanding in the sacrament. But I will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave to him, speaking these words, 'Now thou speakest plainly and utterest no proverb.' Which words St Cyril interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying, 'Again, I leave the world and go to the Father,' then that obscure, dark and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or more parabolical and insensible, than to say so."

Then Doctor Chedsey took upon him to answer. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here." "And, why seek ye the living among the dead?" He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christ's body in the sepulchre, when they thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said: "Why do ye seek the living among the dead?" And to the authority of the sixteenth chapter of St John where Christ saith, 'Now I leave the world and go to the Father," he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven, but that does not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, affirms the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak and Christ's flesh. "Elijah," said he, "when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, "You have not directly answered the saying of the angel 'Christ is not here, but is risen,' because you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For I proceed further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and therefore he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril sufficient. But by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after I have first disposed of the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief arguments that you allege, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament, which being well weighed and understood pertains nothing to it"

At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore recited the authority in Latin first, and afterwards Englished the same, willing that all who were present to note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side "But I will make it appear," said Philpot, "that it makes little for your purpose." And as he was about to declare his mind, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he did almost continually. Philpot, not being content, said; "Mr. Prolocutor thinks that he is in a sophistry school, where he knows right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceives that he is

likely to be forced with an argument, to which he is not able to answer, he does what he can with cavil and interruption to drive him from it" This saying of Philpot was ill taken by the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. "Hear," said Philpot, "and afterwards judge. For I will do in this as in all other authorities, wherewith you shall charge me in refuting any of my arguments, answering either by sufficient authorities of scripture, or else by some other testimony with yours, and not of mine own imagination. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose, the one out of the scriptures, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place alleged by you.

"First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, it is truth; for we all confess and believe that Christ took on him our human nature in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and through his passion has united us to his flesh, and thereby are we become one flesh with him, so that Chrysostom might right well say, that Christ ascending took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which is we that are his elect in this world, who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as St. Paul, in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians, testifies saying, 'We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones' And if any man will reply, that he treats there of the sacrament; so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied to him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ after he ascended into heaven, left to us, indued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaves as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly witnesses, saying, 'As many of us as are baptised into Christ have put on Christ.' And thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom makes nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him."

Now, in the meanwhile Master Pye whispered the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, distrusting lest he would shake their carnal presence, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a blow Then the prolocutor said to Philpot that he had reasoned enough, and that some other should now supply his room. But he was not well content, saying, "Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce gone over my first argument."

"Well," said the prolocutor, "you shall speak no more now; and I command you to hold your peace" "You perceive," replied Philpot, "that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence" "If you will not give place," said the prolocutor, "I will send you to prison." "This is not," answered Philpot, "according to your promise made in this house; nor yet according to your boast made at St. Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatever they can say, since you will not suffer me out of a dozen arguments to prosecute one"

Then Master Pye took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day Philpot, seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being justly offended, ended, saying thus: "A number of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which you are not able to maintain by the catholic doctrine of the scriptures."

Then stepped forth Master Ailmer, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Master Moreman took upon him to answer Master Ailmer objected several authorities for the confirming of the argument he took in hand the day before, to prove that "substance" in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by Master Cheyney, must needs signify 'substance,' and not 'accidents' Whose reasons, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I pass over, because they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so incumbered Doctor Moreman, that he desired a day to reply to them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then the prolocutor called Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Master Ailmer's argument. To whom Doctor Watson took upon him to give an answer, who was confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word 'Mysterium' But as he seemed to doubt therein, Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and shewed it to Master Watson, asking him whether he thought that translation true, or that the printer were in any fault "There may be a fault in the printer," said Watson, "for I am not remembered of this word" Then Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he shewed with his finger the same words, which Master Watson could not deny.

Then stept forth Mr. Perne, and made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, whom the prolocutor answered, saying, "I much marvel, Mr. Perne, that you will say thus, for on Friday last you subscribed to the contrary." Which Master Palmer disliked, saying to the prolocutor, "That he was to blame so to reprehend any man, partly because this house is an house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly because you promised yesterday, that notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind."

The Act of the Fifth Day.

On Friday, the 27th of October, Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, first propounded the matter, shewing that the convocation had spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was "substance." Yet were they come the third day to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put together their arguments. So Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Master Watson, who, with two others more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer Master Haddon demanded this of him, whether any substance of bread or wine remained after the consecration? Then Master Watson asked of him again, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ's body or not? Master Haddon said, "It was not meet nor order-like that he who was appointed to be respondent should be opponent, and he whose duty was to object should answer" Yet Master Watson a long while would not agree to answer, but that being granted, at last an order was set, and Master Haddon had leave to proceed with his argument.

Then he proved by Theodoret's words, that the substance of bread and wine remained. For these are his words, "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after" Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence. Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word "substance." Then Master Watson answered that it had not that signification only. But Master Haddon proved that it must needs signify so in that place. Then he asked Master Watson, when the bread and wine became symbols? He answered, "after the consecration, and not before." Then Master Haddon argued that Theodoret says, that what the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols; and as thus they were bread and wine before, therefore bread and wine they are afterwards still.

Then Mr. Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to Master Cheyney who stood by, because he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed to the real presence. Master Cheyney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him,

trusting that he should so open the matter, that the truth should appear, that he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse. Doctor Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet for his knowledge to dispute in that place. "I pray you hear him," said he. Then Master Cheyney desired such as were there present to pray two words with him to God, and to say, *vincat veritas*, "may truth prevail," and have the victory, and all that were present cried with a loud voice, "*Vincat veritas, vincat veritas!*"

Then said Doctor Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. Men may better say, replied he, *vicit veritas*, "truth hath got the victory." Master Cheyney said, if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so

Then he began with Master Watson after this sort: "You said that Master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he grants not the natural and real presence, but I say you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament."

Master Watson said, "He had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that" So said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; so that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and desired that he should be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Master Haddon's argument, and said that when they could not answer, they went to deny the author, and therefore he proved the author to be a catholic doctor, and that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further.

Then was Master Watson forced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude of Theodoret signified quantity, and other accidents of sacramental tokens, and not the very substance of the same, for according to philosophy, the accidents of things are seen, and not the substances.

Then Master Cheyney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they would give no credit to them in so saying: for if they would think as they teach, after their lordships had rode forty miles on horseback, they would not be able to say at night, that they saw not their horses all the day, but only the *colour* of their horses; and by this reason Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak. For when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, "No, Christ, thou sawest not him, but the *colour of him.*"

Then it was said by Watson "Suppose that Theodoret is with you, who is one that we never heard of printed till two or three years ago; yet is he only but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?" After this, Master Cheyney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but others also.

Then was Master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, he said, "That it was convenient whatever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses." And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning "And that which burned there," said Harpsfield, "burns here, and becomes ashes, but what that was that burnt he could not tell." But Master Cheyney continued and forced them with this question "What it was that was burnt? It was either the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which was too great an absurdity to grant." At length they answered, "That it was a *miracle.*" Master Cheyney smiled and said, "That he could at that rate say no more."

Then Master Weston asked of the company present whether those men were sufficiently answered or not? Certain priests cried, "Yea;" but they were not heard at all for the great multitude, who cried "No, no" Which cry was heard almost to the end of St Paul's Doctor Weston being much moved, answered bitterly, "That he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them who are of the house. Then asked he of Master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them three other days? Haddon, Cheyney, and Aylmer said, "No" But Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, stood up and said, that they should not say so, for they should be answered; and though all others refused to answer them yet he would not; but offered to answer them all one after another with whose proffer the prolocutor was not content, but railed on him, and said, "That he should go to Bedlam" To whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, "That he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation." Then rose Dr. Weston and said:

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men. What their reasons are you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant, without truth, for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation requires, and if they are able to defend their doctrine, let them do so."

Then Master Aylmer stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world what they believed in their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not in their consciences subscribe, as they had partly already done, and were still able to do more sufficiently. "Therefore," said he, "it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer till our arguments, which we have to propound, be solved, according as was appointed. For by answering we should but incumber ourselves, and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatever we shall prove to the contrary."

The Act of the Sixth Day.

On Monday following, being the 30th of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer to the questions before propounded to their objections or not? To whom he made this answer, that he would willingly do so, if according to their former determination, they would first answer to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided. And if they would answer fully and sufficiently to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring forth.

Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be answered by one of them to which Master Morgan was appointed. "Upon Wednesday last," said he, "I was forced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument, the sum whereof was this as was gathered by the just context of the scripture) that the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father wherefore it could not be situated upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man" The argument was denied by Morgan Philpot said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would, it was to this effect that to be bodily present, and to be bodily absent, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one and the same time are things contrary to the nature of a human body. And therefore it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven and also on earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.

Morgan in answer denied the first part of the argument Philpot said, that as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a

body, as to be in St. Paul's Church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly, at one time; for that is contrary to the nature of a body; so he concluded that the body of Christ could not be in more places than one, it is in heaven, and therefore cannot be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

Philpots added that St Peter in the sermon that he made in the third of the Acts, making mention of Christ, used these words, "Whom the heavens must receive until the restitution of all things," &c. Which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then he cannot be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended.

Then Morgan laughing at this, and giving no answer, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took it upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would of necessity force Christ to any place, or not?

Philpot said, that he would not otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which say, that Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment.

"Why," said Harpsfield, "do you not know that God is omnipotent?" "Yes," said Philpot, "I know that right well, neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency what he may do is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he will, and also that he may make more worlds, but doth he therefore do so? It were no good consequent so to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he does it."

"Why," said the prolocutor, "then you will put Christ in prison in heaven." To which Philpot answered, "Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison."

After some further arguing, Morgan asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or not?

"Yes," said he, "if it be the true catholick church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would be glad if you would declare what the church is?"

"The church," replied Morgan, "is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world." "That is a diffuse definition," said Philpot, "for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word, as St. Paul saith, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,' and upon the scriptures of God."

"What," answered Moreman, "was the scripture before the church?" "Yea," said Philpot. "But I will prove nay," replied Moreman. "The church of Christ was before any scripture was written."

Philpot said, "That all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be scripture before it was written in paper and ink, because it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of Christ's apostles by the Spirit of Christ; as the salutation of the angel was the scripture of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written." At that Moreman cried, "Fie, fie!" wondering that the scripture of God should be counted scripture before it was written, and affirmed, that he had no knowledge who could speak so.

Philpot answered, "That concerning knowledge for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman."

At which the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, That it was arrogantly spoken by Philpot to compare himself with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman, meeter to be sent to Bedlam than to be among such learned and grave men as were there assembled, and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house; and therefore he commanded him no more to come into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree to this. A great company answered, "Yea." Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself a happy man that was out of this company.

After this Morgan rose up and whispered to the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, "Lest thou shouldst slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you should come into the house as you have done before, provided you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we are, and that you shall not speak but when I command you." "Then," said Philpot "I had rather be absent altogether." Weston concluded all by saying, "You have the word, but we have the sword," which shewed the opinion in which this disputation was carried on.

They carried on reasoning in this manner until at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary sends her commands to Bonner bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation.

During the time of this disputation, on the 20th day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up to the lords of the council, Baldwin Clarke, J. Carelesse, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Alhallow-day. Carelesse and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

On the same day there was a letter directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntington, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament. Who appearing before the council on the third of December next, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

In the days of king Henry VIII., and also king Edward VI. after him, some noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower; some charged with treason, as Lord Courtney and the Duke of Norfolk, some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, as Tonstal bishop of Durham, and others for other things, all of whom continued prisoners till queen Mary ascended the throne. The queen granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities. Gardiner bishop of Winchester, she not only delivered out of captivity, but also advanced to be high chancellor of England. To the lord Courtney she shewed such favour, that she made him Earl of Devonshire, so that there was a suspicion that she would marry him, but that proved otherwise.

At the same time Bonner also had been prisoner in the Marshalsea, whom likewise Queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with other good bishops, as is abovementioned, namely, Cranmer, from Canterbury, the archbishop of York, Poinet from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. Davids, Coverdale from Exeter, Scory from Chichester, &c., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly all such beneficed men as were married, or adhered to their profession. All were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect placed in them; as Cardinal Pole, who was then sent for, Gardiner, Heath, White, Day Troublefield &c.

As to Cranmer, as there was rumour spread of him in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury; to clear himself he published a declaration of his constancy, protesting that he neither had done so, nor intended to do so. Adding, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr and others would in open disputation sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth in the days of king Edward VI., against all persons. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm.

After this, in the month of November, archbishop Cranmer, though he had refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting Mary, alleging many grave reasons for her legitimacy, was arraigned in the Guildhall of London, and attainted of treason, with the lady

Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept. Cranmer being pardoned of the treason, stood only in the action of doctrine, which they called heresy, of which he was right glad.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise began in their quires to set up the pageant of St. Catharine, and of St Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament broke up In which parliament also communication was moved of the queen's marriage with king Philip the emperor's son

In the meanwhile cardinal Pole being sent for by queen Mary, was requested by the emperor to stay with him, that his presence in England should not be a hindrance to the marriage which he intended between his son Philip and queen Mary For making of which he sent a most ample embassy, with full power to contract the marriage.

On the 13th of January, A D. 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas-day without license, was committed to the Fleet.

On the 21st of January, Master Thomas Wootton was for matters of religion committed a close prisoner to the Fleet.

The death of the lady Jane Gray having now been determined upon, the queen sent, two days before her death, Master Fecknam, afterwards abbot of Winchester, to commune with her, and to turn her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion. The effect of which communication here follows —

The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.

Fecknam —Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind.

Jane You are welcome to me, sir, if your coming be to give christian exhortation And as for my heavy case, (I thank God) I do so little lament it, that I rather account it a more manifest declaration of God's favour to me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others who bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

Fecknam.—I am come to you, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to labour with you much therein.

Jane.—I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope likewise that you will no less do your duty both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

Fecknam —What is then required of a christian man?

Jane.—That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead.

Fecknam.—What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?

Jane.—Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

Fecknam.—Why? Then faith justifies not, nor saves not.

Jane.—Yes, verily, faith only (as St Paul saith) justifies.

Fecknam.—Why? St. Paul saith, If we have all faith without charity, it is nothing

Jane —It is true, for how can I love him whom I trust not? or, how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam.—How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane.—To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Fecknam Why? then it is necessary to salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

Jane I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saves but it is meet for a christian, in token that he follows his Master, Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For "when we have done all, yet we are all unprofitable servants," and faith only in Christ's blood saves us.

Fecknam —How many sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Fecknam —No, there are seven.

Jane —By what scripture find you that?

Fecknam.—Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane.—By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water, and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper offered to me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom

Fecknam.—Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane.—No, surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, puts me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross.

Fecknam —Why? Doth not Christ speak these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his body?

Jane. I grant he saith so, and so he saith, "I am the vine," "I am the door" but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Doth not St Paul say, "He calleth things that are not as though they were?" God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then it was not broken upon the cross, or if it was broken upon the cross, it was not eaten by his disciples.

Fecknam —Why? is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a woman without seed of man, as to walk upon the sea, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane.—Yes, if God wished to have performed any miracle at his supper, he might have done so: but I say that then he intended no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins But I pray you to answer me to this one question Where was Christ, when he said, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Was he not at the table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he but *bread*, what brake he but *bread?* And what gave he but *bread?* Look, what he took, he brake and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

Fecknam.—You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath, and not upon the church, to which you ought to give credit.

Jane.—No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church, nor yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to the church that takes away from me the half-part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man

receive it in both kinds? Which things, if they refuse to us, then they refuse to us part of our salvation And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that alters the Lord's supper, and both takes from it, and adds to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life (Rev xxii 18.) Do they learn that from St. Paul, when he administered to the Corinthians in both kinds? shall I believe this church? God forbid.

Feckham.—That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprung up from it.

Jane.—Why? shall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God forbids it.

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church of Rome, but he could not prevail. There were many more things of which they reasoned, but these were the chief.

After this, Feckham took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her "For I am sure," said he, "that we two shall never meet"

"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case: and I pray God, in his infinite mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your understanding."

A Letter of the Lady Jane sent to her Father.

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet I can so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given to my possession with life lengthened at my own will. And although I am well assured of your impatient temper, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially (as I hear) my unfortunate state, yet, my dear father, (if I may, without offence, rejoice in my own misfortunes,) methinks in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, "Mercy to the innocent." And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you know well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my forced honour never blended with my innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand. Though death is at hand, which to you, perhaps, it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

A Letter written by the Lady Jane, in the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her sister the Lady Catharine the night before she suffered.

"I have here sent to you, good sister Catharine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will which he bequeathed to us wretches: which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands, so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheriter of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life, for as soon, if God call goeth the young as the old, and labour also to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with St Paul to depart, and to be with Christ, with whom even death is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins; and like him that had not on the wedding-garment, and then you be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do Follow the steps of your Master, Christ, and take up your cross lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him And as to my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, which I pray to God to grant to you, and to send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from which, in God's name, I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. But if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory. To which glory God brings me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

We here give a certain prayer, made by the lady Jane, in the time of her trouble:

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, a poor and desolate woman, who flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those who put their trust in thee, and therefore, I being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Although it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or not, and also know thee and ourselves the better; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee, who with Solomon does cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I being too full, should deny thee my God, or being brought too low, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore likewise seem good to thy Fatherly goodness, to deliver me, a sorrowful wretch, for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever?

O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? far be that from me. I am thy workmanship created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy time, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me, for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only in the meantime arm me, I beseech thee, with thine armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace, above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word; praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me Seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doest Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldst should be a sacrifice for my sins. To whom with thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

It remains now to describe the manner of her execution, with her words and behaviour at the time of her death.

When she ascended the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day" And therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other means but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ. And I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins. And yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers" And then kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then she repeated the psalm "Have mercy on me, O God," &c, in English, in the most devout manner throughout to the end, and then she stood up, and gave her maiden Mistress Ellen her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Master Bruges, after which she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith; and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to fold about her eyes

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly Then he desired her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you dispatch me quickly" Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then she tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers bye guiding her, she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," and so finished her life, in the year 1554, on the 12th day of February.

Thus was beheaded the lady Jane, and with her also the lord Guilford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons, two innocents in comparison with them that sat upon them For they ignorantly accepted that which the others had willingly devised, and by open proclamation consented to take from others, and give to them.

And not long after the death of the lady Jane, upon the 21st of the same month, was Henry Duke of Suffolk also beheaded at Tower Hill, on the fourth day after his condemnation About which time also were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country In the number of whom was also the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the duke. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped

The 24th of the same month (A D. 1554) Bonner, bishop of London sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for taking of the names of such as would not come during the following Lent to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter. The copy of which monition here follows.—

A Monition of Bonner Bishop of London, sent down to all and singular Curates of his Diocese, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and receiving at Easter.

"Edmund by the permission of God, bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting. Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church by many hundred years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in a year at least, except reasonable cause excuse them, to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion And forasmuch also as we are credibly informed, that sundry evil-disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual passions, and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same We minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given, do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, you and every one of you within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straightly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar, and that you do note the names of all such as are not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof before the sixth day of April next ensuing from the date hereof, that so we knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further also certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majesty. And if you so have not, you then with the churchwardens cause the same to be provided for

signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there irreverently in the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

"Given at London, 23d of February, in the year 1554."

The month following, which was the month of March, and the fourth day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner bishop of London, with certain articles annexed, to be put in speedy execution, requiring among other things that all the clergy who had married should be removed from their parishes, unless they abandoned their wives and did penance for their marriage, as may appear by these articles.

"Every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and despatch, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

"The said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, shall use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives are dead, than with others whose wives do yet remain alive. And likewise such priests, as with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon just consideration receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they are deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

"Every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, shall foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed celibacy, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all such persons after deprivation o. their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein."

The queen also sent her rescript to the lord mayor of London to the same effect, who issued the following letter accordingly to the aldermen, &c. :—

"On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straightly charge and command you, that you the said aldermen, fail not personally to call before your own person in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the 7th day of this present month, at seven o'clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straightly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws, and statutes, and her highness' most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according to the right, wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, late set forth and given by the right reverend father in God, the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese, but also that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises at their utmost perils. That ye immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail you not thus to do with all circumpection and diligence, as you will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary at your peril.

"Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the fifth day of March in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady and queen.

"And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straightly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past.

"Blackwell."

About the same time, when Doctor Bonner set forth this prescript, there came from the queen another proclamation against strangers and foreigners within this realm.

Upon this proclamation not only the strangers in king Edward's time received into the realm for religion, among whom was Peter Martyr and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland; but many Englishmen fled, some to Friezland, some to Cleveland, some to Germany, where they were scattered into companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Embden, Markpurgh, Transborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places: where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour among strangers abroad than they could be in their own country at home, amounting nearly to the number of eight hundred persons, students, and others together.

In the month of March, the lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the queen had delivered out of the Tower, and the lady Elizabeth also the queen's sister, were both apprehended and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of having consented to Wyat's conspiracy a short time before.

Touching the imprisonment of the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader, a politic point of practice in Steven Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always an enemy to the lady Elizabeth, and thinking now by the occasion of Master Wyat's disturbance in Kent, to pick out some matter against the lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the hisstory here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyat died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtney. Who there before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the lady Elizabeth and him, and so being brought from thence to the scaffold to suffer there openly in the hearing of all the people, he cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Doctor Weston, standing by, cried to the people, saying, "Believe him not, good people, for he confessed otherwise before unto the council."

Not long after this, queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners on account of Wyat's conspiracy, and partly perceiving that most of the city, for religion's sake, did not greatly favour her proceedings, summoned a parliament to be held at Oxford, as if to gratify that city, where the university, town, and country had shewed

themselves very obedient, especially in restoring the popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, both by the queen's officers, as well as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about.

But the queen's mind soon changed, and the parliament was held at Westminster in the April following. Then the queen proposed her marriage with king Philip, and the restoring the pope's supremacy. Her marriage was agreed upon; but the other request could not then be obtained.

When this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of the bishops, and of the clergy, writing to Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent instead of Cranmer, who was then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new stile, differing from the old stile of king Henry and king Edward, in the omission of the title of "Supreme Head" of the church of England and Ireland.

In this convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, made an oration to the clergy, in which he seems to shew a piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and super-angelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his oration.

"Wherefore it is to be known," said Bonner, "that priests and elders are worthy to be worshipped by all men, for the dignity which they have from God; as in Matthew xvi. 'Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth,' &c; and 'whatsoever ye shall bind,' &c. For a priest by some means is like the Virgin Mary, and this is shewed by three points As the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Christ, as it is said, *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, that is, 'Be it unto me according to thy word,' (Luke i) so the priest by five words doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb; so immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest after the consecration lifts up the body of Christ, and places it, and carries it, and handles it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived, so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing: therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be ever so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here may be seen, that the dignity of priests by some means passes the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest on earth may do, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do, as St. Bernard saith, 'O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.' St. Augustine saith, that angels in the consecration of the sacred host do serve him, and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon Luke saith, 'Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar' Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator," &c.

On the 10th of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and bishops Ridley and Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him to Oxford.

On the 26th of March, there was a letter directed to Sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

About the 10th of April, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Ridley, bishop of London; and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and thence to the University of Oxford, to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament The names of the doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Weston, prolocutor, Tresham, Cole, Oglethorpe, Pye, Harpsfield, and Fecknam; of Cambridge, Young, vice-chancellor, Glin, Seaton, Watson, Sedgewick, Atkinson, &c. The articles or questions upon which they should dispute were these:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or not?

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance did remain than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

3. Whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead?

After those from Cambridge were incorporated into the University of Oxford, on the 12th, and after a convocation on the 14th, and a solemn mass, they signed the articles.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, the choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts-beadles going before them; the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them the bachelors of divinity, *regentes et non regentes*, in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art. After whom followed a great company of scholars and students who had not graduated. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church, and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, the commissioners, doctors, and many others, departed to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church, and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons: and they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Cranmer, who was brought to them by a number of bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, reverenced them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, a stool was offered him, but he refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; he spoke of the bringing up of Cranmer and of his taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry VIII., and had been his counsellor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but of late years had separated and cut himself off from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrines, making every year a new faith and therefore it pleased the queen's grace, to send them of the convocation and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then the prolocutor informed him how they of the convocation house had agreed upon certain articles to which they wished him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very ably, modestly, and learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an unity, forasmuch as it was "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen as of the christians," and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Roman commonwealth. Which when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to an unity, provided it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken, the prolocutor caused the articles to be read to him, and asked him, if he would subscribe to them. Then the archbishop of Canterbury after having read them over three or four times, and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by the term, "natural body," "Do you not mean," saith he, "a sensible body?" Some answered, "The same that was born of the Virgin," but very confusedly; some saying one thing, some another. Then the archbishop denied

it utterly, and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were false, and against God's holy word and therefore he could not agree in unity with them. The prolocutor assigned him to answer the articles on Monday next (April 16th), and so committed him to the mayor again, permitting him to name what books he wished for, and he should have them brought to him. The archbishop was greatly commended by every body for his modesty so that some masters of art of the university were seen to weep for him, though in judgment they were contrary to him.

Then Dr. Ridley was brought in, who, hearing the articles read, answered without any delay, saying, "They were all false; and that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root." His answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest. Then they laid to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, in which, they said, he spoke in favour of transubstantiation He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring any that heard him, who would say and affirm it; but they could bring no proof of it all

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or not. He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They said he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reasonable that he should not have his own books, and time also to look for his disputations. Then they gave him the articles, and bade him write his mind about them that night.

Last of all came in Latimer, with a handkerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, he was set in a chair. And, after his denial of the articles, Wednesday was appointed for his disputation, but he alleged age, sickness, disease, and lack of books, saying, That he was almost as fit to be a captain of Calais as to dispute, but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or by word of mouth, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor books, except the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately; and yet could not find the mass in it; neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr Weston said, that he would make him grant that the mass had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. Master Latimer said, "That you will never do, Master Doctor," and so forthwith they put him to silence; so that when he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered.

On Monday, the 16th of April, 1554, Doctor Weston, with the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, enstalled themselves in their places. Doctor Cranmer was brought there, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. Doctor Weston, prolocutor, after the custom of the university, began the disputation with an oration. His words, as he spake them, were these: "Ye are assembled here, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the truth of the body of Christ in the sacraments," &c. At which words thus pronounced by the prolocutor unawares, many of the learned men there present burst out into laughter, as, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself, and his religion, in calling the opinion of the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy. Doctor Cranmer answered in this wise: "We are assembled to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world, of what ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is, indeed, not reasonable, that we should dispute about that which is determined before the truth be tried And if these questions are not called into controversy, surely my answer is looked for in vain"

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute

"Reverend Master doctor, these three conclusions are put forth to us at present to dispute upon

"1 In the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest

"2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man

"3. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the living as the dead

"These are the conclusions propounded, upon which our controversy rests Now that we might not doubt how you take them, you have already given to us your opinion. I term it your opinion, because it disagrees from the catholic opinion. I argue that as your opinion differs from the scripture, therefore you are deceived."

Cranmer—"I deny that my opinion differs from scripture."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you.' This is his true body"

Cranmer—"His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him, but *spiritually*. And so it is taken after a *spiritual* sort. For when he said, 'This is my body, it is all one as if he had said, 'This is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood. As often as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood, that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.'

Chedsey—"Your opinion differs from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament, and therefore your opinion is false"

Cranmer—'I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey "Christ, when he spake these words, 'This is my body,' spake of the substance, but not of the effect"

Cranmer.—"I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that his organical body is under the bread. It is still that bread which is taken out of the fruit of the ground and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being round in form and without sense or life, nourishing the body, and strengthening the heart of man, of this bread, and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, as you say, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, 'Eat, this is my body' And likewise also of the wine, which is the fruit of the vine pressed out of grapes, and makes man's heart merry, of the very same wine, I say, Christ spake, 'Drink, this is my blood.' And so the old doctors call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical, which they interpret thus: that although the substance of bread and wine remain, and are received by the faithful, yet notwithstanding Christ changed the name of it, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood. 'Not that it is so in very deed, but *signified in a mystery*.' So that we should consider, not what they are in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify, and we should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup. But that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man, and that being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, 'which taketh away the sin of the world,' 'by whose stripes we are healed,'

by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies are fed with meat and drink in this life and of this the mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, are to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal

"And as for your third article, which declares the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice or oblation, I do not hold it to be an oblation of Christ. He offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption, which was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, for all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing in himself that in very deed, which they signified and promised. Whoever, therefore, shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falls from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed' 'Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us' 'For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others, For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world, but now once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation' 'Who, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Now, where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin.' But this only sacrifice of Christ, whoever shall seek any other propitiatory sacrifice for sin, makes the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? For the necessity of another argues and declares this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly trust in one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity For by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ And thus you have the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ Which, however, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he has no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life he has eaten and drank eternal condemnation to himself"

Chedsey —"The Scriptures in many places affirm, that Christ gave his natural body, Matthew xxvi, Mark xiv, Luke xxii"

Cranmer.—"If you understand by the natural body, one that has such proportion and members as he had when living here, then I answer in the negative"

Chedsey. "The scripture makes against you, for the circumstance teaches us not only that there is the body, but also teaches us what manner of body it is, and saith, 'The body shall be given which was not bread, but that which was crucified"

Cranmer —"I grant he said it was his body, which should be given. 'The body,' saith he, 'that shall be given for you' As if he said, 'This bread is the breaking of my body and this cup is the shedding of my blood.' What will ye say then? is the bread *the breaking of his body*, and the cup *the shedding of his blood* really?"

After some further disputation Chedsey withdrew, and Oglethorpe began in his stead to question Cranmer

Oglethorpe. —"Your judgment differs from all churches."

Cranmer.—"Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe —"This you do through ignorance of logic."

Cranmer.—"Nay, this you say through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston —"I will go plainly to work by the scriptures. What took he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What gave he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston "What brake he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston,—"What did he eat?"

Cranmer. "Bread."

Weston.—"He gave bread, therefore he gave not his body."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Cole. "This argument holds good It is bread, therefore it is not the body."

Cranmer.—"The like argument may be made. He is a Rock, therefore he is not Christ."

There was much further disputation on this question, chiefly confined to the ascertaining the opinions of the primitive church, which would be too long to insert here.

This disorderly disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two o'clock When it was finished, and the arguments written and delivered to Master Say, the prisoner was taken away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the university college.

Disputation at Oxford between Doctor Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley.

The following day (April 17) Doctor Ridley was brought forth to dispute, with Doctor Smith for his principal opponent.

Besides this Smith, there was Weston, Tresham, Oglethorpe, Ghn, Seaton, Cole, Ward, Harpsfield, Watson, Pye, Harding, Curton, and Fecknam. to all these opponents Ridley answered very learnedly. He made a preface to the questions, but they would not let him go on with it, saying it was blasphemy; and they would not suffer him to speak his mind. Smith could get nothing at his hands, so that others took his arguments and prosecuted them He shewed himself to be learned, and a great divine They could bring nothing, but what he knew as well as they

Weston, prolocutor.—"Good christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved concerning the truth of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word, which may purge away errors, and give light, that truth may appear."

Smith —"This day three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among christians ought to be moved, to wit

"1 Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, which was conceived of the Virgin, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

"2. Whether, in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there is any other substance, &c.

"3. Whether there is in the mass a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

"Touching which questions, although you have publicly and partly professed your judgment. Yet being not satisfied with your answer, I will demand your opinion on the first question, whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or only the figure."

The Answer of Ridley.

"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world. This first proposition is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the scripture uses; and it is very obscure and dark, by means of words of doubtful signification.

"First, there is a double sense in these words: 'by virtue of God's word;' for it is doubtful what word of God this is.

"Again, there is a doubtfulness in these words: 'of the priest;' whether any man may be called a priest but he who has authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead."

Weston.—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley.—"If we lack time at present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston.—"These are but evasions; you consume the time in vain."

Ridley.—"I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound."

Weston.—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith.—"That which you have spoken may suffice at present."

Ridley.—"Let me alone, I pray you, for I have not much to say."

Weston.—"Go forward."

Ridley.—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' which may be variously interpreted, so that the whole proposition is formed of phrases that are not scriptural, but are of doubtful signification.

"Now the error and falseness of the proposition, in the sense in which the Romish church takes it, may appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed by the word of God, and that too by virtue of a phrase which they have themselves devised, and which cannot be found in any of the scriptures. Which position is the foundation of transubstantiation, a foundation monstrous, and against reason, and destroying the analogy of the sacraments and therefore this proposition also, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and a detestable heresy."

Weston.—"We lose time."

Ridley.—"You shall have time enough."

Weston.—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

Ridley.—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will only speak a word or two in confirmation of this."

Weston.—"Go to; say on."

Ridley.—"No doctrine ought to be established in the church of God, which dissents from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draws with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

"Yet the doctrine of transubstantiation maintains a real, corporeal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken by the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ. Now such a presence disagrees with God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities."

Weston.—"You consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you, to your argument."

Smith.—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith. I prove the contrary by the scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter into argument with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth chapter of St. John there is any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley.—"It is against reason that I should be prevented prosecuting that which I have to speak in this assembly, being not so long but that it may be comprehended in a few words."

Weston.—"Let him go on."

Ridley.—"This carnal presence is *contrary to the word of God*, as appears in John xvi. 7, 'I tell you the truth. It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.' Acts iii. 21. 'Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets.' Mat. ix 15. 'Can the children of the bridegroom mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast.' John xvi. 22. 'But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice.' Mat. xiv. 23. 28. 'If any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe them not. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.'

"*It differs from the articles of faith:* 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

"*It destroys the institution of the Lord's supper*, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If therefore he be really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers saith) a figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.

"*It makes precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constrains men to confess many absurdities.* For it affirms, that wicked and ungodly persons, yea, (and as some of them hold, the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs, also may receive the very real and corporeal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwells; contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of the sixth chapter of St. John.

"*It confirms also and maintains that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi*, that is, the devourers of man's flesh. For it is a more cruel thing to devour a living man, than to slay him."

Pye.—"He requires time to speak blasphemies! Leave your blasphemies!"

Ridley.—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston.—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments."

Ridley.—"I have not many more words to say."

Weston.—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, and get you to the argument."

Ridley.—"*It forces men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word.* For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject, and instead of it, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed in it, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returns again, and some deny it. Others affirm that the real body of Christ goes down into the stomach of the receivers, and there abides so long only as they shall continue to be good, but others hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread are bruised with the teeth! O workers of miracles! Truly, and most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied: 2 Thes. ii. 10—12. 'Because they received not the truth, that they might be saved,' 'God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' This gross presence has brought

forth that foolish fantasy of concomitance, by which is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.

"*It gives occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors*; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a fantastical body; and to Eutyches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

"Finally, *It falsifies the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church*, which Vigilius, a martyr, and grave writer saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful until his time. By the saying of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure, I have read making for my purpose, so I am well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of my own books, which I will undertake to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintains, as a presence which I take to be forged, fantastical, and contrary to God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists, that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly administered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They who think thus of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident, I will in a few words declare what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually by the faithful until his coming again.

"I say and confess that the bread which we break is the communion and partaking of Christ's body.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth in the sacrament, but also that there is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality.

"I say also, with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life: with Emisene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace;—with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which comes from above;—the propriety of natural communion, with Hilary;—the nature of flesh and benediction which gives life in bread and wine, with Cyril,—and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life, as he himself in plain words expounds it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and virtue of his very nature—the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose—the body by grace, with Epiphanius—spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome—grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit, with Chrysostom—grace and invisible verity, grace and communion of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram, who was the last of all these, I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, as he writes, because there is in it the spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feeds the soul, but also cleanses it. But of these I suppose it may clearly appear to all men, how far we are from that opinion, of which some go about falsely to slander us, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

"As to the second proposition, which asserts that 'After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man,' I answer, that it is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explanation, being contented with that which is already given to the answer of the first proposition.

"The circumstances of the scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy scriptures touching the sacrament. Now the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper.

"*The circumstances of the scriptures*, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.' 'Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.' 'They came together to break bread,' and they 'continued in breaking of bread.' 'The bread which we break,' &c. 'For we being many, are one bread and one body,' &c. 1 Cor. x. 14—17.

"*The analogy of the sacraments* is necessary: for the sacraments must have some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments.

"*The sayings of the fathers* declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appears in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and most plainly of all in Bertram. The sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom to Cesarius the monk, Augustine against Adamantus, Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom; again on Matthew xx., Rabanus, Damascene and Bertram.

"I have for the proof of what I have spoken whatever was written by Bertram, a learned man, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age. Whosoever shall read and weigh his treatise, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and well-grounded arguments, I cannot but marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good conscience speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first person that arrested my attention, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knows I lie not in the things I now speak.

"As to the third proposition, which is, that 'In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiatory and available for the sins as well of the quick as of the dead.'

"I answer this third proposition as I did the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but so much to the derogation and nullifying of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice, propitiatory and available for the sins of the living and the dead, the holy scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"As to these words, 'The lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockery, as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish or ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge, being apt indeed in neither of them.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiatory,' whether it signifies here that which takes away sin, or

that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the Romish Church, and the impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this, that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh, united and knit to the Divinity, to lie hid under the accidents and outward shews of bread and wine, which is very false, as I have said before; and they, building upon this foundation, hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily masses to put away the sins of the living and the dead, whereas by the words of the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sins of the whole world; and where there is remission of the same, 'there is', saith the apostle, 'no more offering for sin.'

"No other priest but Christ can sacrifice for sin, and that no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, is evident. For there are only but two orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedec. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, and of the order of Melchisedec there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who has a priesthood that cannot pass to any other.

"Again, after eternal redemption is obtained, there is need of no more daily offering for it. And Christ having obtained for us this eternal redemption by the offering of himself, there is needed no more daily oblation for the living and the dead.

"Again, all remission of sins comes only by shedding of blood; but in the mass, which they call an unbloody sacrifice, there is no shedding of blood; and therefore in the mass there is no remission of sins, and consequently there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

"Again, where Christ does not suffer, he is not truly offered, for the apostle saith, 'Not that he might offer up himself often for then must he often have suffered since beginning of the world),' now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice; and therefore, in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice, 'But now once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation'

"'By the which will,' saith the apostle, 'we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.' And in the same place, 'But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, and 'when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high' I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' which, if well weighed, will without doubt put an end to all controversy

"'He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.' Mark, I beseech you, he saith not, in the mystery of his body; but in the body of his flesh.

"'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation of our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.'

"I know that all these places of the scriptures are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice; as if our unbloody sacrifice of the church were anything else than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commemoration, shewing forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers to such a strange kind of sense, as the fathers themselves never meant. For the meaning of the fathers was evidently that the redemption once made for the salvation of man, continues in full effect for ever, and works without ceasing to the end of the world, that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed, that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consists in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross.

"These are the things which I could answer to your three propositions, though I am destitute of all help in this shortness of time, and want of books. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal to a more just judgment of some other competent and lawful judge, according to the approved state of the church of England. If this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the Eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, not at all despairing of the defence of mine advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory, Amen."

Smith —"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you than I had thought to have done. You abuse the testimonies of scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, in order to take away his presence in the sacrament, as if this were a strong argument to enforce your matter."

Ridley.—"If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporeal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also But if you mean a real presence of some property or attribute of his body, the ascension and abiding in heaven are no hindrance to that presence."

Weston.—"I will cut off all equivocation and doubt. For whenever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley.—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot consist with such a presence"

Smith —"His ascension and abiding in heaven, was no hindrance to his having visited the earth corporeally, and therefore is now no hindrance to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley —"I do not so strictly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not once come into the earth at his pleasure. For whenever he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth; but I affirm, that it is not possible for him in that corporeal way to be both in heaven and on earth at one time"

Smith —"Mark, I pray you, my masters, what he answers. First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of the Father, is a hindrance to the real presence of his body in the sacrament, and then afterwards he flies from it again."

Ridley.—"I would not have you think that I imagine or dream of any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

Smith.—"It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he chooses himself."

Ridley.—"Yea, when he chooses."

Smith.—"Therefore, he, ascending into heaven, does not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I do not gainsay but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he chooses, but prove you that he chooses it"

Smith.—"Then your answer depends upon the will of Christ, I perceive therefore I will join with you in that argument. Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporeally upon the earth; and, therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporeally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I grant that he was seen on earth, but I deny that he may therefore be in the sacrament. I grant this, because I know that there are certain ancient

fathers of that opinion: so that I am content to let you use that proposition as true. But let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith.—"Does he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he never forsakes the same?"

Ridley.—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so strictly. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, *to reign with his Father*, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if you understand his sitting to be *after a corporeal manner of sitting*, then is he always in heaven. For Christ to be corporeally here on earth, when corporeally he is resident in heaven, is contrary to the holy scriptures."

Smith "In Acts iii. we read that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, until the consummation of the world."

Weston.—"I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I tell you that Christ is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, in the truth and substance of his very body."

Ridley—"I deny that."

Smith. "I will prove that he appeared here in earth after his ascension."

Ridley.—"He appeared, I grant; but *how* he appeared, whether being then *in heaven* or *in earth*, is uncertain He appeared to Stephen, being then corporeally sitting *in heaven*. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not at the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not at the same time corporeally in heaven."

Smith.—"Christ has been both in heaven and in earth all at one time. He was seen of St. Paul, after his ascending to heaven" 1 Cor. xv. 8.

Ridley. "He was seen really and corporeally indeed but whether being *in heaven* or *earth*, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. You should prove that he was in heaven at the same time, that he was corporeally on earth."

Tresham—"He was seen so, that he might be heard, and therefore, he was corporeally on the earth, or else how could he be heard?"

Ridley.—"He who enabled Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Smith.—"Others as well as Paul saw him visibly and corporeally."

Ridley.—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporeally: but you have not proved that he was seen *in earth*."

After this, Doctor Glin began to reason, who (notwithstanding Master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface Master Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. However, he thought, that Doctor Glin's mind was to serve the time For afterwards he came to the house wherein Master Ridley was kept, and, as far as Master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Doctor Young and Doctor Oglethorpe, he desired him to pardon his words. Which Master Ridley did even from the very heart, and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but to all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glin "I see that you elude or shift away all scripture and the fathers I will go to work with you after another way. Christ has here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley "This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the scripture, and of the doctors. As to the sacraments, I never yet spoke contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ has here his church in earth: but that church ever received and acknowledged the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glin —"Then I ask this question; whether the Catholic church has ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley—"The church is the pillar and ground of truth, and never yet has been idolatrous in respect of *the whole church*, but perhaps in respect of *some part* of it, which sometimes may have been seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance"

Glin. "That church has ever worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist, and according to you, must therefore have been idolatrous"

Ridley—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: As I worship Christ also in the scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life.

"Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word), doth acknowledge. But the true church of Christ acknowledges a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporeal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glin —"But all the church adores Christ, verily, and really in the sacrament."

Ridley—"You know yourself that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation, as appears in the council of Florence."

Cole.—"That is false. For they acknowledged transubstantiation, although they would not treat of the matter, for they had not in their commission so to do"

Ridley—"Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter when the article was propounded to them."

Cole.—"It was not because they did not acknowledge it, but because they had no commission to do so."

Watson—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and therefore I ask this question; when Christ said in the sixth of John, 'He that eateth my flesh, &c.' doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley.—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, *spiritually*. And further I say, that the sacrament also pertains to the spiritual eating. For without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably For whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson.—"I ask then whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

Watson—"Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley.—"It is"

Watson.—"Where?"

Ridley.—"In the supper."

Watson—"With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do."

Watson—"It is a thing commonly received, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.'

Ridley.—"It is true, that grace is given by the sacrament, as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson.—'What is a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"I remember there are many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine. but I will take that which seems most fit to our present purpose,—*A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace*"

Watson "Grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley—"The fellowship or communion with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace, and by the sacrament

we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

Watson.—"But there is a difference between the mystical body, and natural body."

Ridley.—"There is a difference, but the head of them both is one."

Watson.—"But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine."

Ridley.—"I grant that grace belongs to the eucharist, according to this saying, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?' And as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed to them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them who worthily receive the sacrament."

After much more disputation of this kind, Doctor Tresham began to speak with zeal, and desired that he might be in stead of John the Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, who had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with kindness and reverence. But afterwards he smelled a fox under sheep's clothing.

Tresham.—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that which was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, that I may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, 'Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother.' But you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while you sit not by it."

Ridley.—"These by-words pollute your school."

Tresham.—"If there were an Arian who had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the scriptures and fathers."

Weston.—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham.—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, which council represented the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others; they decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic."

Ridley.—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was as a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans as you say But yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars, were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."

A notary here said, "What! will you deny then the authority of that council, on account of the multitude of those priors?"

Ridley—"No, sir, not so much for that cause, as because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as appears by the acts of that council, which was held under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham.—"What do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Then he with others cried out, "Write, write that down!"

Ridley.—"No, sir, I receive not that council; so write, and write it again."

Smith.—"I bring a canon out of the council of Nice 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ None of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar was a figure'."

Ridley—"This canon is not in the council of Nice. For I have read over this council many times"

Then came in another, whom Master Ridley knew not, and said, "The universal church, both of the Greeks and Latins, of the East and the West, have agreed in the council of Florence, uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."

Ridley.—"I deny the Greek and the Eastern church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any other time, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists, although hitherto it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread."

Here Doctor Cole cried out, and said, "they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ."

Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here started up another person, unknown to Master Ridley, who affirmed with him, that there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church. To whom Master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

After some further disputation, Weston as prolocutor, dissolved the meeting, saying, "Here you see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the inconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note," he began. and they followed, "Truth hath the victory truth hath the victory!"

The Disputation had at Oxford, on Wednesday the eighteenth day of April, 1554, between Master Hugh Latimer answerer, and Master Smith, and other opposers.

On the next day after these disputations with bishop Ridley, Master Hugh Latimer was brought out to dispute.

There replied to him Smith, Cartwright, and Harpsfield; some others had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He did not escape hissings and scornful laughings, any more than they that went before him. He was very faint. and desired that he might not be kept long. He could not drink for fear of vomiting

Weston—"Men and brethren, we are come together this day, (by the help of God,) to vanquish the arguments and opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you, father, if you have any thing to answer, I admonish that you answer in short and few words."

Latimer.—"I pray you, good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue."

Weston.—"Take your ease, father."

Latimer.—"I thank you, sir, I am well, let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute, and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Doctor Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must answer, are these:—

"The first is, That in the sacrament of the altar by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine, in the like manner his blood.

"The second is, That after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"The third is, That in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiatory, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, methinks it is set forth with new found terms that are obscure, and do not sound according to the words of the scripture. However, I answer plainly, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence, that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and faithful presence. I here state this, lest some scorner should suppose me to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it has no ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore is to be regarded as foolish and false. and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

"The third conclusion seems to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of St. Paul, where he saith, 'That Christ when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.' (Heb. i. 3.) And afterwards 'Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.' (Heb. ii. 17.) So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered by himself; and therefore it is needless that he should be offered by any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this without a manifest vocation, especially as it tends to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, 'By what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority' Where? when?' A man cannot (saith John Baptist) take any thing except it be given him from above. much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be called thereto. Again, 'If any man sin,' (saith St. John,) 'we have'—not a master or offerer at home, who can sacrifice for us at mass, but 'we have an advocate, Jesus Christ,' who once offered up himself; of which offering the efficacy and effect is endurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

"I have taken the more pains to write, because I refuse to dispute, in consideration of my debility: that all men may know, how I have done so, not without pain, though having no man to help me, as I have never before been debarred from having. O, sir, you may chance to live till you come to the age and weakness that I am of I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption But now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost.

"I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphor But, sir, now by your favour I will tell your mastership what I mean.

"The first is the popish consecration, which had been called God's body-making.

"The second is transubstantiation.

"The third is massal oblation.

"The fourth, adoration.

"These chief and principal portions, parts, and points belonging to the mass, I call the marrow-bones of the mass; which you, by force, might, and violence, intrude as parts of the scriptures, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same.

"There are some persons that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself."

"But what mean you," saith one interrupting him, "by this talk, so far from the matter?"

"Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. You have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment and you blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come: For you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your hearts, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!"

Weston.—"Then do you refuse to dispute? Will you subscribe?"

Latimer.—"No, good Master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am. you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston.—"You said, upon Saturday last, that you could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones of it in your book but we will find a mass in that book."

Latimer.—"No, good Master doctor, you cannot."

Weston—"What find you, then, there?"

Latimer—"I find a communion there."

Weston.—"Which communion, the first or the last?"

Latimer.—"I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well."

Weston.—"The first was naught, belike."

Latimer.—"I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston.—"Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one with you. You call it the supper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the scripture saith, 'After they had supped.' For you know that St. Paul finds fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunk at this supper; and you know no man can be drunk at your communion."

Latimer.—"The first was called The Jewish Supper, when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called The Lord's Supper."

Weston—"That is false."

Smith—"I will propose three questions as they are put to me And first I ask this question of you, although it ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed by the wicked. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"I trust I have obtained of Master Prolocutor that no man shall exact of me that which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation. I have given up my mind in writing to Master Prolocutor."

Smith.—"Whatever you have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer.—"Disputation requires a good memory: my memory is clean gone, and marvellously weakened, and never the better for the prison."

Weston—"How long have you been in prison?"

Latimer.—"Three quarters of a year."

Weston—"And I was in prison six years."

Latimer.—"The more pity, sir."

Weston.—"How long have you been of this opinion?"

Latimer.—"It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston.—"The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer.—"Yea, I cry God's mercy heartily for it."

Weston.—"Where learned you this new-fangledness?"

Latimer.—"I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years and my lord of Canterbury's book has especially confirmed my judgment in it. If I could remember all contained in it, I would not fear to answer any man."

Tresham.—"There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston.—"You were once a Lutheran."

Latimer.—"No; I was a papist, for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation."

Weston.—"Luther said that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good, so that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer.—"I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow."

Weston.—"Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer "Yea, sir."

Weston.—"Then you have no faith."

Latimer.—"Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham.—"It is written (John vi. 53), 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' Which when the Capernaites and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, 'This is a hard saying,' &c. Now that the truth may better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?"

Latimer.—"I answer (as St. Augustine understands) that Christ in that passage meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh meant Christ; his true flesh, or not?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporeally."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaites?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh also, but to be eaten with the mouth; not the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart."

Weston.—"You shall see what worshipful men you hang upon, one that has been of your mind, shall dispute with you. Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute."

Cartwright.—"Reverend father, because it is given me in command to dispute with you, I will do it gladly But first understand ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in, but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred, I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God that you may also repent with me."

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to tell what has caused you to recant? It is the pain of the law, which has brought you back, and converted you, and many more, which hinders many from confessing God And this is a great argument, there are few here can solve it."

Cartwright.—"That is not my case; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors, namely, that if the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time."

Latimer "The popish church has erred, and still errs I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating, but spiritually, for, before these five hundred years, the church ever confessed a spiritual eating. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation My lord of Canterbury's book handles that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had it."

Cartwright.—"Linus, and all the rest, confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and St. Augustine grants that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer.—"We worship Christ in the heavens, and we worship him in the sacrament, but the mass-worship is not to be used."

Cole.—"Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet you are not."

Latimer.—'I am of their faith when they say well, I refer myself to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith.—"Then you are not of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

Latimer.—"I have said, when they say well, and bring scripture for them, I am of their faith, and further St. Augustine requires not to be believed. Where have you authority given you to offer sacrifice?"

Weston "*Hoc facite*, do this; for *facite* in that place is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer you."

Latimer.—"Is *facere* nothing but *sacrificare* to sacrifice? Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only, for there no other may offer but priests."

Weston.—"Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer.—"Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"

Pye.—"Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer. "Then if this word *facite*, 'do ye,' signify *sacrificate* sacrifice, it follows, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice; and where find you that, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Forty years ago, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer.—"The more cause we have to thank God, that has now sent the light into the world."

Weston "The light nay light and wicked preachers; you altered and changed so often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer.—"These things pertain nothing to me, I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

Weston.—"Well, Master, this is our intention, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's Ark there is no health. Remember what they have been who were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the fagot. Remember what they have been who have set forth the same in this realm a sort of fling-brains and light heads, who were never constant in any one thing as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east, one that way, and another this way. They will be like, they say, to the apostles; they will have no churches A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence They get them a tankard, and one saith, 'I drink, and I am thankful,' 'the more joy of thee,' saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, 'We make, every year and every month, a faith' A renegade Scot took away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book, so much prevailed that one man's authority. Your stubbornness comes of vain glory, which is to no purpose, for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard And we see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn. The queen's grace is merciful, if you will turn."

Latimer. "You shall have no hope in me of turning. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston.—"Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth, he denies all truth, and all the old fathers."

And thus thou hast, reader, the whole action of this disputation against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord; wherein thou mayest behold the

disordered usage of the university men, the unmannerly custom of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full ground of all their arguments, the censures of the judges, the railing language of the prolocutor, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself.

Such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without all form and order, was in the schools during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons Concerning which misruled disputation, Ridley himself reports as follows —

The Report and Narration of Bishop Ridley, concerning the Disputation against him and his fellow-prisoners at Oxford.

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard anything done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation held with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men accounted to be men of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than grave divines in school, to dispute about religion. The clamours of the Sorbonne, which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned, might be worthily thought, in comparison with this thrasonical ostentation, to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they who should have been moderators and overseers of others, and who should have given good examples in words and gravity, themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out By reason whereof it manifestly appears that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea, rather God's cause and his church's—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world through false reports, given out concerning our disputation, and so the truth might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write my answers, that whosoever is desirous to know the truth may by this perceive as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered by me to them. However I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was tumultuously and confusedly objected on their parts, there being so many speaking at one time, and so fast, that one could not very well hear another, neither could all that was answered on my behalf to so many opponents be heard.

"A great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands, using the English tongue, to procure the people's favour All which, when I with great grief of heart beheld, protesting openly that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of such learning and gravity, and that they who were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities, I was so far off by this my humble complaint, from doing any good, that I was forced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken by a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

"At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in a few words, and that, after the manner and law of schools, before I could make an end of my first proof, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, 'He speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies!' And when on my knees I besought them that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, at which the prolocutor being moved, cried out, 'Let him read it, let him read it' Yet, when I began to read, there followed immediately such shouting, such noise, and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying 'Blasphemies, blasphemies' as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be that one which was, in the acts of the apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and other of his occupation, crying out against Paul, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!' And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said (according to Victor) that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations All were in a hurly-burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard

"The cries and the tumults against me so prevailed, that I was forced to leave off reading my proofs, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth of this, let him ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery, and, I am assured, he will say I fall far short of the facts in my statement. But I will cease to complain of these things further."

He concludes his report with these words: "And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters, who fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses and favour of the whole university."

The disputation of Master Latimer being ended on the 18th April, the commissioners sat on the 20th, in St Mary's church, and Doctor Weston used dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer unless directly and peremptorily, as his words were to say whether they would subscribe or not. He said to the archbishop of Canterbury that he was overcome in disputation. The archbishop answered, "That where Doctor Weston said, he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the truth; all that he thus said was false. For that he was not suffered to oppose as he wished, nor could he answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled like them. Four or five continually interrupted him, so that he could not speak." Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do. They replied, "That they would stand to what they had said." Then they were all called together, and the sentence read over them, declaring they were no more members of the church. And also that their favourers and patrons were condemned as heretics. In reading the sentence, they were asked, whether they would turn or not and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn So they were all three condemned.

After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn as follows, the archbishop first beginning thus —

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Doctor Ridley.

"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer

"I thank God most heartily, that he has prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this cause glorify God by that kind of death."

Doctor Weston's Answer unto Latimer.

"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am at present persuaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another. The archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house; Latimer to the bailiff's.

On the Saturday following, they had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Doctor Cranmer was forced to behold the procession out of Bocardo; Doctor Ridley out of the sheriff's house. Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he was going to be burnt, and spoke to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire But when he came to Carfox, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Doctor Weston carried the sacrament, and four Doctors carried the canopy over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, Doctor Ridley writes to the prolocutor as follows.—

Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

"Master prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom you appointed to write what should be said, that I should have leave to add to them, or to alter them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed best. You granted me also, at the delivery of my answer to your first proposition, a copy of the same. *These promises are not performed.* If your sudden departure be any part of the cause of this, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of a promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers, in writing, to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by God's grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answer in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, you said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of others of the commissioners: yea, and, I dare say, the audience also thought then that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now, that this was not done, but sentence so suddenly given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel," &c.

On Monday, the 23d of April, Doctor Weston, prolocutor, took his journey to London with the letters certificatory from the university to the Queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory to the council Which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half-way to London, he opened, and seeing the contents, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, &c.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council.

"In right humblewise shews unto your honourable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me to the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained to the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward VI., and what I spake against the same, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify to your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament. First, of the real presence Secondly, of transubstantiation and Thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me upon Tuesday, against doctor Ridley, and upon Wednesday, against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knew what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Doctor Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what he liked without order, and such haste was made, that no answer was suffered to be fully given to any argument, before another brought forward a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which could scantily be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me to do so, whereas I myself have more to say than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The right means to resolve the truth had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard. For in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdom. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily, unto God, for the long preservation of your lordships in all godliness and felicity." April 23.

Now let us return for a little to our history, as regards other things that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. As events in that time were so numerous, it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them. Therefore to insert things left out before, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553, at which time I showed before how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel and other lords and gentlemen who had been appointed for that purpose on the 25th July, being St. James' day. The duke was sent to the Tower, where he remained.

The earl of Warwick, his eldest son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, the earl of Huntington, lord Hastings, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge, were all sent to the Tower at the same time.

On the 26th, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbes were committed to the Tower.

On the 27th, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute, chief justice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On Friday the 28th, the duke of Suffolk, and sir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

On the 30th, the lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

On the 31st, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and the same day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

On Thursday the 3d of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldersgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Saturday the 5th the Lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and on the same day Doctor Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea; and at night Doctor Cocks was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Master Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Doctor Tonstall and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the 6th, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guisnes, who before had been sent to the French king, by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the despatch of his embassy to the French king,

returned to Guisnes, and was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the 7th, a dirge in Latin was sung within the Tower by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; the queen was present, and most part of the council.

On Tuesday the 8th, the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of *requiem* was sung within the Tower by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done. The queen was present.

On Thursday the Duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the Duchess of Somerset was also delivered.

On Sunday the 13th, doctor Bourne preached at St. Paul's Cross.

In the week following command was given throughout the city that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On Wednesday, being the 16th day of August, Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Vernon, were committed to the Tower: with whom also Master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Master Elsing's house in Fleet-street, where Master Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate with the messenger.

On Friday the 18th, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On the Saturday the 19th, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the marquis of Winchester being high judge.

The same day a letter was sent to sir Henry Tyrrell, Antony Brown, and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as shall contemn the queen's order of religion, or shall keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

On Sunday the 20th, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at St. Paul's Cross, at whose sermon was present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberds, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the 21st, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On which day also Queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c. Inhibiting in the proclamation, printing and preaching.

On Tuesday the 22d, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded on Tower-hill. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday the 27th, Doctor Chedsey preached at St. Paul's Cross, and on the same day the archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of St. Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners in the bishop's consistory within St. Paul's.

About this time it was noised abroad by rumours falsely and craftily devised, either to establish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury into discredit, that he, to curry favour with Queen Mary, had promised to say dirge mass after the old custom for King Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore to stop these slanders, Cranmer, on the 7th of September, set forth the following letter, which was printed.

A Purgation of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain Slanders falsely raised against him.

"As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime; and afterwards, our late sovereign lord, King Edward VI. took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church: the devil goeth about now by lying to overthrow the Lord's Supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince King Edward VI., and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at St. Paul's church, and elsewhere. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they are in nowise to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without my advice or counsel; *Reddat illi Dominus in die illo.* And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward VI., in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed, and which his apostles, and the primitive church used many years; whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward VI., to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And where they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past; and we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present time, in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past, and so shall they be never able to prove theirs."

On Thursday, the 7th of September, Lord Mountacute, chief justice, and the lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

On the 13th of September, the reverend father, master Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

On the 14th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

On the 26th of September, one Master Gray, of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him to say mass in Pembroke-hall, which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London on Thursday, being the 28th of September, and upon the Saturday following she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where were made many pageants to receive her, and so she was triumphantly brought to Whitehall, in Westminster.

On Sunday, the 1st day of October, the queen's highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely, these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmorland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferris, lord Cobham, lord Abergavenny, lord Wentworth, lord Scroop, lord Rich, lord Vaux, lord Howard, lord Conias, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby; with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the abbey, to receive her, there came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or nearly, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and several of her chaplains, who bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops all mitred, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon every one of them. And in this order they returned from Westminster-hall before the queen to the abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more.

On the Tuesday the vice-chancellor of Cambridge challenged one Mr. Pierson, because he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and received strangers of other parishes to the communion, and would not say mass. Upon which, within two days after, he was dismissed from farther administering in his cure.

On the Wednesday following the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On the Thursday, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were met in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made a solemn oration, and sergeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Westchester, were dismissed from the parliament and convocation.

Also on the 10th, the earl of Huntington was delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the 15th, Lawrence Saunders preached at Allhallows in Bread-street in the morning, where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly; whereof more shall be said when we come to his history. As he shewed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who says, "Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. x. 32.) But about noon of the same day he was sent for by the bishop of London, and then committed to the Marshalsea.

On the Sunday following, being the 22nd, Doctor Weston preached at St. Paul's Cross. In the beginning of his sermon he desired the people to pray for the souls departed. "You shall pray for all them that are departed, that are neither in heaven, nor in hell, but in another place, being not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He called the Lord's table, where we celebrate our communion, an oyster-board! He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the compilers of the catechism to Julian the Apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by Julian, in which Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. Master Coverdale, at the time, learnedly confuted this sermon by writing.

In the week following began the disputations in the convocation-house in St. Paul's church, of which sufficient has been before declared.

On the 26th, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Doctor Walker displaced Doctor Madew, and placed Master Swyborne in the mastership there, by the lord chancellor's letters, because he was (as they termed it) *uxoratus*, that is, "married."

On the 28th, the papists in King's college, Cambridge, had their whole service again in the Latin tongue, contrary to the law then in force.

On the 3d of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round parish in Cambridge, commanding him not to officiate any more in the English tongue, saying, he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass, which was established on the 12th of this month.

On the 28th of November the archdeacon's official visited Hinton, where he gave charge to present all such as disturbed the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying mass. It was easy to see how these fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side, who thus against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

On the 15th of December there were two proclamations at London: the one for the repealing of certain acts made by King Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, on the 20th of December then next following; the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 6th of December, 1553. In which parliament were repealed all the statutes of *præmunire*, passed in the time of King Henry VIII., &c. Also other laws and statutes concerning religion and the administration of sacraments, decreed under King Edward VI. In this parliament was appointed, that on the 20th of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, all the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of King Henry, should again be restored.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him, for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long sermon against the mass.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, &c. were chosen, more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these:—

Holyman, bishop of Bristol.
Coates, bishop of Westchester.
Hopton, bishop of Norwich.
Bourne, bishop of Bath.
White, bishop of Lincoln.
Mores, bishop of Rochester.
Morgan, bishop of St. David's.
Poole, bishop of St. Asaph.
Brookes, bishop of Gloucester.
Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter.
Glin, bishop of Bangor.
Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's.
Rainolds, dean of Bristol; with others.

On the 12th of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a general congregation, where, among other things, he shewed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of February following, for it was her birth-day.

On Saturday, the 13th, Doctor Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also on the Sunday following Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower, and information was also given in the court publicly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded. On the day following, being Monday, the mayor, with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court, and they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city to receive the king of Spain, declaring to them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince, the said king was.

On the Saturday following, being the 20th of January, the court of the first fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On Thursday the 25th, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him.

On Saturday the 27th, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and on the same day Mr. Rogers was committed to the Newgate. Upon the Saturday, and on the Sunday, and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers, (by the queen's command) to go into Kent against the commons: which soldiers, when they came to Rochester-bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them left their own captains and came over to the Kentish men, and so the captains returned to the court without men or victory, leaving behind them six pieces of ordnance and treasure.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk departed into Leicestershire. The earl of Huntington was sent to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the duke traitor by the way.

On Friday the 23d of February, 1554, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill; Doctor Weston accompanied him as his ghostly father, against the will of the duke. When the duke went up to the scaffold, Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke, with his hand, put him down again off the stairs: and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should do so. At this the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended the scaffold, and paused a while. And then said, "Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no trumpery ceremonials. He died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul." And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Dr. Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that the standers-by said, with good and audible voice, "Such forgiveness God send thee!" meaning Dr. Weston. Then the duke kneeled down and said the psalm, "O God be merciful unto me," &c. to the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit," &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf to the executioner.

Then the executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and send me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy upon thee." Then there stood up a man and said, "My lord, what shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas! good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a handkerchief about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c. to the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me,' and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and at the first chop struck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

On this same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. They were in number above two hundred.

In this week, all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them. This the bishop did of his own power.

On Tuesday, in the same week, being the 27th of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there. Their names were these, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret; with these Mr. Rudston also and others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As to Mr. Mantel the elder, here is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope broke. Then they wanted him to recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it), and then they said he should have the queen's pardon: but Mr. Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their insidious counsel, and chose rather to die than to live to the dishonouring of God. As he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession, to clear himself, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology.

The Apology of Master Mantel.

"Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a christian man, as near as I can (with the truth) to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's majesty to send me Doctor Bourne, to whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the Apostle's Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the *Te Deum*.

"Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to shew to any learned minister of Christ's church any thing that troubled my conscience, and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

"Touching the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, "This is my body."

"Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, to believe which is neither salvation nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the chatholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alleging this text, 'He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all.' 'Yea,' said I, 'this is true of the commandments of God.' To this I desired him to consider it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor did I intend to do so, and therefore to take these few words for a full answer, that I, not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believes. But upon this word 'church' we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian popish church.

"Then we fell into talk about the mass, wherein we agreed not for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a propitia-

tory sacrifice for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin (for the death of Christ only was the sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the same. 'Then,' I replied, 'if you think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out I could be content were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass.' 'See,' said he, 'how vain glory touches you.' 'Not so, sir,' replied I, 'I am not now, I thank God, in a case to be vain glorious.'

"Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. 'Yea, saith he, 'one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a communion.' 'This agrees scarcely with these words of St. Paul,' said I, 'Ye come together not for the better, but for the worse.' 'Yea, and it is a communion too,' said he, 'when they come together. Now draws on the time' continued he) 'that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced.' Then I said, 'I pray you report the best for I trust you find me not obstinate.' 'What shall I say? are you content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the mass?' 'I beseech you,' said I, 'signify unto her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort.' Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

"On the next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon *De Mortalitate*. He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he wished me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Doctor Weston and Doctor Mallet then came to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Doctor Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, 'Panis iste non effigie, sed natura mutatus,' &c I asked of him how *natura* was taken in the convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

"To be short, Dr. Bourne came often to me, and I always said to him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of religion but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, believes: and in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine write, and believed; and this answer and none other had they from me in effect; what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

"One time he wished me to be confessed. I said, 'I am content.' We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without the 'Benedicite,' desiring him not to look at my hand for any superstitious enumeration of my sins. Then he was called away to the council. Thus much I bear only for my life, as God knows. If in this I have offended any christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust Christ hath forgiven me, who knows that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his Heavenly Father.

"Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the substance of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted to, to the utmost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long and too foolish so to do. Now I beseech the living God, who hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass, that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine, I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome—that antichrist, and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known he will try and prove who are his. Amend your lives Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him, for ye shall find them again. May God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the impending plagues from the same May God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen Pray, pray, pray, ye christians, and comfort yourselves with the scriptures.

"Written the 2d of March, A D. 1554, by me, Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world hath forgiven his offences. Amen."

In London, on the 17th of March every householder was commanded to appear before the aldermen of their ward, and were enjoined that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to go to confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and that neither they, nor any of them should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

On the 18th, being Sunday, the lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On the 25th day (being Easter-day), in the morning, at St Pancras, in Cheapside. the crucifix, with the pix, were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection. so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, "He hath risen, he is not here," he found his words true, for he was not there indeed! Being dismayed, they consulted among themselves whom they thought to be likehest to have done this thing. They remembered one Marsh, who a little before had been put from his parsonage because he was married, and to his charge they laid that But when they could not prove it, they charged him with having kept company with his wife since they were divorced. He answered, "That he thought the queen had done him wrong to take from him both his living and his life" These words were taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to prison.

On the 8th of April there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheapside. apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them. The queen and the bishops were very angry; and therefore, in the same afternoon, there was a proclamation issued, that whoever could bring forth the party that hanged up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks, but none could or would earn it.

As to the first setting up of this gallows in Cheapside, we may observe, that after the sermon of the bishop of Winchester before the queen, for the execution of Wyat s soldiers, immediately on the 13th of February, there were set up a great number of gallows in different places of the city, namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leaden-hall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's Park Corner, one at Cripplegate all which gibbets and gallows, to the number of twenty, remained there from the 13th of February till the 4th of June, and then at the coming in of King Philip were taken down.

On the 11th of April Sir Thomas Wyat was beheaded and quartered at the Tower-hill, where he uttered these words touching the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew anything of my rising." And when Doctor Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise bef re the council, he answered, "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true."

Concerning the condemnation of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, which took place on the 20th of April, we have already said enough.

On Friday the 27th of April, Lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

In the month of May it was given out that a solemn disputation should be held at Cambridge between Bradford, Sanders, Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both the universities on the other side, as had been in Oxford before. Upon this the godly preachers who were in prison having word of it, although they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced, also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford; nevertheless they resolved not to refuse the offer of disputation, provided they might be quietly heard, and therefore wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, on the 8th of May. First, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, as all things were determined beforehand, yet they would not deny to dispute, provided the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before either houses of parliament, or else that they might dispute by writing: for if the matter were brought to the doctors, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, that little good would be done at Cambridge; and so declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion and exhorting the people to submit themselves with all patience and humility to the higher powers, they appealed from them as their judges.

A Copy of a Declaration drawn up and sent out of Prison by Bradford, Sanders, and other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation, and the Doctrine of their Religion.

"Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as are in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where we are at present, and some of us have been for a long time, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's highness, or of any of the council's (God's name be praised therefore), but only for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge: because, we say, we hear that it is determined, that we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed: as we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses; and therefore perchance it will be rumoured abroad, that we are not able to maintain, by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth, by which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened, we have thought it our bounden duty now, whilst we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is above said, to prevent the offence which might come thereby

"1. Because it is evidently known to the whole world, that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward and further it is known they are our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

"2. Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the truth, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us (as charity requires) then they would have called us forth before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the truth, they would not have concluded controversies before they had been disputed; so that it easily appears, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the truth and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the truth.

"3. Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and what is worse, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they are such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the convocation house in October last, most evidently prove

"4. Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do wrong, thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they chose, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories have not that which we have read, so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth what we may have there for our advantage.

"5. Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak, one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Doctor Ridley, at Oxford, who was not permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always preventing him from prosecuting his argument, and answering accordingly we will not speak of the hissing scoffing and taunting, which notoriously then was used. If in this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them

"6. Because the notaries that shall receive and write the disputations will be of their appointment and such as either do not, or dare not, favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves the censors and judges we mean, at their pleasure will put to, and take from that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have by their good will. For the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

"For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them; as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed you may be sure) for their fantasies to the slandering of the truth.

"Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify to the whole congregation and church of England, that for these causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen, unless it be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament. If they will write we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible truth, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, collectively, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it: and to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace to give our lives to the halter or fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's highness and the superior powers, which

are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed, we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary, into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever, Amen.

"1. We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

"2. We confess and believe that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore she is to be heard accordingly, so that those who will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, 'If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen.'

"3. We believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A.D. 325, of Constantinople, A D 381, of Ephesus kept A.D 431; of Chalcedon, kept A D. 451, of Toledo, first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damascenus, who died about the year 760, we confess and believe we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly, so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

"4. We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it comes only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had by none, who are of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, whereby as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is inclined to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so shews forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endues us withal, justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience's sake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's righteousness imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession and satisfaction towards God.

"5. We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and therefore in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify, and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

"6. We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

"7. We confess and believe, that as a man departs this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the meantime is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm purgatory, masses of the ladder of heaven, trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church obtrudes as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

"8. We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which are baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them; and that they are no longer sacraments, than they are had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

"And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian; and so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they are called, also the adoration of the sacrament with honour due to God, the reservation and carrying about of the same; also the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead, or a work that pleases God.

"All these we believe and confess to be antichrist's doctrine, as is the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the truth of God s word, and consent of the catholic church, which follows and has followed the government of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

"And this through the Lord's help we will do, in disputation by word before the queen's highness and her council, either before the parliament houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whenever we shall be by them that have authority, required and commanded.

"In the meantime, as obedient subjects, we shall humble ourselves towards all that are in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's highness: but where they cannot obey, without disobeying God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer, as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatever they shall adjudge us to, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess, unless we shall be justly convinced of it, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's highness and her council, or the parliament houses shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our cause already by the greater, but now by the better part, without any disputation of the same; and therefore we most justly may and do appeal from them as our judges in this behalf except it may be in writing, that the matter may appear to all men. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.

"The 8th day of May, A.D. 1554.

Robert Menaven, alias	John Wigorne.
Robert Ferrar.	Edward Crome.
Rowland Taylor.	John Rogers.
John Philpot.	Lawrence Sanders.
John Bradford.	Edmund Lawrence.
Glouc. Episcopus, alias	J P.
John Hooper	T. M.

"To these things above said, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners, signed with mine own hand."

On the 19th day of May, the lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams, of Tame, of whom her highness was gently and courteously treated: she afterwards was taken to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Bemfield, knight, of Oxborough, in Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate and his own duty, shewed himself more hard and strict to her, than right.

On the Friday following, being the 20th of July, and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good way.

Then met him, a little without the town, the mayor of Southampton, with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town to the prince, who removed his sword, (naked as it was) out of his right into his left

hand, and received the keys of the mayor without speaking any word, or appearance of thankfulness, and after a while, delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town gate, the earl of Arundel and the lord Williams met him, and so he was brought to his lodging.

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the 25th of July, Philip, prince of Spain, and Mary, queen of England, were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noble men of both the realms. At the time of this marriage the emperor's ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon, on the first day of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the stile of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following should be used:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol."

After the marriage, they removed from Winchester to other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor Castle, where he was installed in the order of the garter, on Sunday, the 12th of August. At which time an herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded by certain lords to set them up again. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed into Southwark park, and so to Southwark house, called Suffolk place, where they lay that night, August 17th.

The next day, being Saturday, the 18th of August, the king and queen's majesties rode from Suffolk place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall, and at London bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, there was a great spectacle set up, two images, presenting two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for their vain ostentation of flattery I pass over.

And as they rode over the bridge, there was a number of ordnance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report the like had not been heard or seen for a hundred years past.

From London Bridge they passed the Conduit in Gracechurch-street, which was finely painted, with among other things, the nine Worthies, whereof King Henry the Eighth was one. He was painted in armour, having in one hand a sword, and in the other a book, upon which was written *Verbum Dei*, i. e *The word of God*, delivering the book to his son King Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But upon this there was no small contention raised: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave for painting a book in King Henry's hand, and especially for writing on it *Verbum Dei*, but also rank traitor and villain, saying to him that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand (who was also painted there), for she had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere word of God.

The painter answered and said, that if he had known that was the matter for which his lordship had sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's majesty's will and command that he should send for him: and so commanding him to wipe out the book and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book, or of *Verbum Dei* in King Henry's hand; he wiped away a piece of his fingers with it!

I pass over other pageants and pastimes, displayed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin, in which were blazoned out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world Philip of Macedon, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip of Spain and king of England.

In another poesy, King Philip was represented by an image of Orpheus, and all English people likened to brute and savage beasts following Orpheus' harp, and dancing after King Philip's pipe!

But one thing I cannot pass over touching the young flourishing shrine, newly set up at this time to welcome King Philip into St Paul's church.

Bonner was there in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in St. Paul's choir, the shrine laid along upon the pavements, and also the doors of St. Paul's being shut, the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by it: that being done, they anointed it with oil in several places, and after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that they took it, and set it in its old accustomed place, and all the while the whole choir sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great feat they had done.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into St. Paul's and spied the shrine with Mary and John newly set up; among a great assemblage of people, he made a low courtesy to it, and said, "Sir, your mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that ye are here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye are but a summer's bird, as ye be dressed in white and green."

The prince being in the church of St Paul's, after Doctor Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet-street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days, and from thence removed to Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their counties, with commandment to bring all their arms and artillery into the Tower of London. There remained no English lord at the court, but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the hall door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his errand was first known, which seemed strange to Englishmen, that had not been used thereto.

About the eighth day of September, Bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to enquire (according to their oath) and to present before him, the day after St. Matthew's day, being the twenty-third of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven.

On the seventeenth of September, there was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and strictly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingman what-ever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his master, upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended

Upon *Corpus Christi* day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came a simple man, named John Street, who having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, went under the canopy by the priest. The poor man, being forthwith apprehended, was had to prison, the priest accusing him to the council, as if he had come to slay him. Then he was taken to Newgate, where he was cast into a dungeon, chained to a post, cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt with, that being but simple before, he was now frightened out of his wits altogether, and so was taken to Bedlam.

The bishop passing through the county of Essex, on his visitation, and being attended with divers worship-

ful of the shire (for so they were commanded) arrived at Stertford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days, solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting, with his attendants, at the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece, and fair she was indeed); he took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals (wherein she excelled), insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his side) she arose and played three several times at his request, for his good and spiritual devotion towards her. He next proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham, his own house and parish, not more than two miles from Stertford, the bells being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near to Hadham, when he heard no stirring in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler, and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus he rode on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What means," saith he, "that knave the clerk, that he rings not? and the parson that he meets me not?" with sundry other furious words There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, because as they pretended) he had anticipated his time by two hours, upon this he grew from choler to melancholy, so that no man would willingly deal with him to qualify his humour At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanging up, nor shrine-loft decked after the popish precept (which had commanded about the same time a well favoured shrine, and of tall stature, to be set up universally in all churches) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness, swearing and raging with an oath or two, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said, calling the parson (whose name was Doctor Bricket, "Knave, and heretic" Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying, He was sorry his lordship was come before he and his parish looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly · and as for those things which were wanted, he trusted in a short time he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house where dinner was prepared) he would satisfy him in those things which his lordship thought amiss. Yet this reasonable answer could not satisfy nor assuage his passion. For the prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, "Before God, thou art a knave; avaunt, heretic!" and then thrusting or striking at him, his hand gave Sir Thomas Josselin, knight, (who stood next the bishop) a good blow full upon the ear: who was somewhat astonished, "What means your lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers' school, to strike him that stands next you?"

Then Master Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "O Master Josselin, you must bear with my lord, for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor boots it any man to give him counsel until his heat be past, and then assure yourself, Master Josselin, my lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." He merily replied and said, "So it seems, Master Fecknam, now that he is come forth out of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled, because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently betook him to his horse again, although he had purposed to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house, but leaving his dinner he rode that night with a small company to Ware, where he was not looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so anticipated his day.

At this hasty posting away of this bishop his whole train of attendants left him Also his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, tarried behind, and dined at Doctor Bricket's, as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chaffingly.

A Story of a Shrine set up in Lancashire.

We have mentioned the precept which commanded in every parish a shrine or image to be erected, both well-favoured and of a tall stature. This brings to mind what happened in a town in Lancashire called Cockerham, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having a like charge for the erecting of an image in their parish church, had made their bargain and agreed upon a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their shrine; who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church This done, he demanded his money; but they, disliking his workmanship, refused to pay him; whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel, which was rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a shrine and image, ready carved and set up in their church, which he according to his promise had done, and now demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true," quoth the mayor to the wardens? "Yea, sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due" said he. "And if it please you, master mayor," said they, "because the one we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promised to make us such another but this that he has set us up now is the worst-favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse; "My masters," said he, "however it may please you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less, and it is a pity that he should have any hindrance or loss thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you shall do, pay him the money you promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more to do, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well, the poor man had his money, and many laughed well at it, but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor above-mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of March the martyr, whose history follows hereafter, with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster castle, for the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned, &c.

About this time there came a precept or mandate from Bonner bishop of London, to all bishops and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such scriptures and writings as had been painted on church walls in king Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express, that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of christian people; by which it might appear, by this blotting out of scripture, not only how blasphemously they spoke against the holy scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought by all manner of means to keep the people still in ignorance.

A Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church Walls

"Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London, to all and every the parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being, sendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manners and orders of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same, placing in the room thereof such things as in such a place it behoved them not to do, and also have procured as a stay to their heresies, as they thought, certain scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church walls, all which persons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of the priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holydays, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way to virtue. Wherefore we being moved with a christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be long suffered, do for the discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straightly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever within our foresaid diocese of London, wheresoever any such scriptures or paintings have been attempted, that they abolish and extinguish such manner of scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen, and therein to proceed moreover as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss or negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall see the aforesaid scriptures to be razed, abolished and extinguished forthwith citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners (whom we also for the same do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners being slack and negligent, culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished for their such negligence, slackness, and fault, to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, or our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, who hath taken upon him to execute this mandate. In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.—Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the 25th day of the month of October, A.D. 1554. and of our translation the 16th."

In the university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing in of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many wise and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-twenty others, who neither in virtue nor in religion seemed equal to their predecessors.

About the fifth of October, and within a fortnight following, several householders, and servants and apprentices were apprehended, and committed to prison, for having and selling certain books sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries: within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter.

On Sunday the fourth of November, five priests did penance at St. Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives. Every one of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did strike them.

On Friday the ninth of November, Barlow late bishop of Bath, and Master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star Chamber, and were committed to the Fleet.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover upon the 21st of Nov., on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous that act made against him in Henry VIII 's time; and on the next day, the king and the queen came both to the parliament-house to give their royal assent, and to establish this act.

On Saturday the 24th of Nov., the cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth-house

On the Wednesday following, there was a general procession in St. Paul's for joy that the queen was likely to become a mother, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of St. Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here follows:

Copy of a Letter from the Council to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary's pregnancy.

"After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort, as she is conceived and quick of child, whereby (her majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which for want of such succession might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him as we are most bounden. These are not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourselves do give God thanks with us for this especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God so to extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued, and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not you would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare.

"From Westminster the 27th of November, 1554."

Consequent upon this, there were certain prayers commanded to be publicly offered up for the safe delivery of the queen, and for the child to be a male, comely and well-favoured—so general was the expectation of a child.

The same day cardinal Pole came to the parliament-house, which was then kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: where the king and the queen's majesty, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, began in this manner.

"My lords of the upper house, and you, my masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which embassage their majesties' pleasure is to be signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankfulwise as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear unto him."

When the lord chancellor had ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. Setting forth how he possessed power from the pope to absolve them all of their sins.

The next day the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and queen's majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially here by our most holy father pope Julius III. and the see apostolic of Rome, do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by his providence hath made subject unto your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we have fallen in, and that we may as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory, Amen."

The supplication having been read, the king and queen delivered it to the cardinal, who received it most gladly from their majesties; and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, then gave them this absolution.

An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament of England, in the Presence of the King and Queen.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, with his most precious blood has redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase to himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you. And we, by apostolic authority given unto us (by the most holy lord Pope Julius the third, his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there singing *Te Deum*, with great solemnity, declared the joy and gladness that was pretended for this reconciliation.

The report of this was, with great speed, sent unto Rome, as well by the king's and the cardinal's letters, as otherwise. Whereupon the pope caused processions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God with great joy for the conversion of England to his church; and praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen, on Christmas eve, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

About this time a messenger was sent from the parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of the abbey-lands and chantry-lands, for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in favour of the pope till their purchases of those lands were fully confirmed.

On Thursday the 6th of December, the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church by the cardinal, they departed.

On new-year's day, A.D. 1555, in the evening, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named Master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-churchyard at the communion, and all committed to prison.

As to the taking of this Master Rose and his fellows, word was brought to Master Hooper, then in the Fleet. Upon which Master Hooper sent a letter of consolation to the prisoners.

A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper to the Godly Brethren taken in Bow-Church-yard in Prayer.

"The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical than ever was the sword of the heathens and gentiles.

"When I heard of your arrest, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians in the primitive church were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about 77 years after Christ's ascension into heaven: and how the Christians were persecuted very sorely as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition. Whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of Christian men's trouble. A very learned man named Pliny wrote

unto him, and said: 'It was because the Christians said certain psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God.' When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments everywhere, that no man should be persecuted for serving God. But the pope and his church have cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of christian men that is, to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. O, glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied! Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake. For if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

"Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, who hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish. Now ye are in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this forward station and pre-eminence, as a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly, ye stand for the true Christ (who is after the flesh in heaven), and for this true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much are ye bound to God who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause!

"Remember what lookers-on you have to see and behold you in your fight,—God and all his angels, who are ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be slain in his fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire to follow such noble and valiant christians as you are. Be not afraid of your adversaries: for he that is in you is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it be pain to you; your pains are not now so great as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable chapters to the Romans viii 10, 15, Hebrews xi. 12, and upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer anything for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do now we are called; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

"Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you are nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word: but for lack of that, they would violently compel us as they cannot by holy scripture persuade, because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings, are contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me, and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ, I trust, for ever joining in the spirit, and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen. The 14th of January, 1555."

On the Tuesday following, the 22nd of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and others; after being asked whether they would recant and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to what they had taught; they all answered, that they would stand to what they had taught, and were committed to closer prison than before, with charge that none should be allowed to speak with them.

On the 25th there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Romish church. To set out their glorious pomp, there were ninety crosses, a hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also eight bishops, and last of all came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix, containing the host, under a canopy.

Besides, there were also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery, the king also, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's Church on the same day. After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night.

On the Monday following, being the 28th of January, the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison, and according to this commission on the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, called before them these three, Master Hooper, Master Rogers, and Master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; after some communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker submitted himself to them.

On the 29th, Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, when sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon Hooper and Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge, who drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

On the 30th, Taylor, Crome, Bradford, Sanders, and Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were brought before the bishops, and Taylor, Sanders, and Bradford were likewise excommunicated, and sentence pronounced upon them, and so committed to the sheriffs. Crome desired two months' respite, and it was granted him; and Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men shewed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were but what avails either learning, reason, or truth itself, where will bears rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers, commissioners and inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the realm by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true christians (especially out of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and afterwards most of them either consumed cruelly by fire, or else died in the prisons, and were buried on the dung-hills abroad in the fields, or in the prison.

We will, in another book, relate the tragical proceedings against the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ, in the bloody persecution of this time. We shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the preachers lying in prison, to the king and queen during the time of the parliament.

To the king and queen's most excellent majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament:—

"In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate, and obedient subjects, H. F., T. B. P. R. S, &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God, and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward VI., did in all things shew themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher power, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then allow Your said subjects, nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are, in a very extreme manner, not only cast into prison (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months) but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books are taken from them, and they are slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges, belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure; whereas your said subjects, being strictly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

"In consideration whereof, it may please your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth, or writing in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided, that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

"Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful christians, and neither heretics nor teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ; yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharoah, Zedechias, and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Barjesu to the proconsul, Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward VI., is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian faith, your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesties to appoint.

"Wherefore for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of judgment) your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity, both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure."

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK XI.

COMPRISING

THE HISTORY OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM AND PERSECUTIONS IN THE TIME OF QUEEN MARY.

The History, Life, and Martyrdom of John Rogers.

On the fourth day of February the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, suffered death; concerning whose life, examinations, and sufferings, we give the following account:—

John Rogers was brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he was profitably exercised in learning, and at length was chosen, by the merchants adventurers, to be their chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant. He happened there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, who, both for the hatred they bore to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them on the scriptures, he came to a great knowledge in the gospel of God, so that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue. He, knowing by the scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, not only greatly increased in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until it pleased God, by the faithful labours of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward the VI., utterly to banish all popery out of England, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then having a conscience and a ready will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, came to England to preach the gospel. After he had for a time diligently and faithfully laboured, Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lesson there. He diligently exercised himself there until such time as Queen Mary obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with its idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he being called there, made a godly and vehement sermon at St. Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in it, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer, and yet in such sort demeaned himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as a prisoner to keep his own house, and he did so, although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands. He saw the recovery of religion in England, for the present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children. But all these things were set aside after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stood in defence of the same, and for that truth was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as a prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers: during which time, what communication he had with the adversaries of Christ is not known, nor yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he has himself left in writing.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council on the 22d of January, A.D. 1555.

First, the Lord Chancellor Gardiner said to me thus: "Sir, you have heard the state of the realm, in which it stands now."

Rogers.—"No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there has been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing upon which any special thing might be grounded."

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"Then," said the lord chancellor, mockingly, "general things! general things! You have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament has received his blessing, not one resisting it, but one man who did speak against it. Such an unity and such a miracle has not been seen: and all they, of whom there are eightscore in one house, (said one that was by, whose name I know not,) have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be the head of the catholic church. How say you? Are you content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will you do that?"

Rogers.—"The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from."

Ld. Chan.—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that way in which we stand now in England, having received the pope as supreme head."

Rogers.—"I know no other head but Christ, of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop has by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

Ld. Chan.—"Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry VIII to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

Rogers.—"I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, such as the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God."

Ld. Chan.—"Yea, if thou hadst said so in the days of Tonstal, bishop of Durham," (and they nodded the head at me with a laugh) "thou hadst not been alive now."

Which thing I denied, and would have told him how he was said and meant to be the supreme head: But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lies also no great weight upon it; for all the world knows what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience in having Christ as supreme head, and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered, that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have more plainly declared the vanity of his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers.—"My lord, I cannot believe, that you yourselves think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c., seeing you and all the bishops of the realm have now for twenty years preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament has so long ago condescended to it." And there he interrupted me thus.

Ld. Chan.—"Tush! Parliament was with great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers.—"With cruelty? Why, then, I perceive that you take a wrong way when you try to persuade men's consciences with cruelty. For it would appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used has not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

Ld. Chan.—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven to it, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received."

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly what my lord chancellor meant. I answered: "My lord, what, then, will you conclude that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few yielded to it? And this last parliament of great authority, because more have yielded to it? It goes not, my lord, by the greater or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part." And I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me, desiring me once again to answer him. "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, who must come in after thee." And so there were indeed ten persons more from Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, who submitted to them, and nine refused: they all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his church, except that one of the nine was not asked the question, otherwise than, "Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him," and he answering, "Yea," he was discharged. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true, and let any man that chooses confer with me by writing."

Ld. Chan.—"Nay that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much offered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now yield and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice. If thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice administered to thee."

Rogers.—"I never offended, nor was disobedient to her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if it shall be denied me to argue by writing, and to search out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. You yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will you now without confidence have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

Ld. Chan.—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayst be sure of that. And as touching conference and examination, I am forbidden by the scriptures to use any conference and examination with thee. For St Paul teaches me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two admonitions, knowing that such a one is perverted and faulty, as he is condemned by his own judgment."

Rogers.—"My lord, I deny that I am a heretic; prove you that first, and then allege the text."

Ld. Chan.—"If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c., tell us so, or else thou shalt never have so much offered thee again as thou hast now."

Rogers.—"I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried by that, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester.—"Why? Do you not know what is in your creed, 'I believe in the holy catholic church?'"

Rogers.—"I find not the bishop of Rome there. For *catholic* signifies not *Romish* church: it signifies the consent of all true teaching churches of all times and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, who teaches so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that does so? that is not possible."

Ld. Chan.—"Shew me one,—let me hear one."

Rogers.—"Among so many I can easily shew you one."

Ld. Chan.—"Let me hear that, let me hear that."

Rogers.—"The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, and all that they do in their congregations in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the fourteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians, which says, 'For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God. for no man understandeth him,' &c."

Ld. Chan.—"I deny that, I deny that that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?"

Rogers.—"To speak in a strange tongue, as in Latin or Greek, &c., is not to speak to men but to God; and as you speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, therefore you speak not to men but to God."

Ld. Chan.—"Well, then, it is in vain to men."

Rogers.—"No, not in vain. For one man speaks in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Ld. Chan.—"Nay, I will prove, then, that he speaks neither to God nor to man, but to the wind."

I was willing to have declared how these two texts agreed, (for they must agree, both being the sayings of the Holy Ghost,) as, to speak not to men, but to God, and to speak to the wind and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter, but here arose a noise and confusion.

Ld. Chan.—"To speak unto God, and not unto God, is impossible."

Rogers.—"I will prove them possible."

"No," said my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor; "now I will bear you witness that he is out of the way: for he granted first, that they who speak in a strange tongue speak unto God, and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

Rogers.—"I have not granted nor said," turning me to my lord Howard, "as you report. I have alleged one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

Ld Howard.—"I understand thus much, that that is not possible."

"This is a point of sophistry," said Secretary Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, who had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester.—"Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers.—"Yea," (but I could not be heard for the noise) "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin." And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand but perceiving their talk and noise to be too great, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the meanwhile to talk one of them one thing, and another another Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, nor yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts agree, and prove my purpose well enough.

Ld. Chan.—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

Rogers.—"No, the scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose."

Worcester.—"All heretics have alleged the scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rogers.—"Yea, all heretics have alleged the scriptures for them but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by no other expositor"

Worcester, "But they would not confess that they were overcome by the scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rogers.—"I believe that: and yet they were overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the scriptures.' And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor remanded me to prison again; and "Away, away," said he, "we have more to talk with: if you will not be reformed," (so he termed it,) "away, away!" Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this cause when it comes to the purpose, I know that well." To this I replied, "Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, that I shall."

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure, and set it out with fine words, saying, "That she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy," &c.

I said I would not refuse her mercy, and that I had never offended her in all my life: and that I now besought her grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spoke at once. "No," cried they; and especially Secretary Bourne; "A married priest! and yet have not offended the law!"

I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet the law of the realm for that I married when it was lawful.

Divers at once cried, "Where was that?" thinking that it was unlawful in all places.

Rogers.—"In Holland and if you had not in England made a public law that priests might have wives, I never would have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me which you might be sure I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it."

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon. I should find a sad coming of it; and some said one thing, and some another. One said that there never was a catholic man or country that allowed a priest to have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man." This I said as I was going out of the chamber, along with the sergeant who brought me there.

The bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that he did not know where that church was or is.

I said, "Yes, I could tell where it was,"—but the sergeant took me out at the door.

This was the purport of all that was spoken to me, and all that I answered.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the objections, as also a full proof of what I had taken in hand but I was informed that I should tomorrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true children of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation may now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and the only true head of the church, who worketh all in us all, which is the very property of a head, (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do,) and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight, (if he will not otherwise deliver us,) till we are most cruelly slain by his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray: and also if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation on the true and sure inheritance of all crossed christians. Amen, amen.

"The 27th day of January at night."

The Second Confession of John Rogers.

First I was asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church along with the bishops and the whole realm, as was now converted to the catholic church of Rome, and confirmed by parliament, and so receive the mercy before proferred to me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors, &c., I answered, that pre-

viously I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that it was the mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which he spake of, was indeed a fall into error and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the scriptures and the authority of the fathers, who lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered that that should not — might not — nor ought to be granted to me for I was but a private man, and should not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. "When a parliament," said he, "has concluded a thing, should any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that cannot be."

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men could not rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged by it, and obey it: and that neither my conscience, nor any christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagree from that word and so I was willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long speech to very little purpose concerning mine answer;—that there was nothing in me for which I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain glory I granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but declared that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word, neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but that all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered. I denied that I was a proud man, or yet vain glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancy, and vain glory was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God knows.

Then he said, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm as of the church of antichrist, and burdened me highly with this. I answered, That the queen's majesty (God save her grace!) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, I neither could, nor would ever believe it.

Then Doctor Aldrife, the bishop of Carlisle, said that the bishops would bear him witness. "Yea," said I, "that I believe well," and the people laughed: for that day there were many; but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants. Then master comptroller and secretary Bourne would have stood up also to bear witness, and did so.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they would be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

Then after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of whom there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few), whether I believed that in the sacrament there was the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. "Notwithstanding, as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence of it only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand "*really* and *substantially*," to signify otherwise than corporeally: but corporeally, Christ is only in heaven, and so Christ cannot be corporeally also in your sacrament." And here I upbraided his want of charity after this manner: "My lord," said I, "you have dealt with me most cruelly for you have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you. God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now I have been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to support, and I never had a penny out of my livings; all which was against the law."

He answered, that Ridley, who had given them to me, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

"Was the king then an usurper," asked I, "who gave Ridley the bishopric?"

"Yea," replied he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. "But yet I do misuse my terms," said he, "to call the king an usurper." But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in his heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him why he put me in prison? He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered, that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and would set my life on it. "I preached," said I, "a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower, but there was nothing said against the queen, I take all the audience to witness, which was not few in number." I alleged also that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after," said he, "against the commandment of the council."

"That I did not," replied I; "let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now, against the law of God and man, wronged me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that you have got a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my head, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity all the world understands."

I would have added, if I had been suffered to speak, that it was time enough to take away men's livings, and to imprison them, after they had offended the laws, and that they were good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose was to keep men in prison, until they made laws to catch them, and so to kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a craftily devised law was cast into the lion's den. I would have declared, that I had most humbly desired to be set at liberty, and had sent my wife to him with a supplication, when she was great with child, and with her, eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas, while I was yet in my own house.

I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him, and also Master Gosnold, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he has and does seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January, in the afternoon, after Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we are smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. The Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen! Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, Son of David and of God: Amen! Amen! let every true christian say and pray.

Then it being, as I guessed, about four o'clock, the lord chancellor said that he and the church must yet use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true christians well understand, to wit, the same that the fox has for the chickens, and the wolf for the lamb), and gave me respite till the next day, to see whether I would remember myself well, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calls his antichristian

church), and repent, and they would then receive me to mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into *his* church would I, by God's grace, never come.

"Well," said he, "then our church is false and antichristian."

"Yea," replied I.

"And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?"

"False," said I, and cast my hands abroad.

Then one said, that I was a player. To whom I answered not.

"Come again," said the lord chancellor, "to-morrow, between nine and ten."

"I am ready to come again, whenever you call," replied I.

And thus I was brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much difficulty to pass in the streets.

Thus much was done on the 28th day of January.

On the third day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, where we were the day before. And when Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then they sent for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:—

"Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee then a night to remember thyself, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy."

"My lord," said I, "I have considered right well, what you yesterday said to me, and I desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereto, and that done, I shall answer to your demanded questions.

"When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the scriptures and the authority of the first, best, and purest church to defend my doctrine by writing," (meaning not only about the primacy, but also about all the doctrine that I had ever preached) "you answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted to me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence might not be found faulty and valueless, by me being but a private person. And yet my lord," continued I, "I am able to shew examples, that one man has come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some man coming in afterwards, has by the word of God declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples," said I, "I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean to the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him: but said that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

"I could shew, also," said I, "the authority of a learned lawyer Panormitan, who saith, that to a simple layman that brings the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things I will prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, although every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereto, which I doubt not a little of, especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, to which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For," said I, "if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing" (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head, but I could not, being interrupted by one, whom God forgive) "then will ye," (pointing to my lord chancellor,) "and ye, and ye, and so ye all," (pointing to the rest of the bishops) "say, Amen."

Here my lord chancellor would not suffer me to speak more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying, "that I was sent for to be instructed by them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor."

"My lord," cried I, "I stand, and sit not. Shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?"

"Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?" said he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my argument, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my vindication again, no not one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, with taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

Lord Chancellor.—"See what a spirit this fellow hath," said he, "finding fault at my accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking."

Rogers—"I have a true spirit," replied I, "agreeing and obeying the word of God," and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my Master, Christ's matters; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards the excommunication and condemnation, after I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance of them by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the church of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, now in England, are the chief members.) "Of *laws* I mean," said I, "and not all *men* and *women* who are in the pope's church." Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament (whereof which he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom, than for true reverence of Christ's institution,—more for his own and his popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake) I told him after what order I did speak of it, (for the manner of his speaking did not apply to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the 28th of January,) wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he chose, for the most of them were his own servants on that day, the 29th of January I mean. At last I said, "I will never deny what I said that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it."

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein only two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

The Sentence condemnatory against John Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Rogers priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered

the merits of the cause, all things observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these That the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist: also, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. Which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain, and hold, affirm and declare the same We therefore Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent, as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity, and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same, and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live; we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and by all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: we, therefore, Stephen the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou who art wicked should now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicated, and we do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, for yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith,) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid."

After this sentence had been read, he sent us (Master Hooper I mean, and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night and when it was dark, they carried us, Master Hooper going before with one sheriff, and I following with the other, with bills and weapons, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's church-yard, into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate through the city But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and that it was a dangerous matter to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that did so, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well, my lord," said I, "here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, I take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine, and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, you need not to excommunicate me from it I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there for. But now you have done what you can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing."

"What is that?" asked he.

"That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and I would somewhat counsel her, what were best for her to do."

"No," said he, "she is not thy wife."

"Yes, my lord," rejoined I, "and has been these eighteen years."

"Should I grant her to be thy wife?" asked he.

"Choose you," said I, "whether you will or not, she shall be so nevertheless."

"She shall not come at thee," said he

"Then I have tried out all your charity," said I. "You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open concubinage, as in Wales, where every priest has his concubine openly dwelling with him, even as your holy father suffers all the priests in Holland and in France to do the like." To this he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him for the last time.

After John Rogers had been long imprisoned, lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by wicked Winchester, on the fourth of February, in the year 1555, being Monday, in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself for the fire: being then sound asleep, he could scarcely be awaked. At length being awaked, and bid to make haste, "then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points," and so was taken first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be, "Nothing," said he, "but that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning." But that could not be obtained of him! Now when the time came, that he, having been delivered to the sheriffs, was brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, Master Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, calling Master Rogers to him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," said Master Woodroofe, "thou art an heretic." "That shall be known," replied Rogers, "at the day of judgment" "Well," said Master Woodroofe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," rejoined Rogers; and so was brought on Monday, the fourth of February, by

the sheriffs, towards Smithfield, repeating the Fifty-first psalm by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for it: and there, in the presence of Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time at the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to walk, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of Christ's gospel.

The History and Martyrdom of Lawrence Sanders, burned for the defence of the Gospel, at Coventry, February 8, A. D. 1555.

After Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, several godly ministers of the word, who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward, but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Lawrence Sanders was one, a man of honourable parentage. His bringing up was in the school of Eton; from whence he was chosen to go to the King's College in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years. Shortly after he forsook the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he intended to become a merchant; for his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brothers, she thought to set him up wealthily, and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice to a merchant, named Sir William Chester. But Almighty God, who has his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant; for the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him to him, to know what was the cause of his solitariness and lamentation; and perceiving his mind not to fancy that kind of life (for so Sanders declared to him) and his whole purpose was bent to the study of his book and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, he directed his letters to his friends, and set him free; and thus Lawrence Sanders, being delighted with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, to qualify himself for the office of a preacher

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, he began to preach, and was so well liked by them who had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where he edified the godly; drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield, where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries gave him a full report as well of learning as of much godliness. After a time, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton, where he taught diligently; then he was called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread-street. Then he resolved to give over his cure in the country; and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, to discharge himself from it. And about that time began the broil about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, by reason of which he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this disturbance he preached at Northampton, not meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation bore to the blessed word of God. The queen's men who were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as a prisoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now but into the hand of a papist.

Thus he passed to and fro, preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding this proclamation) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people in it, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also resisted with force, so that he could not proceed in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was by violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a counsellor to Queen Mary, overtook him, and asked him whither he went. "I have," said Sanders, "a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," said Master Mordant, "let them alone, and go not to them." To this Sanders answered, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and need instruction, or if any should slip into error and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," said Mordant, "preach on such a day, (naming the day) in Bread-street, in London?" "Yes, verily," said Sanders, "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," said Master Mordant: "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Sanders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatever before that time I taught them."

"I would counsel you," said Master Mordant, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Sanders. "Nay," replied he, "I will not forbid you, but I do give you counsel." And thus they both entered the city, and departed each from the other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, bishop of London, that Sanders would preach in his cure the next day Sanders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty. Where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was about him asked him how he did. "In very deed," said he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison," meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, treating on that place which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3. "I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." He recited that true christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving, and lest they should be deceived by it, he

made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to a more particular declaration of it, as it were, to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God (1 Cor. xiv) and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil; and though in that evil are intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink it all. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests, so was Lawrence Sanders brought before this bishop, who had in his company the aforenamed Sir John Mordant and some of his chaplains The bishop laid no more to Lawrence Sanders's charge than treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition for his sermon.

After much talk, the bishop desired him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Lawrence Sanders did so, saying, "My lord, you seek my blood, and you shall have it I pray God that you may be so baptized in it, that you may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose, even to cut the writer's throat, as shall appear hereafter. The bishop sent Lawrence Sanders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas; and like favour found Sanders, as Christ his Master did before him. But the chancellor not being at home, Sanders was constrained to tarry for him for the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Sanders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him, who was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, he met and received a great many suitors; so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At the last he came into the chamber where Sanders was, and went through into another chamber, where, as he passed, Sanders' leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation of the said Sanders which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Sanders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made curtesy before the table where the bishop did sit: unto whom the bishop spake in this wise:

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, that you have continued to preach?"

Sanders denied not that he had preached; saying, that forsomuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned; saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward to it by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereto, than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience, surely!" said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not I pray you?"

Then said Sanders, "We do not declare or say that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But let those take care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing to the same" taunting the bishop himself, who had, to get the favour of Henry VIII, written a book on true obedience, in which he had openly declared Queen Mary to be illegitimate. Then Master Sanders going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word, which, although it is now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest" The bishop being touched, said, "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison" Sanders answered, "That he did give God thanks who had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion"

Sanders continued in prison a whole year and three months. During which time he sent letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to his wife, and also to others, certifying to them both of the public calamity of the times, and also of his private afflictions, and of his conflicts with his adversaries In writing to his friends, he speaks of Weston conferring with him in prison The chancellor sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea. Of his cause and estate we shall now see what Sanders himself did write.

A part of a Letter of Lawrence Sanders, which was sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did" (he meaneth public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Allhallows, in Bread-street, in the city of London) "was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, surely this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St Paul: Acts xxiv. 14. 'This I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets. And have hope towards God,' &c. And herein I study to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men, so that I call God to witness I have a conscience; and this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible truth of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

"It is an easy thing for them, who take Christ for their true pastor, and are the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, 'My sheep hear my voice,' yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also says, 'The sheep follow the Shepherd; for they know his voice: a stranger will they not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger.' Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And although the wolf (as Christ saith) comes in sheep's clothing, yet he saith, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' For there are certain fruits whereby the wolf is betrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise, in sundry parts of devout holiness in outward shew, he seems never so simple a sheep. That the Romish religion is ravenish and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:

"First, it robs God of his true and only honour.

"Secondly, it takes away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying of Christ and his office of salvation.

"Thirdly, it spoils God of his true worship and service in spirit and in truth, appointed in his written commandments, and drives men to that inconvenience, against which, Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, speaketh sharply 'This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.' 'In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' And in another place, 'Ye reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition.'

"Wherefore I in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and by impartial discussing of it, finding the foundation unsteadfast, and the building but in vain and on the other side having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church, I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord."

The above will enable us to understand how good was the cause and the state of mind of this blessed child of God, now suffering imprisonment for the cause of Christ, for the defence of which he wholly resigned himself, so that he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery, and when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, as by his letter here set forth may appear —

A Letter of Lawrence Sanders to his Wife.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, entirely beloved wife, even as unto my own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish to you, for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly devote ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death, and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him, Amen. I am happy, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our arms and weapons should be in this kind of fight, look into the 6th chapter to the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in anywise. Thank, you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen. A prisoner in the Lord," "L. SANDERS."

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant confronting two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Doctor Weston. Of this, Sanders thus writes in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Doctor Weston did at the Marshalsea.

"Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he has concluded with him I know not. I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly, and wily way, &c. I had not so much good manners as to take it at his hands, for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience 'Ye are asleep in sin,' said he. 'I would awake,' replied I, 'and not forget to watch and pray.' 'What church was there thirty years past?' 'What church was there,' rejoined I, 'in Helias' time?' 'Joan of Kent,' said he, 'was of your church.' 'No,' said I, 'we did condemn her as an heretic.'

"'Who was of your church,' said he, 'thirty years past?' 'Such,' replied I, 'as the Romish antichrist and his rabble have reputed and condemned as heretics.' 'Wickliff,' said he, 'Thorp, Oldcastle, &c.' 'Yea,' said I, 'with many more, as histories do tell.'

"'The bishop of Rome hath,' said he, 'for a long time played a part in your railing sermons but now, you may be sure, he will play another part' 'The more pity,' replied I, 'and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings, though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weather-cock' 'Did you ever,' said he, 'hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?' 'No' replied I, 'for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others,' &c, with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it."

What blessed taste this good man hath of God's Holy Spirit may appear by his letters.

"*To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, now imprisoned in Oxford.*

"In my most humblewise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord. Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto the Father of mercies, 'which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." O most happy estate, that in an unspeakable manner our life is hid with Christ in God. But whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory. In the mean season, as our sight is but as in a glass, even in a dark saying, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance. Which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputes but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea even them 'which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man,' &c. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it follows that we must needs possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of the joy and good things given us of God. We heretofore have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit, praise be to our most gracious God therefor. And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods, for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly with St Paul say, that the things which happen unto us, do fall out unto the furtherance of the gospel, so that our bonds in Christ are manifest, not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all Europe; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed with you give thanks for this worthy excellent favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you, yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death. Of which being truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although for our own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is, (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the

church of Christ it were much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant through Christ by your restoring. Amen, Amen.

"But if it seem better otherwise unto the divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done! Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalf, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that 'it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake' And herein we shall have to rejoice in behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's truth, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

"And now most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us, and our estate, how we stand in the Lord I do assure your reverences, partly by what I perceive by such of your brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by what I hear from them who are in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I, most unworthily, have of God's good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others), you may be assured (I say) by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrated of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting truth. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, (which spirit certifies our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father;) so after such portion as God measures unto us, we with the whole church of Christ, and with you reverend fathers, receiving the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, 'I believed, and therefore I have spoken,' we also believe, and therefore speak. For which we in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, have even such a sight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries

"And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though 'we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;' yet shall we not be dashed in pieces. For the Lord will put his hand under us, as saith St. Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians (iv. 8—10.) 'We are troubled on every side, yet not depressed, we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.' But to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: for it is a true saying; 'If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him; If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: If we deny him, he also will deny us.' Wherefore be we of good cheer, 'Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body:' 'Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.' 'For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.'

"We testify to you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel; we trust to be happy together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Halelujah, Amen. Yea, come, Lord Jesus. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

We add another letter, written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself for the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

Laurence Sanders to his Wife.

"Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

"Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. Oh! Lord, how loath is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! Were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricks on behind, there would be great chance of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ and 'having this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.' 'We are (according to his good will) 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.' Wherefore by the grace of our Christ we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us But by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that 'our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.' 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' Then, then shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting' O grave, where is thy victory?' 'But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"In the mean time it remains for us to follow St. Peter's bidding; 'Let them,' saith he, 'that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him with well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.' He is our Maker, we are his handy-work and creatures, whom now when he has made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship, leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest, but he comforts us his creatures, and in him we live, move, and have our being: yea, not only that, but that now he hath in Christ repaid us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us to himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: to whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him. He bids us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth as in much anger to have given us over, and forgotten us? let us not for all that leave off to put

our trust in him, but let us with godly Job conclude in ourselves and say; 'Even though he slay me, yet will I put my trust in him.' Let us with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet 'He will not always chide; neither will he keep his anger for ever. For he knoweth our frame. he remembereth that we are dust.' Wherefore 'As the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us. Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.' Oh! what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God! We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist; 'Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.'

"Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: But that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more,) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am happy, and I trust I shall be, in spite of the teeth of all the powers of hell I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAWRENCE SANDERS."

And now, to come to the examination of this good man, after the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of which examination the effect and purport was as follows.

The Examination of Lawrence Sanders.

Praised be our gracious God, who preserveth his from evil, and gives them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being brought before the queen's most honourable council, and sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak as follows:—

Lord Chancellor.—"It is not unknown that you have been a prisoner, for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you, and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we all have fallen: but now have risen again, and returned to the Catholic church; you must rise with us, and come home to it. Give us forthwith a direct answer."

Sanders.—"My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

Ld. Chan.—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Sanders.—"My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small: and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, I am ready to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils are likely to fall upon me the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you in truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

Ld. Chan.—"Conscience! You have none at all, but pride and arrogancy."

Sanders.—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship lays to my charge this dividing myself from the church, I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old, being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

Ld. Chan.—"Yea, but I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Sanders.—"My lord, it is a less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint, and he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again."

Bp. of Lond "I have his hand-writing against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Sanders.—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself Nothing have you to burden me with, for breaking of your laws since they were in force"

Ld. Chan.—"Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty."

Sanders.—"My lord, I cannot buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your honours to be a means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience."

Ld. Chan.—"Ah sir, you will live as you list. The Donatists desired to live in singularity, but they were not meet to live on earth. No more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days, and therefore away with him"

Sanders.—"Welcome be it, whatever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours, Amen"

This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, until the rest of his fellows were likewise disposed of, that they might convey them all together to prison. Sanders standing among the officers, and seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to antichrist they deserved, and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil. so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

After he was excommunicated and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to prison.

On the 4th of February, the bishop of London came to the prison where he was, to degrade him which when he had done, Sanders said to him, "I thank God I am not of your church"

On the following morning, the sheriff of London, delivered him to the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry to be burned.

After they were come to Coventry, a poor shoemaker, came to him, and said, "O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you." "Good shoemaker," cried Master Sanders, "pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common goal among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing others.

On the next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city. He went in an old gown and shirt, and bare-

footed, and he often fell flat on the ground, and prayed When he was come nigh to the place, the officer, who was appointed to see the execution done, said that he was one of those who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," said he, "but yet if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee" To whom Sanders answered; "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, who have always resisted God's holy word; it is you who have and do marr the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that I hold, that I believe, that I have taught, and that I will never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him!" And away from him went Master Sanders, with courage toward the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed, and when he rose up again, he took the stake to which he was to be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life" and being fastened to the stake, and the fire put to him, he sweetly slept in the Lord

And thus have you the full history of Lawrence Sanders, whom I may well compare to any of the old martyrs of Christ's church; both for his fervent zeal for the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he sustained in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies treated him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsakes his servants, gave patience above all that his torments could work.

This blessed man of God, when in prison, did not pass his time in unfruitful idleness, but from time to time edified his friends, and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. Three of which we insert here.

Two Letters from Lawrence Sanders to his Wife after his condemnation, written on the last day of January, A. D. 1555, *out of the Compter in Bread-street.*

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever as a vessel to God's glory, Amen.

"Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his immeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I a most unworthy wretch cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so especially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, or the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and you, the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say rejoice with thanksgiving for this my present probation, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church And as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my mind the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ doth for my trial leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if for my proof he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall and hide himself (as Solomon saith in his mystical song,) yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph; though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, that he threaten grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin: yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried to come unto him: as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy dispatch, yea, and how all things have been helping hereunto; blessed be our God! Be not afraid of terrors which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and good conscience, and not acquainted with Christ, the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terribly spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation For Christ our brazen serpent hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, boldly triumph and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Wherefore be happy, my dear wife; and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fit offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I can hardly write to you. Wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all them who love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock, among whom I am resident by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity, which now I suffer among them for the sake of Christ's gospel, bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high pastor. Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray."

Another Letter to his Wife.

"Grace and comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs not. you shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which (dear wife) I trust you do not hesitate to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things are the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the blessed world in that everlasting immortality, whereas here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek

this world's wealth; and so, if we continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same blessing of God which we receive shall also settle upon our Samuel Though we do shortly depart hence and leave the (to our seeming) poor infant at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God, for so hath he said, and he cannot lie 'I will be thy God,' saith he, 'and the God of thy seed.' Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God who heard the cry of the poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's hand-maiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you or any other who fear him, and put their trust in him.

"And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it and also of any other good grace which is needful for us, and be joyful in God, in whom also I am very joyful O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he vouchsafeth for Jesus Christ's sake freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow him; and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we shortly reign with him everlastingly. Amen."

Letter to Messrs. Robert and John Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.

"Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ. Oh my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, who am now ready to go up to mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry with that joy which no man shall take from us O wretched sinner, that I am, not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouchsafed me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters your wives, and, good sisters, fear the Lord Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always. Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice, O my Christ, help, or else I perish.

"LAWRENCE SANDERS."

The Life and Martyrdom of John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, burnt for the defence of the gospel at Gloucester, Feb. 9, A.D. 1555.

John Hooper, a student and graduate in the University of Oxford, through God's secret calling, was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. In the reading and searching of which, as there was wanting in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither did the grace of the Holy Ghost fail to satisfy his desire, and to open to him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and shewing some signs of his fervent spirit about the time of the beginning of the Six Articles, in the reign of King Henry VIII., fell soon under the displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins, in Oxford, who began to stir up strife against him, by which, and especially by the procurement of Doctor Smith, he was compelled to leave the university; and so removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions, which he did not favour, sent him on a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop.

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper, for four or five days together, when he perceived, that he could not do what he thought to him, sent him home, commending his learning and knowledge, but yet bearing in his breast a bad feeling against Master Hooper

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for that danger was working against him Upon which Hooper leaving Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows) took his journey to the sea-coast to go to France, he sent back the horse by one, who did not deliver it to the owner. Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in a short time returned to England again, and was retained by Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested, by which he was compelled (under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to sea, and so he escaped through France to the higher parts of Germany. When there he made acquaintance with the learned, and was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, by his particular friend, Master Bullinger. Where also he married his wife, and applied himself very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the gospel, Hooper along with many other English exiles, prepared to return homeward, so that they might help forward the Lord's work to the uttermost of their ability. And so coming to Master Bullinger, and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, to give them thanks for their kindness and humanity toward him, he took his leave of them.

When Master Hooper had taken his farewell of Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he repaired to England, where coming to London, he used continually to preach, generally twice, but at least once every day.

In his sermons, according to his manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church the people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice; insomuch, that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of a strong body, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required in a good bishop by St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one wanting in this good bishop. He bore in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might perhaps be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular in him, but he knew best what he had to do himself.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's command. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him, and afterwards he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding the godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other cere-

monies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in nowise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishoprick, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, permitting him to dispense with such ceremony.

But notwithstanding this grant of the king, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of these ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves; adding, moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so slight a matter, and that his wilfulness was not to be endured.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than they ought, occasion was given to true christians to lament, and to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermon shew himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, being appointed to preach before the king, he came apparelled as desired.

Hooper, after all these vexations about his vestures, at length entering into his diocese, there employed his time under King Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be an example to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in every diocese through the whole realm of England; so careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishopricks, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loath to leave them.

From this sort of men Hooper was very different. He abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. Being bishop of two dioceses, he so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people.

Every where he kept one religion and one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some savour of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of his bishopricks, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk; and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and master's manner was to have usually to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meats, and when they were served (being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before.

After this manner Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as religion in King Edward's time safely flourished: and I would to God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance in their function. After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to come to London.

On the 19th of March, 1554, he was called before the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Landaff, Chichester, and other the queen's commissioners, when, not being permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishopricks. In what order this was done may be seen by the report of one, who being present, committed it to writing.

"At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married?

"Hooper.—'Yea, my lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.'

"Durham.—'That is cause enough to deprive you.'

"Hooper.—'That it is not, my lord, except you act against the law.'

"The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time; but the commissioners, and such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, called Hooper 'hypocrite,' with vehement words and scornful countenance. Tonstall called him 'beast,' so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and others that stood by. At length, the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would, and brought in the text Mat. xix. 12. 'For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.'

"Hooper said, that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given; and read the preceding verse. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him 'beast,' so that the text could not be examined. Then Hooper said, that it appeared by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden to priests, and named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But bishop Hooper said, that that book was not the one he named.

"Then the bishop of Winchester said, 'You shall not have any other, until you are first judged by this.' And then there began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together, that nothing was done, nor spoken orderly, or charitably. Afterwards judge Morgan began to rail at Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words. After that, Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

"Then cried out my lord chancellor, and many with him, that Hooper had never read the councils.

"'Yea, my lord,' said Hooper, 'and my lord of Chichester, Doctor Day, knoweth that the great council of Nice, by means of Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife.' But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not considered.

"After this, Tonstall, bishop of Durham, asked Hooper, whether he believed in the corporeal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

"Then the bishop of Durham would have read out of a book, (what book it was I cannot tell) but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then Winchester asked Hooper what authority induced him not to believe in the corporeal presence? He said, the authority of God's word, and alleged this text "Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things."

"Then the bishop of Winchester said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

"Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but those that stood about the bishop so disturbed him with clamours and cries, that he was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Upon which they bade the notaries write that he was married, and said, that he would not separate from his wife, and that he did not believe in the corporeal presence in the sacrament, therefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishoprick.

"This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them."

The true Report of Hooper's treatment in the Fleet, written with his own hand, the seventh of January, 1554.

"On the first of September, 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison, and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden of fees, who, immediately upon the payment, complained to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked mass, and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking; until by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

"During all the time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.' And, amongst many other times, he did thus on the 18th of October, 1553, as many can witness.

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprick, and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to support me, neither is there suffered any one to come to me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himself.

Another Examination of Bishop Hooper.

On the 22d of January, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at Winchester's house, at St. Mary's Overbury (St. Saviour's) where in effect thus much was done.

The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward VI., and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promising, that as he himself, with others his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine, altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head of it; wherefore he would in nowise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ; for the church alone hears the voice of her spouse Christ, and flies the strangers. "However," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would shew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to take him to the Fleet again.

On the 28th of January, Winchester and others of the commissioners sat in judgment at St Mary's Overbury, where Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon again, and there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded aside, till Rogers had been likewise examined. The examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the compter, in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church-door, Hooper looked back, and staid a little till Rogers drew near, to whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea, sir," said Master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forward, there was a great press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy.

On the next day, the 29th of January, they were again brought by the sheriffs before the bishop and commissioners. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Hooper would by no means yield to them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to prison.

When it was dark, Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. And some of the sergeants were ordered to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets; either fearing that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be more fit for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth at their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him

in the same to the end. Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, no body being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Feckenham, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, &c. resorted to him to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. When they perceived that they could not reclaim him with such offers as they used for his conversion, then they went about by false rumours of recantation to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. The report being spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, it at last came to Hooper's ears. He was not a little grieved, that the people should give credit to such rumours, as appears by a letter he wrote upon that occasion.

A Letter of Hooper for the stopping of certain false rumours spread abroad of his Recantation.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in the faith and constancy in affliction, of such as are in prison, even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth, as we have, and do feel, and are daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire; yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I. John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, now after sentence of death (being in Newgate a prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recanted and abjured that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk arises from the fact, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort to me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I refused to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I was unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible to me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

"Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto felt all the things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he who hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood. Newgate, 2nd of Feb. A. D. 1554. Your brother in Christ,

"JOHN HOOPER."

On Monday morning (February 4) the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Hooper, and he was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be there burned, to which place he accordingly was removed under a guard.

Many persons came there to speak with him, amongst others, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one Who, having been formerly his friend, was on this occasion appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers: and as soon as he saw Hooper, he burst forth in tears Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Kingston, "Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same."

"But I am sorry," said Kingston, "to see you in this case; for, as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed," said the bishop, "it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not deny the truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it is not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet but, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore for the desire and love I have for the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

"Well, my lord," said Kingston, "I perceive there is no remedy; and therefore I will take my leave of you and I thank God that I have known you; for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child and by your good instructions, where previously I was both an evil liver and immoral man, God hath brought me to forsake and detest my sins."

"If you have had the grace so to do," said Hooper, "I do highly praise God for it and if you have not, I pray God you may have it, and that you may continually live in his fear." After these and many other words they took leave of each other, Kingston with bitter tears, Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

On the same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained leave to be brought unto Hooper's presence. The same boy not long before had suffered imprisonment, at Gloucester, for confessing the truth. Hooper, after he had examined him concerning his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eyes of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul."

On the same night he was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester The name of the one was Jenkins, and of the other Bond, who with the mayor and aldermen repaired to Hooper's lodging, and saluted him, and took him by the hand. Hooper spake in this manner. "Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand, whereby, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished, and I trust also that all those things are not utterly forgotten, which, as your bishop

and pastor appointed by the late godly king, I taught you in times past. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither by the queen's commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master sheriffs, my request to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I will have done. For I am not come here as one inforced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates of England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust by God's grace to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These and such words Master Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, at which many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him declaring how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way, adding, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the serjeants and other officers appointed, watched with them that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember; and so he did, at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

At nine o'clock Hooper was to prepare himself, for the time was at hand Immediately he was brought down from the chamber by the sheriffs When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spoke to the sheriffs to this effect: "Master Sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither need you to have made such preparation to bring me to the place where I must suffer: For if ye had desired me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterwards looking upon the multitude that were assembled, to the number of seven thousand, he spake to those that were about him, saying; "Alas why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past, but, alas! speech is prohibited me Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known to them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached to them true and sincere doctrine, out the word of God Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me"

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to support himself with. For the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did then. When he came to the place appointed, where he was to die, he smiling beheld the stake and the preparation made for him, which was near the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees were filled with people; and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (as he could not be suffered to speak to the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times to one whom he knew well, to hear the prayer, so as to make report of it in time to come, the tears falling upon his shoulders and on his bosom this prayer he made upon the whole creed, and he continued in it the space of half an hour. After he was some time in prayer, a box was brought and laid before him, upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least it was said to be his pardon,) from the queen, if he would recant. He cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly." Hooper said, "Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers"

Then said the lord Chandos to Sir Edmund Bridges' son, who was listening to Hooper's prayer at his request "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly dispatch him." While this was going on, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words:

"Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive me, a hell as I am, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well thou knowest, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contamination of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, I have set forth to thy glory. And well thou seest, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with thee Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience, or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who were listening to the prayer, they were commanded away, and were not suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored to the owner; and then he put off the rest of his gear, to his doublet and hose, in which he wished to be burned But the sheriffs would not permit that, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered to him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons were brought to bind him to the stake, one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs But he refusing them, said, "You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not, but God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you shall think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short, he shrank and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and stood

also on a high stool, and beheld all round about him and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and asked him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew not any offence that he had committed against him. "O sir," said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." Hooper said, "Thou dost not offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee."

Then commandment was given that the fire should be kindled. But there were brought no more green fagots than two horses could carry upon their backs, so it was a good while before it burned. At length it burned about him, but the wind blew the flame from him, so that he was only touched by the fire.

A few dry faggots were then brought, and a new fire kindled, and that burned at the lower parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, except that it burned his hair, and scorched his skin a little. While he was thus suffering, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, "O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul." He wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, said with a loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire" and all this while his lower parts burned: for the fagots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

A third fire was shortly after kindled, which was more extreme than the others: and then the bladders of gunpowder broke, but this did him little good, as they were so misplaced, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But even when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swoln, so that he could not speak, yet his lips moved till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, when the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

He was three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, he patiently bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side but having his lower parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundation of the world: for whose constancy all christians are bound to praise God.

The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the truth of God's Word, under the Tyranny of the Roman Bishop Gardiner, on the 9th day of February, A. D. 1555.

The town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, by the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root, that a great number in that parish became well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men, so that there were among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great part of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly judgment in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather an university of the learned, than a town of cloth making or labouring people and what is more to be commended, they were for the most part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon law, and a right perfect divine, was parson of this town of Hadleigh and at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, to gather up the profits, and put in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so that they have the fleece, caring little or nothing for the flock but he made his abode and dwelling in Hadleigh among the people committed to his charge, where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge, which the Lord gave unto Peter saying, 'Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holiday passed, nor other time when he could get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, and taught them the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his preaching blessed to them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as to their father, resort to him; but none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or ill-will; ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never seeking to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron and diligent provider, so that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave a portion yearly to the common alms-box.

Thus dwelt this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward VI. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery to his most blessed rest, the papists who ever dissembled, both with King Henry VIII. and King Edward, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refused all reformation made by these two kings, violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as if now they were good doctrine and true religion.

In the beginning of this reign of antichrist, a certain gentleman, a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill but a bitter persecutor, with one John Clerk, conspired to bring in the pope and his mummery again into Hadleigh church. For as yet Doctor Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore, Foster and Clerk hired John Averth, a very mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an openly immoral man, to come to Hadleigh, and there to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they built, with all possible haste, the altar, about Palm Monday. But their device took no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. So they built it up again a second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant; they and their men guarded him with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Doctor Taylor, who (according to his custom) sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went to the church, supposing

that there was something to be done in his pastoral office: and coming to the church, he found the church doors fast barred, except the chancel door, which was only latched. On entering, he saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad, new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Doctor Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold as to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that, up started Foster, and with an angry and furious countenance said to Doctor Taylor, "Thou traitor! what doest thou here, to disturb the queen's proceedings?" Doctor Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to go hence, and not to presume here with such popish idolatry to poison Christ's flock."

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou, traiterously, heretic, make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Doctor Taylor answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou doest against the law, which commandeth that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his mass: then up started John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a superaltar, go on with your business."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Taylor and led him by force out of the church, and then the popish priest proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolator doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have torn their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever used. As for reason, law or scripture, they have none.

Within a day or two after, Foster and Clerk made a complaint against Taylor, by a letter written to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Taylor, commanding him to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Doctor Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry; and foreseeing to what end the matter would come, and seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set up, his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to fly, declaring that he neither would be heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet could look for justice or favour at the chancellor's hands, who was most fierce and cruel; and that he must expect only imprisonment and a cruel death at his hands.

Then said Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you for your tender care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be expected at my adversary's hands, but rather imprisonment and a cruel death: yet I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them.

Then said his friends, "Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldham, with others that came here to bring in the popish mass. And as our Saviour Christ bids us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another: we think, in flying at this time, you would do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors."

"Oh," said Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leads you; I am fully determined (with God's grace,) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he acts wickedly. God will hereafter raise up teachers for his people, who shall, with much more diligence teach them than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he tries and corrects us.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good a service, as I may do now. What christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself for his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadleigh one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy scriptures, who, after Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadleigh church; but they took him up to London, and cast him into prison in Newgate; where after a year's imprisonment he died.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor again, who being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop, and offered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him.

But in no wise would Doctor Taylor consent, but said, "Oh John, shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd, Christ, who not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him I must follow, and with God's grace will."

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Wincheater, then lord chancellor of England.

Now when Gardiner saw Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him "knave, traitor, heretic," with many other villainous reproaches; all which Taylor heard patiently, and at last said to him

"My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian man, and am come according to your command, to know what is the reason that your lordship hath sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Taylor, "I know who you are. You are Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-

seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first to that blessed King Henry VIII., of famous memory, and afterwards to blessed King Edward VI."

The bishop answered, "Tush tush that was Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore worthy to be broken I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic church of Rome, and I wish thou shouldst do so also.'

Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstations and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his followers return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintains, and then will christian men turn to him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him"

"I tell thee," cried the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept, and our holy father the pope has discharged me of it"

Then said Taylor, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can absolve you, neither the pope nor any of his"

"I see," said the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave and a very fool."

'My Lord," replied Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not meet for such an one in authority as you are. For I am a christian man, and, you know, that 'he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of the council, and he that saith, thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'"

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all of you." "Nay," said Taylor, "We are true men, and know that it is written, 'The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.' And again, 'Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.' And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake"

"Thou art married," cried the bishop. "Yea," replied Taylor, "that I thank God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony, and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in sin."

Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the parson of Aldham, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadleigh." Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadleigh, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come unto my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

With that the bishop grew very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament," (and putting off his cap) "and speakest against the holy mass, which is a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true christian man ought to do, and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shewed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ to the death for us."

"Thou sayest well," rejoined the bishop. "It is all as thou hast said, and more too, for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then Taylor answered, "Christ gave himself for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice full, perfect, and sufficient to salvation for all them that believe in him And this sacrifice our Saviour Christ offered in his own person once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor need we any more propitiatory sacrifice; and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, our sacrifice is only commemorative in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving therefore the fathers called it the eucharist. And no other sacrifice has the church of God."

"It is true" said the bishop, "the sacrament is called the eucharist, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is also a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done" Then the bishop called his men and said, "Take this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper that he be strictly kept"

Then Taylor kneeled down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee, and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations good Lord deliver us. And God be praised for good King Edward" So they carried him to prison, where he lay a prisoner almost two years

While in prison, Doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy scriptures, and writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, many other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England were committed to prison for religion's sake, so that almost all the prisons in England were become schools and churches, and there was no greater comfort for christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations

At this time there were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass mongers, with their Latin babblings and foolish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to put to death all such as once whispered against popery. As for the godly preachers who were in King Edward's time, they had either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's days, they were privily concealed. As many as the papists could lay hold on were sent to prison, and there remained as lambs waiting for the butchers to call them to the slaughter

When Doctor Taylor was come into the prison, he found there Master Bradford, the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, which man, for his innocent and godly living his devout preaching, was worthily accounted a miracle of our time, as even his adversaries must confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to remain constant to the end Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow-prisoner, and so they together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another, insomuch that Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, sending him to that prison where he found such an angel of God to comfort him.

After Doctor Taylor had lain in prison a while, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church, to answer to such matters as should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led there When he came, he stoutly defended his marriage, affirming by the scripture of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by laws both civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry. This he so plainly proved, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence that he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

"You do me wrong then," said Doctor Taylor, and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself, but all prevailed not. For he was again carried to prison, and had his livings taken away, and given to others. As for Hadleigh benefice, it was given or sold, to one Master Newall, whose qualifications were altogether unlike to Doctor Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have found.

After a year and three quarters, in which time the papists got certain old tyrannical laws, which were repealed by King Henry VIII. and by King Edward, to be

again revived by parliament; so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they chose, and burn them. When these laws were once re-established, they sent for Taylor, with other prisoners, who were again brought before the chancellor and other commissioners about the 22d of January. The purport and effect of what took place is sufficiently described by himself in his own letter.

A Letter of Doctor Taylor reporting the words which passed between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, on the 22d of January.

"As you would have me to write the conversation between the king and the queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, the 22d of January, so far as I remember: first, my lord chancellor said, 'You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majesties favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, 'That so to rise, would be the greatest fall that ever I could receive; for I should then fall from my dear Saviour Christ to antichrist. For I do believe, that the religion set forth, in King Edward's days, was according to the meaning of the holy scripture, which contains fully all the rules of our christian religion, from which I do not intend to depart so long as I live, by God's grace.'

"Then Master Secretary Bourne said, 'Which of the religions do you mean? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in King Edward's days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?'

"I answered, 'My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name; and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent King Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorised by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm; which book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our christian religion in every behalf, that no christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Didst thou never read the book that I set forth on the sacrament?'

"I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How likest thou that book?'—With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, 'My lord, that is a good question; for I am sure, that book stops all their mouths.' Then said I, 'My lord, I think many things are wide from the truth of God's word in that book.'

"Then my lord said, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To that I answered, 'That is as ill as Raca.' Then my lord said, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow.'

"To that I answered, 'I have read over and over again the holy scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through, St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with other books; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil law, as your lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.'

"Then my lord said, 'With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written several books.' Then said I, 'My lord, you wrote one book on true obedience; I wish you had been constant in that; for you never shewed a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book.'

"Then my lord said, 'Tut, tut, tut! I wrote against Bucer on priests' marriages; but such books please not such wretches as thou art, who hast been married many years.'

"To that I answered, 'I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God; and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons, of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's law.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?'

"I answered, 'By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom writing upon the epistle to Timothy, saith, It is an heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'

"Then said my lord chancellor, 'Thou liest of Chrysostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, bely without shame both the scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'

"I answered, 'We read in the decrees, that the four general councils, Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesian, Chalcedon, have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the council of Nice, by means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: Therefore, by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Thou falsifiest the general council. For there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives.'

"Then said I, 'If those words are there, as you say, then I am content to lose this head of mine; let the book be fetched.'

"Then spoke my lord of Durham, 'Though they be not there, yet they may be in the ecclesiastical history, which Eusebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.'

"To that said I, 'It is not likely that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.'

"And I said, 'By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church.' Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my lord chancellor said, 'Thou shalt have judgment within this week:' and so I was delivered again to my keeper. My lord of Durham wished that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged from St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before that of all men."

Besides this letter he directed another writing to another friend of his concerning the causes why he was condemned.

Another Letter relating to his Assertions concerning the Marriage of Priests, and other causes for which he was condemned.

"It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the holy scriptures. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops consenting to his sentence against me, are heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul writes plainly to Timothy and Titus, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul desires every faithful minister to teach the people so. (1 Tim. iv.)

"These bishops are not ignorant that it is not only St. Paul's advice, but God's *commandment* also to marry, for such as cannot otherwise live chaste.

"They know that such as marry do not sin.

"They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony in paradise, between man and woman.

"They know what spirit they have who say it is evil to marry, (seeing God said, It is not good for man to be alone without a wife,) having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance in the book of Genesis, to increase and multiply.

"They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous Sarah with him, leaving father, and mother, and country, at God's commandment. For though father, and mother, and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together as man and wife in matrimony, which must needs be holy, for it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church.

"They know that St. Paul gives great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoever have need of God's remedy, for man's or woman's infirmity.

"They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Issac, Jacob, David, &c., to talk with God, neither to the Levites', bishops', and priests' offices in the time of the old testament or the new.

"They know that Christ was not conceived, or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, until she was espoused in marriage, according to his own ordinance.

"They know that Christ with his blessed mother and the apostles were at a marriage, and beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

"To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is true; and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, as to that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue seared in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

"My second cause why I was condemned as a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists by which they believe, and compel all others to believe, 'that Christ's natural body is made out of bread, and that the godhead is joined to it, so that immediately after the words (called the words of consecration) there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his godhead: so that, being now Christ, both God and man, it ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same!' This matter was not long debated: but because I denied the papistical doctrine (yea rather, plain, most wicked idolatry, blasphemy and heresy) I was judged an heretic.

"I also affirmed the pope to be antichrist, and popery antichristianity.

"And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all matters of christian religion, and of salvation.

"I also alleged that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence. For Chrysostom saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm were ever, and ought to be ever, in subjection to the kingly authority, who has the sword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, and from truth to vanity.

"Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

"God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than judge Hales had. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am immovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting, but that God will perform and finish the work he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen."

And thus much wrote Taylor, concerning this matter to his friend.

About the end of January, 1555, Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders, were again called before the Bishops of Winchester, of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there charged with heresy and schism, and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or else they would according to their laws proceed to their condemnation.

When Taylor, and Bradford, and Sanders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said to the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny that you now shew against the flock of Christ."

When the keeper brought Taylor towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: to whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood."

When Taylor had lain in the Compter in the Poultry for some days a prisoner, on the 4th day of February, A.D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as appertain to their mass-mummery. He called for Taylor to be brought to him. At his coming, the bishop said, "Master Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," said the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: therefore put on these vestures." "No," replied Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop; "I shall make thee ere I go." To which Taylor retorted, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So he desired them to be forced upon him, and then he degraded him in the usual way.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son came to him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons,—that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical like their masters; but that the keepers of the king's prisons shewed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly could.

At their coming in to sup with him, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word; and turning to his son Thomas, "My dear son," said he, "Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In anywise see that thou be obedient to thy mother; love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel

in all things. Beware of vicious company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lusts and vain appetites. Fly from immorality, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father died in the defence of holy marriage. When God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then turning to his wife, "My dear wife," said he, "continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been to you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so you have been to me; for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me: therefore I will give thee my counsel what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never have a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble till you be married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest, faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to you and to my children: whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry." When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed each other: and he gave to his wife a book of the church service, set out by King Edward, which he in the time of his imprisonment daily used. And to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last farewell, as hereafter followeth:

The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadleigh.

"I say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe they are blessed who die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

"I say to my dear friends of Hadleigh, and to all others who have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach to you any other gospel than that you have received, God's great curse be upon that preacher.

"Beware, for God's sake, that you deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so you everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and truth.

"Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly and generally to all England.

"The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray!

"Rowland Taylor, departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen. The 5th of February, A. D. 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? Psalm xxvii.

"It is God that justifieth: who is he that condemneth? Rom. viii.

"In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed. Psalm xxx."

On the morrow, the sheriff of London with his officers came by two o'clock in the morning, and brought forth Taylor, whose wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church porch, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (who, being left without father or mother, Taylor had brought up through charity from three years old,) the other named Mary, his own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came to St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here," and stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife," and so they stayed.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife and Elizabeth kneeled down, and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said "God bless thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast to Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadleigh."

And so he was led forth to the inn, called the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came there, he was put into a chamber, where he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. As soon as he was come into the chamber, he fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Taylor's wife there, would not grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own, and promised her he should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her there. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, where the officers led her, and they charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock. At which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Taylor's son. When Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son, laid his hand upon the child's head and blessed him, and so delivered

the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost to Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadleigh, met them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again;" and came to him and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," quoth the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry mercy," said Arthur, "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away, and so they rode forth to Brentwood: where they caused to be made for Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people heard them speak, or saw them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Taylor was joyful and happy, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet, or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Often also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, to carry him into Suffolk. At supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the Popish religion, and said, "Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you: God has given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore you have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and his highness of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature likely to live many years, and without doubt, you should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and it were a great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt you not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands, I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon.

Taylor paused awhile as if thinking what to answer, and at last answered and said, "Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadleigh of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good master doctor," cried the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart. It is the most comfortable word that we have heard you speak yet. What! should you cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, you shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word.

At last, "Good doctor," said the sheriff, "what meant you by this, that you say you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you shall deceive many one in Hadleigh." "Would you know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," replied the sheriff, "good doctor, tell it us plainly."

Then said Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that has a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadleigh church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadleigh church-yard, which would have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constancy of mind, that thus without fear made but a jest at the cruel torment and death which was now at hand and prepared for him. Thus was their expectation disappointed. And in this it appears what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation, if all our bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the word of God and truth, which they in King Edward's days had preached and set forth, nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadleigh, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff stayed there two days; and there came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon horses, appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured to reduce Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon Christ, the sure and immoveable rock.

When they reached Hadleigh, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children!" Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life-time. For God would now that the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and to the confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this: and the sheriff rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides of the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him: whom when they beheld, led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah, good Lord! there goes our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us; O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him!" with such other most lamentable and piteous exclamations. Wherefore the people were sorely rebuked by the sheriff and his men, that led him. And Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming opposite the almshouses, he cast to the poor people the money, which remained of what good people had given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the purpose, and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that dwelt there, ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked "Is the blind man and blind woman, that

dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are there within." Then threw he the glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

At last, coming to Aldham common, the place where he was to suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered there, he asked, "What place is this, and what means it that so many people are gathered here?" It was answered, "It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home," and so he alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out a weeping, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Doctor Taylor, Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! The Holy Ghost comfort thee!" with such other like godly wishes. Then he would have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

"Well," quoth Doctor Taylor, "a promise must be kept." What this promise was, is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this change of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else, what they most feared, the people should have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once shewed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving an example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than to depart from God's truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he would not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then he rose up and put off his clothes to his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him: but they thrust her away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remove, but remained and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had prepared for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

The fagots were brought, and the fire kindled: and one man cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lighted upon his head, and brake his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?"

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Doctor Taylor was speaking and saying the fifty-first psalm, "Have mercy upon us," struck him on the lips; "Ye knave," said he, "speak in Latin, or I will make thee." Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce, with a halberd, struck him on the head so that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

After Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the law and the secular arm on his side, with full power and authority, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers under foot, namely, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, Latimer, Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, all of whom he had condemned, and some of them he had burned; he supposed now that all had been sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified by the example of these learned men, never would, nor durst again stir against their violent religion: not much unlike the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning, and the truth of God's word, think by violence of the sword to force whom they can to their belief; and that done, afterwards make laws, for no man, under pain of heresy, to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, and discourse of learning, neither are disposed to seek for truth where it is to be found, take exception against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church; and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but instead of the law of God, they use death, fire, and sword, as the Turks do, to make men believe what in very deed they will not believe. Thus they condemned these godly learned preachers and bishops, supposing, that all the rest would soon be overawed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after Gardiner had given sentence against Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, being the 8th of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, whose names were William Pigot, Stephen Knight, Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Hawkes, John Lawrence, a priest, and William Hunter.

Gardiner thus seeing his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole to Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Bonner, taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at St. Paul's, with the lord mayor, and certain aldermen, the six persons afore named, upon the 8th day of February, and on the next day, being the 9th of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appears in Bonner's own registers: such quick speed did these men make in dispatching their business at once.

Notwithstanding, the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow immediately; but what was the cause that their execution was deferred after their condemnation, I cannot precisely say, unless peradventure the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish friar and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when these six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the 9th of

February, upon Sunday following, which was the 10th of February, the said Alphonsus, a Grey friar, preached before the king: in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in scripture, to burn any for conscience sake; but the contrary, that they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purport. But touching the deferring of these men's death, as I cannot certainly affirm, so let it pass.

Upon the 14th of February, Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, as it happened not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the time of his suffering.

On this 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. However, within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head was also stricken off: upon this arose great trouble, and many were suspected: among whom one Master John Barnes, a mercer, dwelling opposite the chapel, was charged with it, as he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore at his charge the image was again set up on the 2nd day of March: but on the 14th day of the same month, in the night, the head was again the second time broken off: which was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whoever would tell who struck off his head, should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was never known who did it.

On the 18th of February, Queen Mary, after long delay, made answer to the King of Denmark's letters, who had before written two letters to the queen, in behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance, and who was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the King of Denmark.

On the 19th of the same month, a certain intimation was set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strict charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the Pope Julius III. by Pole, his cardinal and legate *de latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every one of his archdeacons to be administered to every private person within his diocese, that would come at the holy time of Lent, to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution.

And therefore, all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing, and not to fail. For which purpose he had especially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth.

The Form of Absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into which you are fallen by reason of heresy, or schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The History of Thomas Tomkins, burned by Bishop Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.

Mention was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before bishop Bonner, on the 8th of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Hawkes, Lawrence, and Hunter. It now remains severally to treat of the martyrdom of these six persons. The first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the 16th of March, A.D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, was of such a godly conversation and disposition, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any went to him to borrow money, he would shew him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it. And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, until they were better able to pay it.

Bonner had kept Tomkins in prison about half a year: during which time the bishop was so rigorous to him, that he beat him bitterly about the face. He had him a prisoner with him at Fulham, in the month of July, and set him with his other workmen to make hay, and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop sitting himself down, said, "Well, I like thee well, for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My lord," said he, "St. Paul, saith, He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee." And so after other talk, the bishop wished his beard off, saying, that he would then look like a catholic. "My lord," said Tomkins, "before my beard grew, I was, I trust, a good christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaved off. The real cause was that Bonner had plucked out a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was great against him, but the constancy of the man was much greater, with patience to bear it: who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that he could by no means be moved from the confession of truth. Upon this, Bonner being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasion he could prevail with him, devised another practice to try his constancy; and seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of scripture, thought to overthrow him by some terror of death. So having with him Harpsfield, Pembleton, Chedsey, Willerton, and others, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who coming before the bishop, and standing as usual in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning. Having a taper of wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, this popish bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that, being terrified by the smart and pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine.

Tomkins thinking that he was about to die, began to commend himself to the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c. During the time that his hand was burning, he never moved, till the veins burst and the sinews shrunk, and the water spirted in Master Harpsfield's face. So that Harpsfield, moved

with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

But before we come to his final suffering, we will give some part of his examination, with his answers, as is recorded in the register.

Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained half a year in prison, about the 8th day of February, was brought with others before Bonner, to be examined.

The bishop wished to persuade him to relinquish his opinions, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly refused so to do. When the bishop saw he could not convince him, he read to him a writing, containing articles and interrogatories, to which he should the next day answer:

Articles objected against Thomas Tomkins, to which he subscribed with his own hand.

"Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is *not*, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world."

"I do so believe."

"Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before."

"I do so believe."

"Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word."

"I do so believe."

"Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers, and godmother, and all people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine."

"I do so believe."

"THOMAS TOMKINS."

On the next day, being the 9th of February, Tomkins was brought again before the bishop and his assistants, where these articles were proposed to him, and he subscribed his name to them. The bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, caused it to be openly read, and commanded him to revoke his opinions; which he refused to do; and therefore was ordered to appear before the bishop again, in the afternoon.

This second confession was as follows:—

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar:

"And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly, many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul, and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present:

"Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as customarily are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:

"Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my ordinary, and talked with touching all my confessions and declarations, both by mine ordinary and other learned men, as well as his chaplains, and others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof, I have subscribed, and passed this writing, the 26th day of September, the year aforesaid.

"THOMAS TOMKINS."

The same day and place, in the afternoon, he was brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the bishop of Bath, to revoke his opinions. He answered, "My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, and I will continue in it unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and persuaded with him to recant. He finally answered, "My lord, I cannot but see that you would have me forsake the truth, and fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him to Newgate, where he remained until the 16th of March: on which day, he was by the sheriff conveyed to Smithfield, and there sealed his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and the confirmation of the weak.

The History of William Hunter.

On the 26th day of March, 1555, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of godly parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be had in admiration of all parents. In this may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in one so young; but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome by it, by which christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time requires, or godliness should demand the duty of a christian man against natural affection. This account was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, who was present with his brother William, till his death, and who sent the account to us, as we have here recorded it.

William Hunter, an apprentice in London, in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at Easter to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street; which because he refused to do, he was threatened that he should be brought before the bishop of London. William Hunter's master, Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, required William Hunter to depart from him, lest he should come in danger on account of him, if he continued in his house. So he took leave of his master, and came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he remained a few weeks.

It happened within five or six weeks, that going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, he did read it. In the mean time there came in one father Atwell, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, "What meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest? and canst thou expound the scriptures?"

William answered, "I take not upon me to expound the scriptures; but finding the Bible here when I came, I read in it to my comfort." Father Atwell said, "It has not been a merry world since the Bible came abroad in English."

William answered, "Say not so, for God's sake; for it is God's book, out of which every one that has grace may learn to know both what pleases God, and also what displeases him." Then said father Atwell, "Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No, not so well as we can now do, if we have his blessed word amongst us still as we had."

William Hunter added, "I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually." Father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that dislike the queen's laws: and therefore you came from London. You learned these ways at London: but you must turn over another leaf, or else you, and a great number more hereties will broil for this."

William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come."

"Confess his name," said old Atwell. "No, no, ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess *his* name."

With these words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one who shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic." And, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, he brought the vicar of Southwell; who, finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?"

To whom Hunter answered, "I expound not the scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort." "Why meddlest thou with them at all, said the vicar? It becomes not such as you to meddle with the scriptures."

Hunter answered, "I will read the scriptures, (God willing) while I live; and you ought not, Master Vicar, to discourage any man in that manner, but rather exhort men diligently to read the scriptures for your discharge and their own."

The vicar answered, "It becomes thee well to tell me what I have to do! I see thou art an heretic by thy words." William said, "I am no heretic for speaking the truth." But the vicar said, "It is a queer world when such as thou art shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth of John, in which thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.'"

Then father Atwell said, "When you read it, I said, that you might there understand how in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood."

"Ah," said the vicar, "what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is substantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?" William answered, "I learn no such thing in the sixth of John." And added "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaites, who thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.'"

"Now," said the vicar, "I have found you out: now I see that thou art an heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar."

Hunter answered, "I would that you and I were now tied fast to a stake, to prove whether I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No," replied Hunter, "for I think I know who would soonest recant; for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," quoth the vicar, and so they departed; the vicar threatening Hunter that he would complain of him.

Immediately after, the vicar told Master Brown of the communication which Hunter and he had together. Brown immediately sent for Hunter's father, and the constable. For immediately after Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled, because the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and Hunter's father were come before Master Brown, he asked where his son was. His father answered, "If it please you, sir, I know not." Master Brown said, "I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee."

Justice Brown then threatened to send the old man to prison unless he promised to seek his son and bring him. After the old man had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Brown's expectation, it happened that William met his father, and told him he thought that he was seeking for him: and then his father confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him; but," said he, "I will return home again, and say I cannot find you." But William said, "Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatever comes of it."

And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the constable, and laid in the stocks, and afterwards brought to Brown.

When Hunter was come, Brown commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then he began to reason with Hunter, saying, "I hear say you are a scripture-man, and can reason on the sixth of John, and expound it as pleases you," and he turned to the sixth of John, and then laid to his charge the exposition he made, when the vicar and he had talked together. Hunter said, "He urged me to say so much as I did."

"Well," (said Master Brown) "as you can expound so well; how say you to the twenty-second of St. Luke? Look here, for Christ saith, That the bread is his body."

Hunter answered, "the text saith, that Christ took bread, but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text. For otherwise, he should have had two bodies, to affirm which I see no reason."

At this answer Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again, in a fury.

Then Brown said, "Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Does not Christ call the bread his body plainly, and thou wilt not believe that the bread is his body after the consecration? Thou goest about to make Christ a liar."

But Hunter answered. "I mean not so, sir; but I mean rather more earnestly to search what is the mind of Christ in that holy institution, in which he commends to us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, 'This do in remembrance of me.' And also though Christ call the bread his body, as he also says, that he is a vine, a door, &c. yet is his body not turned into bread, any more than he is turned into a door or a vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure."

Then Brown said, "Thou art a villain, indeed! Wilt thou make Christ a liar still?" and was in such a fury with Hunter, and so raged, that Hunter could not speak a word, but he crossed him and scoffed at every word. Wherefore, seeing him in such fury, Hunter desired that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself, or else send him away. Brown answered, "Indeed I will send thee, to-morrow, to my lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination." And wrote a letter immediately, and sent Hunter with the constable to Bonner.

The bishop began to reason with him in this manner:

"I understand, William Hunter, that you have had certain communication with the vicar, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and that you could not agree; upon which Master Brown sent for thee to bring thee to the catholic faith: if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter."

Hunter answered, "I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ (I am sure) but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart."

"Why," said the bishop, "how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Hunter answered, "My lord, I understand that Master Brown has certified you to of the talk which he and I had together, and you know what I said to him, which, by God's help, I will not recant." Then said the bishop "I think thou art ashamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt."

Hunter answered, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and so if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself."

Then said the bishop, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive and be shriven, and so continue a good catholic christian." "No," replied William, "I will not do so for all the world."

"Then," rejoined the bishop, "if you will not do so, I will make you, sure enough, I warrant you." "Well," said Hunter, "you can do no more than God will permit you."

Then the bishop commanded his men to put Hunter in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, with only a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the end of two days, the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, he said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." Then they let him out of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him a heretic.

After breakfast the bishop demanded whether he would recant. But Hunter made answer, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, concerning his faith in Christ.

The bishop said that he was no christian, but that he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But Hunter answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace."

The bishop then sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear: and asked him, how old he was; and Hunter said that he was nineteen years old.

"Well," said the bishop, "you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." Hunter answered, "God strengthen me in his truth."

He continued in prison three quarters of a year, and was before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned, which was on the 9th day of February: when his brother Robert Hunter was then present.

The bishop, sending for William, asked him if he would recant, and then remarking how William confessed that he believed that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he received the communion, "Dost thou mean," said the bishop, "that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?"

William answered, "I mean not so; but when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought to all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection."

Then said the bishop, "Dost thou not think that for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?"

William answered, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and shew me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." Then said the bishop, "Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity." "Yes," said William, "I must needs believe that: for daily experience teaches all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper."

Then the bishop said, "I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee to the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue corrupt;" and then he pronounced sentence upon him, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Brentwood, "where," said he, "thou shalt be burned."

Then the bishop called for another prisoner, and so when he had condemned them all, being five in number, he called for William Hunter, and argued with him, saying, "If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the city, and give thee forty pounds in good money to set up thy trade with: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well; thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant."

But William answered, "I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my lord, if you cannot persuade my conscience by scripture, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all worldly things but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ."

Then said the bishop, "If thou diest in this mind thou art condemned for ever." William answered, "God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly."

Thus Hunter and the bishop parted, Hunter and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; afterwards they were sent down, Hunter to Brentwood, and the others into other places of the country. Now when Hunter was come down to Brentwood, the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, he remained till the day after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

In the mean time Hunter's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his mother said to him, that she was glad that she was so happy as to bear such a child, who could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but short, Christ has promised me, mother, a crown of joy; may you not be glad of that, mother?" With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, "I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare."

At these words Mr. Higbed took her in his arms saying, "I rejoice," and so said the others, "to see you in this mind, and you also have good cause to rejoice." And his father and mother both said, that they were never of any other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he might so continue to the end. William's father said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him."

Now when it was day, the sheriff set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to him, and took him by his right hand, saying, "William, be not afraid of these men who are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." William answered, "I thank God I am not afraid; for I have laid my account what it will cost me already." At this

the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another. While on his way he met his father, who spoke to his son, weeping and saying, "God be with thee, son William:" and William said, "God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be happy." His father said, "I hope so, William." so William went to the place where the stake stood, but the things were not ready. Then William took a wet broom fagot, and kneeled down, and read the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

Then said Master Tyrill, "Thou liest; thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit." But William said, "The translation saith, a contrite heart." Master Tyrill replied, "The translation is false. You translate books as you like yourselves, like heretics." "Well," said William, "there is no great difference in these words." Then said the sheriff, "Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant, thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burnt." "No," answered William, "I will not recant, God willing." Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about him.

Then said Master Brown, "Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him." Then said William, "Good people pray for me; and make speed and dispatch me quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewise."

"Now," said Master Brown, "pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, than I would pray for a dog." William answered, "Now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day. I forgive you." Then said Master Brown, "I ask no forgiveness of thee." "Well," said William, "If God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have shewed him the book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." Then said the priest, "As thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell." William answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet; away, thou false prophet, away."

Then said a gentleman present, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, amen." Immediately a fire was made.

Then William flung his psalter into his brother's hand, who said, "William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death." And William answered, "I am not afraid." Then he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and casting down his head again into the smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

An Account of Thomas Higbed and Thomas Causton.

This Master Higbed and Master Causton, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one residing at Horndon on the Hill, the other in the parish of Thundersley, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in this time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure among such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world; but at length they were perceived and detected to Bonner bishop of London.

Bonner, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should arise, came there himself, accompanied with Mr. Fecknam and others, thinking to reclaim them; so that they used great labour and diligence both by terrors, and threatenings, and flattering promises, and all means to reduce them again to the unity, as they termed it, of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make these godly men assent to their dogmas, they came to this point, that they required time to consult with themselves what was best to be done. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they still remaining constant and immovable, and moreover given out their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed, and carried them both with him to London, and with them other prisoners also, who about the same time were apprehended in those quarters.

They were brought forth to open examination in St. Paul's, on the 17th of February, A.D. 1555. They were demanded whether they would recant their errors, and come into the unity of the popish church. Which, when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them the day to appear again.

On which day he read to them certain articles, and gave them respite till the next day to answer to them, and so committed them to prison. Having then answered the articles, they were again remanded to prison.

On the 8th day of March, Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, and there had read to him the articles with his answers, and after certain exhortations to recant, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised to receive him again into their communion. He answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure you measure us, you will be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded him to recant, but he answered, "No, I will not abjure; you said that the bishops who were lately burnt were heretics: but I pray God may make me such an heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Causton, calls for Thomas Higbed; and tried with him the like persuasions. But he answered, "I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now these sixteen years, and do what you can, you can do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

They were then removed, and on the following day they were both again brought before Bonner. The bishop caused Thomas Causton's articles and answers to be read openly, and persuaded him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at the last to their mother the catholic church, and save himself. But Causton answered, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not here for that purpose," and then be exhibited in writing to the bishop, as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name, a confession of their faith, to which they would stand; and he required leave to read it. This being granted, he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as follows;—

"The Confession and Faith of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed.

"1. We believe and profess in baptism to forsake the devil and all his works, and the pomps, and vanities of this wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

"2. We believe all the articles of our christian faith.

"3. We believe that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

"4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and not to either saint or angel.

"5. We believe that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, 'Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' For which church 'Christ gave himself, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.'—Eph. ii. 20, and 25—27.

"6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, Father forgive us our sins: but through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven. 'For he gave himself for it,' saith St. Paul, 'that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it a glorious church.' 'Besides whom there is no Saviour,' saith the prophet; 'Neither is there salvation,' saith St. Peter, 'in any other name.'

"7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so is he our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, 'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ.' Wherefore seeing none has this name God and Man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no mediator but Jesus Christ.

"8. We believe that this church of Christ is and has been persecuted, according to the words of Christ, 'As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you:' 'For the disciple is not above his master.' 'For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ,' saith St. Paul, 'but also to suffer for his sake.' All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.

"9. We believe that the church of Christ teaches the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from it; and also doth administer the sacraments according to the primitive church.

"10. We believe that this church of Christ suffers all men to read the scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, 'Search the scriptures; for they are they which testify of me.' We read also in the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience searched the scriptures daily, whether he preached truly or not. Also the prophet David teaches all men to pray with understanding: 'For how shall the unlearned,' saith St. Paul, 'say Amen, at the giving of thanks,' when they understand not what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which St. Paul saith, 'cometh by hearing of the word of God?'

"11. We believe, that the church of Christ teaches that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men. 'For in vain,' saith Christ, 'ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'

"Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, 'Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders; but walk in my precepts; do that I command you; put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it.' Likewise saith Christ, 'You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me.' Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

"12. We believe that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, 'Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them.'

"Now we find by the scriptures, that this holy supper is much abused.

"First, In that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both.

"Secondly, In that it is made a private mass, where Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church.

"Thirdly, In that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, 'For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' 'Now where remission of sins is, there is no more offering for sin.'

"Fourthly, In that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, 'thou shalt not worship any thing that is made with hands.'

"Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use of it, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we are set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, of which this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

"Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box, yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifies; by which the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently of it, who otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we, who pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

"Now concerning Christ's words, 'This is my body,' we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for as the apostle saith, 'No scripture is of any private interpretation.' Besides this, the scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example, Christ saith, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' 'The Rock is Christ,' saith St. Paul. 'Whosoever receiveth a child in my name,' saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, 'receiveth me.' Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Jews did, who thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof; whom Christ taught that such a fleshly eating of his body profited nothing: saying, 'it is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.'

"Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that comes to the supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but 'believe,' saith St. Augustine, 'and thou hast eaten it:' so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the apostle saith, Let a man examine himself, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the scriptures; which, if we are truly certified, of being born again from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly with this marriage-garment of our faith come to the feast.

"In confirmation of which we have numerous scriptures, as of Christ himself, 'This do in remembrance of me.' And St. Paul, 'As often,' saith he, 'as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.' Here is no change, but bread still. And St Luke affirms the same. Also Christ has made a promise, saying, 'Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto him that sent me.' 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.' So according to his promise he is ascended, as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, 'Whom the heaven must receive until the time of restitution of all things.'

"Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place, with which the scriptures agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel saith; neither was it at Bethany, when Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, 'I am glad I was not there.' And thus we conclude with the scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporeally in heaven, both God and man.

"And further, we make here our protestation before God, whom we call to record in this matter, that what we have said, is neither from stubbornness, nor from a wilful mind, as some judge of us, but even of our very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And as he has thus shewed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, to whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

When Causton had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? Causton said, "Yea, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief contained therein." After which answer the bishop proceeded to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was rashness, and without love and mercy to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word.

Then Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop would not suffer him, and desired Harpsfield to speak on account of the people; but he neither touched nor answered one sentence of it.

Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against Thomas Causton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading of them, Higbed said, "You speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and you go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk did believe, as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing.—And where you say, that my Lord, named Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and others specified in the articles, are heretics; I do wish that I were such an heretic as they were." Then the bishop asked him again, whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? He said, "No; I would you should recant; for I am in the truth, and you in error."

"Well," said the bishop, "if you will return, I will gladly receive you."

"No," replied Higbed, "I will not return as you wish me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God."

Upon this the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him. When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate, where they remained fourteen days, not so much in afflictions as in consolations, praised be God! For the increase of which they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which he had already begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days being expired, they were on the 23d of March brought from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to the appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rapley, both in the county of Essex, where on the 26th day of the month, they most constantly sealed their faith with their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Lawrence.

In the history of Thomas Tomkins and his companions, mention was made of six who were examined, and condemned together by bishop Bonner, the 9th day of February. Of these six condemned persons, two, viz. Tomkins and William Hunter, were executed; one was pardoned, and the other three, to wit, William Pygot and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the 28th; and John Lawrence the 29th of the month of March.

Touching these three martyrs, we have now something to say of their examinations: it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. They severally answered, and subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and nowhere else. The bishop caused certain articles to be read to them, tending to the same effect as the articles against Tomkins and Causton, and they were answered in the same constant way.

The next day, being the 10th of Feb., before their public appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded them to recant, and deny their former profession. They answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions. Shortly after this they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter) brought openly into the consistory, and there had the same articles propounded to them which were before propounded to Thomas Tomkins.

The bishop also talked to John Lawrence alone; but he answered, that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past, and that he was sometime a professed black friar; that also he was betrothed to one whom he intended to have married.

Being demanded his opinion respecting the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. And after other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again in the afternoon.

At which hour they came again, and were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine; but they again constantly answered that they would not, but would stick to that faith which they had declared and subscribed; for that they did believe it was truth; but that the contrary was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings would prevail, he gave judgment: then they were committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate, where they remained until they were carried down into Essex, and there, on the 28th day of March, William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, made the following prayer:—

"O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body, and the loss of this life, and have counted all things but vile dust, and dung, that I might win thee; such death is dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the ground. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good; therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy commandment (as an obedient servant) be sweet and pleasant, that through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O, Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O, sweet Son of God, my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O, blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen."

The Death and Martyrdom of John Lawrence, Priest.

The next day, John Lawrence was brought to Colchester, and not being able to walk (for his legs were

sorely worn with heavy irons in prison, and his body weakened with wants) was brought to the fire in a chair, and so sitting, was in constant faith consumed.

At the burning of this Lawrence, as he was sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise:" which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

The History of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's.

The day after, which was the 30th of March, followed the martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of christian martyrs, that suffered after Hooper. This Farrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. I may well call him twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, to the shedding of his blood, but also for other injuries and troubles in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than undeservedly sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset.

Through the contrivance of his adversaries, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to George Constantine, exhibited to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, to blemish the bishop's credit, and to pull him down from his bishopric, and to bring him under a præmunire; by reason of which, upon the unfortunate fall of the duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, he was detained in prison till the death of King Edward, and at the coming in of Queen Mary and the popish religion, by which new troubles rose upon him, was now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine.

After the bishop of St. David's had been long detained in custody in the reign of King Edward, not for any just cause deserved on his part, but because he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, when, by the coming in of Queen Mary, the state of religion began to be changed and altered. He was now accused and examined, not for any matter of præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. He was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Hooper, Rogers, Bradford, Sanders, and others, on the 4th of Feb. On which day he would also have been condemned with them: but because leisure did not so well serve the bishop then, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th of Feb. His examinations and answers before the bishop of Winchester, as much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed:—

At his first coming and kneeling before the lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table,—and Rochester, Southwell, Bourne, and others standing at the table's end,—the lord chancellor spoke to him—

Winchester.—"Now, sir, have you heard how the world goes here?"

Farrar.—"If it please your honour, I know not."

Winchester.—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Farrar.—"No, my lord, I know not."

Winchester.—"Lo! what a froward fellow is this!"

Farrar.—"If it please your lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester.—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Farrar.—"I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

Worcester.—"I pray your lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

Winchester.—"The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion to the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of our King Henry VIII. Ye are in the queen's debt, and her majesty will be good to you, if you will return to the catholic church."

Farrar.—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's majesty, in the court of Exchequer, my lord treasurer knows: and the last time that I was before your honour, and the first time also, I shewed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your lordship, you know it well enough."

Bourne.—"You once abjured for heresy in Oxford."

Farrar.—"I did not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Farrar.—"Never! it is not true."

Bourne.—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Farrar.—"I did not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Farrar.—"I never did, but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne.—"Ah, so I said; you went with Barlow."

Farrar.—"That is true, but never from St. David's."

Bourne.—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York."

Farrar.—"I did not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Farrar.—"I did not, but I carried old books from Oswald's to the bishop of York."

Bourne.—"You supplanted your master."

Farrar.—"I never did in my life."

Bourne.—"By my faith you did."

Farrar.—"I did not, never in my life; but I did shield and save my master from danger, and I obtained it of King Henry VIII., for my true service, I thank God for it."

Bourne.—"My lord, he has an ill name in Wales as ever any man had."

Farrar.—"That is not so. Whoever saith so shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne.—"He has defrauded the queen in several sums of money."

Farrar.—"That is utterly untrue, I never defranded king nor queen of one penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove what you say."

Winchester.—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Farrar stood up (for previously he kneeled) and said, "No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King Henry VII., I served King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. truly, and have served the queen's majesty, truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Winchester.—"How sayest thou, wilt thou be reformable?"

Farrar.—"My lord, if it please your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry VIII., and also to King Edward, and to the queen's majesty, which I can never break while I live, were I to die for it."

Durham.—"You have made another oath before."

Farrar.—"No, my lord, I never made another oath before."

Durham.—"You made a vow."

Farrar.—"I did not."

Winchester.—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Farrar.—"No, my lord, if it please your honour, I never did; I made a profession to live chaste, but not without a wife."

Worcester.—"You were sworn to him that was head of your house."

Farrar.—"I never was."

Winchester.—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this week."

Farrar.—"I am as it pleases your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship your-

self made before me, and gave example, which confirmed my conscience. I can never break that oath whilst I live."

Durham.—"Well, he stands upon his oath: call another."

My lord chancellor then rang a little bell, and Farrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comfort, and to the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations, Bishop Farrar remained in prison uncondemned, till the 14th of February, and then he was sent into Wales; where it was proposed to him, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. When Farrar would give no answer, the bishop ministered to him these articles:

"1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests to be lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or not?

"2. Whether he believed, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?"

To which articles the bishop required Farrar to answer upon his allegiance.

To which he said he would answer when he saw a lawful commission, and would make no further answer at that time. Then the bishop committed him to the keeper, to be kept in prison.

On the 28th of February, Morgan the pretended bishop of St. David's sitting as judge, ministered to bishop Farrar, certain articles and interrogatories in writing: which he refused to answer, till he might see a lawful commission and authority. Then the pretended bishop of St. David's pronounced him as contumacious, and accounted him as one confessed, and so pronounced him in writing. Which being done, he committed him to custody, until the 4th of March.

On the day appointed, bishop Farrar appearing again before the pretended bishop Morgan, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer the articles, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to answer for himself: which being granted, and the Thursday next being assigned to him to answer, he was committed again to custody.

On Thursday, as was appointed, he again appeared, where he exhibited in writing, his answer. Then the pretended bishop of St. David's offered him again the articles: the tenor of which was to this effect:

"1st. That he required him, being a priest, to renounce matrimony.

"2nd. To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

"3rd. That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4th. That the general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

"5th. That men are not justified before God by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

"6th. That the catholic church, which alone has authority to expound the scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like to a city set upon a mountain, for all men to understand."

To these articles he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented by man, and pertain not to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop delivered to him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

On which Monday, being the 11th of March, he appearing again before the bishop, exhibited in a written paper his answer to the articles. The bishop assigned the next Wednesday, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

On which day this good bishop and true servant of God, was demanded by Henry Morgan the pretended bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, as he called them, and subscribe to the catholic articles.

After this the godly bishop, Farrar, exhibited a schedule written in English, appealing by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole.

Notwithstanding which, Bishop Morgan, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him: by which sentence he pronounced him an excommunicated heretic, to be given up forthwith to the secular power, namely, to the sheriff of the town of Carmarthen.

Being condemned and then degraded, he was committed to the secular power, and not long after brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen, where, in the market place at the south side of the market cross, the 30th day of March, being Saturday next before passion Sunday, he most constantly sustained the torments of the fire.

To shew the constancy of this blessed martyr, this may be added, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Farrar, a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer; the bishop answered, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And accordingly he stood so patiently, that he never moved, but continued still, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

The History of one Rawlins White.

As we have given the history of Farrar, burned at the town of Carmarthen, in Wales, I adjoin the history also of Rawlins White, who in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and about the same month of March, gave his life like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff.

This Rawlins was a fisherman, for the space of twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, being a man of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his neighbours. As to his religion, he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry of the times, I mean in the reign of King Henry VIII. But after God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of King Edward VI. this Rawlins began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity. He had a little boy, his own son, whom he sent to school to learn to read English. After the little boy could read well, his father every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy read a piece of the holy scripture, and now and then some other good book. In which virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that he rather practised himself in the study of the scriptures, than in the trade which he had followed, so that Rawlins within a few years, through the help of his little son, a special minister appointed by God for that purpose, and through much conference besides, profited so, that he was able not only to resolve himself, touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish, and instruct others; and therefore when occasion served he would go from one place to another visiting others. By which he became in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom he used as an assistance to this good purpose. To his great industry in the holy scriptures, God also added a singular gift of memory, so that he could do that in vouching and

rehearsing the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory could not easily accomplish. So that he, upon the alleging of scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea and the very sentence; such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

When he had thus continued in his profession five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and with her all kind of superstition and papistry returned. Which being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before, and therefore oftentimes in some private place he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, he converted a great number, which number, no doubt, would have greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution come on.

The force of this at last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he expected every hour to go to prison: many of those, who had received comfort by his instructions, resorted to him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose of his goods to the use of his wife and children, and by that means escape the danger.

But Rawlins, not abashed through the iniquity of the time, and not at all moved by these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson as to the confession and denial of Christ; telling them, that if he, by their persuasions, should deny his master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him: and therefore, that he would by grace confess and bear witness of him before men, that he might find in him everlasting life.

At last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy, upon which he was brought before the bishop of Llandaff, by whom after many conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow.

At last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued one whole year. During which time, although he was thus troubled, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children, yet his heart was so set on the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never quiet but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends as commonly came to him. So that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff Castle one year, the time of his trial was at hand. The bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought from the castle to his own house, near Chepstow; the bishop tried various ways to reduce him to conformity. But when threatening words, and flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop advised him to recant his opinions, and gave him a day for determination. Which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of others. When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending for him, which was that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error.

When the bishop had made an end, Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My lord, I thank God I am a christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a christian man ought to be." After much contention of a like nature, when Rawlins would in nowise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

"Proceed in your law, in God's name," said Rawlins; "but as an heretic you shall never condemn me while the world stands." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would send some spark of grace upon him; and it may so chance, that God through our prayer will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so: "Ah! my lord," cried he; "now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:' and there are more than two or three of you. Now, if your request be godly and lawful, and you pray as you should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go on; pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by, the bishop, with his company, fell to prayer. And Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands; and when they had prayed a while, the bishop, with his company, arose from prayer. And then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop: "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or not?" "Surely, my lord," said Rawlins, "Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them; but you honour a false God, and pray not as you should pray; and therefore has not God granted your desire. But I am one poor, simple man, as you see, and God has heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs had no effect, reproved him with angry words, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. However, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were present, he thought best first to have a mass, thinking that by so doing some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins, and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the meantime, poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place, until such time as the priest came to the elevation, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the elevation bell ring, he rose out of his place, and came to the choir door, and there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words: "Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, let the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol,"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again. The bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain. Upon which, the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being done, Rawlins was dismissed, and was by the bishop's commandment carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins in the meantime passed the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

When he perceived his time was near, he sent to his wife, that she should make ready and send to him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which he was afterwards burned in. Which request, or, rather commandment of his, his wife with great sorrow and grief of heart performed, and early in the morning sent it to him: he received it most gladly and joyfully.

When the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat, which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an

old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long before. And thus being brought out of prison, he was guarded with a great company of bills and gleaves. Which, when he beheld: "Alas!" said he; "what meaneth all this? All this was needed not. By God's grace I will not start away; but with all my heart and mind I give to God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Name's sake."

Coming to a place on his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping, and making great lamentation: the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as if he had disliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be angry with himself; and striking his breast with his hand, he used these words: "Ah, flesh, checkest thou me so! wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire. Which, when he beheld, he went forward very boldly; but in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground; and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words: "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then he went cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close to the stake; and when he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon the person who gave this account of his martyrdom, and called him to him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close to the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom, when he saw, he lifted up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God thanks. Then the smith put a chain about him, and as he was making it fast, Rawlins said to him: "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily, but God of his great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity."

Now, when the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds, in which the good old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay them about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. Which he did with such a cheerful countenance, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the fire, there was a standing erected directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, on which stept up a priest, who addressed himself to the people who were assembled in great numbers, as it was the market-day. Then the priest went on in his sermon, and spake of many things about the authority of the church of Rome. Rawlins gave such good attention, that he seemed not at all moved or disquieted. At last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins' opinions, and cited the usual place of scripture, in support of his dogmas.

Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by scripture; so he suddenly started up and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching;" and then said to the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture? Look in the text that followeth: Did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me?" After which words, the priest being amazed, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire!" which being done, the straw and reed, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In which this good and blessed man kept his hands till the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away, saving that once he, as it were, wiped his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At last the fire burned so vehemently against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this godly old man, Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of the Councillors, March 28, 1555, *touching the restitution of Abbey Lands.*

Before I pass over the month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary, to certain of the council on the 28th, about the restoring again of the abbey lands. After she had called into her presence four of the privy council, viz. William, lord marquess of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary; Sir Francis Inglefield, knight, master of the wards, Queen Mary said, "You are here of our council, and we have desired you to be called to us that you might hear of my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions of monasteries, and of other churches now in my possession.

"First I consider, that the lands were taken away from the churches in the time of schism, and by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church. For which cause my conscience does not suffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the lands, but with all my heart freely and willingly, here and before God I surrender and relinquish the lands and possessions, or inheritances, and renounce them with this purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate, the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And although you may object, that considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity of it, my imperial crown cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without these possessions; yet I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore these possessions I utterly refuse here to hold, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, who has given me a husband like-minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, to-morrow, together resort to the most reverend lord legate, and signify to him this matter in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of these possessions, as you yourselves understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first to the councillors, and then to the cardinal, he drawing out a copy in Latin, sent it to the pope: which copy coming afterwards to my hand, I have thus translated into English.

In the preceding month, the bishop of Ely, with the lord Montacute and one hundred and forty horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen to the pope of Rome. For what cause is not expressed; but it may be supposed to be about the abbey lands, as by the sequel may appear.

It was not long after that the pope set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands, by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated, not only those who had any of the church or abbey lands, but also all princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of

peace and others in office, who had not, or did not, forthwith put the same bull in execution. Although this execution (God be thanked), to this day was never put in practice.

Here again is to be observed another popish device, not unworthy of being noted. For where the papists may overmaster by force, they spare no cost. This well appeared, and still appears in burning the poor patient christians, who, because they are destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatever is put upon them, there they play the lion, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they find themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a defeat in presuming too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they perceive a convenient time for their purpose, as in this case.

For notwithstanding that the pope's bull came with full authority for the restitution of the abbey lands, and thundered out his most terrible excommunication, not only against them who detained any such lands, but also against all others who did not see the pope's commandment executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them; and therefore they were contented to let the matter fall, or at least to stay till circumstances might better serve them.

Yea, and under a crafty pretence, that the nobility and men of landed property at the first coming out of the bull should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtlely abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people, affirming that the pope's bull, set forth in print for the restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries! but that the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, is evident, both by the above intimation of queen Mary, as well as by many other causes, so that it is easy to understand what the purpose of those men was, if the time had served them.

John Awcock.

In the beginning of April, John Awcock died in prison: he was buried in the fields, as the manner of the papists was to deny their christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

On the first day of April, 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly.

On the 7th, another letter was sent to the sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwick, who went about with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

On the 15th a letter was directed to Sir Nicolas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, desiring them to examine Master Flower, alias Branch, as to what he meant by wearing about his neck the words, "fear God, flee idols," praying them also to speak to Bonner, Bishop of London, to proceed against him for his religion, and that the justice of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding blood in the church, so that if he continued in his opinion, he might be executed by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand, the day before his execution, or the same day, should be stricken off.

On the 22d there was a letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before he was burnt.

On the 29th, Master Robert Horneby, a servant to the lady Elizabeth, was brought before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was committed to the Marshalsea.

An account of the Life, Examination and Burning of George Marsh.

George Marsh was burnt in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster. He was well brought up in learning and trade, by his parents, and afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, married a young woman belonging to the county, with whom he lived for many years, upon a farm, and had several children. But on the death of his wife, he went into the University of Cambridge, where he studied and increased greatly in learning and godly virtues, and became a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Lawrence Sanders. In which condition of life he continued for a time, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the overthrowing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, both there and in the parish of Deane, and elsewhere, in Lancashire.

At length he was apprehended by his adversaries, and kept in prison, by the bishop of Chester, four months, not being permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names to the bishop, as appears by an account written by himself, as follows:

The Handling, Intreating, and Examination of George Marsh.

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone, with others of Master Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Master Barton on the following day, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, there to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

"I knowing this, by means of several of my friends, was variously affected; my mother, and others of my friends advising me to fly, and to avoid the peril as I had intended to do after a week then next ensuing, if this in the meanwhile had not happened; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit, I never will) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine ownself, after troubles and painful imprisonment, to shameful death.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. Being thus with their counsel and advice, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind drawn as it were divers ways, I went from my mother's house, saying, I would come again at evening.

"In the meantime I ceased not by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel of God (who is the Giver of all good gifts) and of others of my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Deane Moor, about sunset, and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed; I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel, as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where several of Master Barton's servants had been seeking me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that

night, and to bring me to Smithy-hills the next day; who being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere. I intended before to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her, I departed, and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend.

"At my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in nowise fly, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Master Barton who sought for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind and conscience before being much disquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

"So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as my custom was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go towards Smithy-hills: and as I was going there, I went into the houses of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and to be good to my little children; for, as I supposed, they should not see my face any more before the last day, and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parts, and came to Smithy-hills about nine of the clock, and presented myself before Master Barton.

"He charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the earl or his counsel.

"So we went to my mother's, and there praying, I took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and so I departed from them, and came to Lathum early next day.

"Then I was called to my lord and his council, and brought into the chamber of presence, where was present Sir William Nores, Sir Pierce Alee, Master Sherburn, the parson of Grapnal, Master More, with others. My lord turned himself toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, Marsh.

"Then he asked whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people. Which I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me.

"Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my lord to his council, this is a wonderful thing. He said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, that 'by the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.'

"Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received orders of the bishop of London and Lincoln.

"They asked me how long I had been a curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered, that I had been a curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God, and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again.

"At this they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised! Then they asked me what my belief was.

"I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds do teach; that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apostles' creed, the creed of the Nicene council, the creed of Athanasius, and of Austin, and Ambrose.

"And after a few words, the parson of Grapnal said, 'But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?'

"I answered, 'I believed that whoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood with all the benefits of his death and resurrection to their eternal salvation; for Christ,' said I, 'is ever present with his sacrament.'

"Then they asked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ?

"I made answer, 'I knew no further than I had showed already. For my knowledge is imperfect,' said I, 'desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, by which to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. At this they were not a little offended, saying, they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good christian.

"So after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of St. Paul, 'Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but gender strife,' my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament: and I wrote as I had answered before. At which he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying, I should not choose but do it.

"Then I took the pen and wrote, that I knew not more. At this he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable, how glad he would be.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to prison in a cold, windy, stone-house, where there was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few canvass tent-clothes, and a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes, and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man was suffered to come to me but my keeper, who came twice a-day, when he brought me meat and drink.

"On Palm Sunday I was sent for to appear before my lord and his council, amongst whom was Sir John Be.. ram, and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me again about the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council, saying, that the answer which I had made before, and then did make, was sufficient for a beginner, and as one who did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. With this the Earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm amongst them.

"And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than before, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but had done so in such a manner as that my adversaries thought they should prevail against me; I was therefore much grieved, and I cried more earnestly to God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit with boldness to confess him; and to deliver me from their enticing words, that I might not be spoiled through their philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.

"And so after a day or two I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass: and he asked

what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass offended me, first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, in I Corinth. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained in it, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. I also named some parts, which they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying those were understood far otherwise than the words purported, or than I took them. I answered, I understood them as they purported, and as their own books commented upon them.

"They said sacrifice or oblation did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and shewed me wherein some places of the mass was written 'a sacrifice of praise.' I answered, that it followed not from that, that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving was not to be offered for the sins of the people, for that Christ by his own passion once offered on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself and of the people; for the dead, and for the salvation of the living.

"After much exhortation to me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, which, as they meant was the Romish church, I departed, not consenting to them.

"Within a day or two after came Master More, bringing with him certain articles to which Doctor Crome had subscribed in the days of king Henry VIII., and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe to those articles. I confessed plainly I would in nowise consent and subscribe to those articles; and so he departed.

"Shortly after the parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, if I would not consent and subscribe, I must go to prison. Those articles were as follows:—

"1. Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and seen?

"2. Whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

"3. Whether the lay people ought to receive under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

"4. Whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

"These four questions or articles they delivered to me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with my own hand, and come again. So within half an hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with my answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did before. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ's institution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it suffices not to receive under the one kind only. To the fourth I replied, that though auricular confession were a convenient means to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded by God.

"They urgently exhorted me then to leave my opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the scriptures amiss, and counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered that my faith in Christ was derived from his holy word, and that I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change my belief for any living creature, desiring them to speak to my lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their power. And so after exhorting me again to do and believe as the church did, we departed.

"Upon one of the Easter holydays Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, and persuaded me to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and were in danger of their lives. Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things: with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; but as for the scriptures Master Sherburn confessed himself entirely ignorant.

"I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity; but they earnestly advised me to recant my opinions, and not to be prevented by any worldly shame.

"I replied, that what I did, I did it not for avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, my soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame; neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverend fear of God.

"Then More questioned with me about receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of the 24th chapter of Luke, and the 20th chapter of the Acts, where was mention of breaking bread only; from which he gathered, that they received the sacrament under one kind only.

"That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name breaking of bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution. So after much communication on this subject, Sherburn said, it was a great pity, that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

"I answered as I had done to my lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet to me as to any other man, and that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with a good conscience, and without dishonouring the cause of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: 'for I take myself,' said I, 'as a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me.' And so, after I had requested them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.'

Such is the account which Marsh himself gives under his own hand of his troubles. He adds many other things, among which is the following:—

"While I was in ward at Lathum, a number of persons at sundry times came unto me. Some said to me that all my companions had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw several of them afterwards. Others said, that it was reported amongst my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

"While I was at Lancaster, many came to talk with me, some of good will towards me, but being without knowledge gave me such counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, 'Lord, this shall not be unto thee.' But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about, and said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan:' and perceiving that they were an hindrance to me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them a plain answer, that I neither could nor would follow their counsel; but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in nowise to flatter and bear with those, though they love us ever so well, who go about to turn us away from the obedience that we owe to God and to his word, but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

"Some others, yea, even strangers also came to me, far unlike these, who, after sober communication, con-

sented with me in all things, lamenting much my troubles, giving me comfortable words, and some money too, and resorted to me often, for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) are not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God. At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton, of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; to whom I had good opportunity to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer (everlasting thanks be given to him) that I was not afraid to speak to any that came to me; no, not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst thieves, with irons on my feet; but yet with boldness I spake unto them so long as they would suffer me.

"They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straightly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion, and straightly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to shew who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was indeed a false forged lie of some wicked wretches.) After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud, that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my fellow prisoner Warburton, every day on our knees, did read morning and evening prayers, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers; we also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read with such a loud voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would often in the evenings, come and sit down in our sight under the windows and hear us read."

After this, Marsh was several times brought before Dr. Cotes, the bishop, and examined; he answered to every article very modestly, according to the doctrine received by public authority, and taught in this realm at the death of King Edward. After this, he was returned to his prison again.

At last, after some weeks, the bishopand others being assembled in the chapel, Marsh was brought by the keeper and others with bills and weapons before them; when the chancellor, by way of an oration, declared to the people present the bishop's concern and charity, who as a good shepherd watches over his flock, to see that none of his sheep have any disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the diseased sheep: so his lordship had sent for Marsh as a diseased sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition towards him, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not avail: so that he was now determined, if Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present time forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late.

Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he made at his former examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same or not? To which he answered again, 'Yea, yea.'

"How say ye then to this?" said the chancellor. "In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church?"

"I said so, indeed," replied Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him, as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, "Yes, and some others; but they claimed no more authority in England, than the bishop of Canterbury does at Rome; and I strive not with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow, indeed," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?"

George Marsh answered and said, "Oh, my lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case has no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the church of Rome errs in the sacrament. For Christ in the institution delivered the cup as well as the bread, saying, 'Drink ye all of this,' and Mark reports, that they drank of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it to the Corinthians. And in the same way also, it was used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome takes away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the bishop, "There is no disputing with an heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to them, or forsake them.

He said, "That he held no heretical opinions, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they so untruly slandered him." And he desired all the people present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law established, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward VI., and that in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, live and die.

The bishop then took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read the sentence of condemnation; but when he had read almost half of it, the chancellor said, "Good, my lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to recal it," so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and others of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh to recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him. So they knelt down, and he desired them to pray for him, and said that he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not accept the queen's mercy in time; he answered, "he loved her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, so as to lose his everlasting mercy, and so win everlasting death."

Then the bishop put his spectacles upon his nose, and read his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor, with a smiling countenance, called to the bishop, and said, "Yet good, my lord, once again stop, for if that word is spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve:" and the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay, if it might be."

"How sayest thou," said he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and poor people urged him to do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. He answered again, "I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ, and he deny me before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence to the end, and said, "Now would I no more pray for thee, than I would for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship. And after this the bishop delivered him to the sheriffs.

Being in a dungeon or dark prison, no friend was

allowed to speak with him; and some of the citizens who loved him for the gospel's sake, would in the evening, through a hole in the wall of the city belonging to the prison, call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God for vouchsafing his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, whereat he rejoiced; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear it to his glory and the comfort of his church: with many other godly sayings, as one that desired to be with Christ.

When the time appointed came that he was to suffer, the sheriffs of the city brought out Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and expected that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, as the custom of felons was in that city in times past, at their going to execution, to give to a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, by which they might, as they thought, be saved. But Marsh said he would not then be troubled with money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way to his death with his book in his hand, looking upon it: and many of the people said, "This man goes not to his death as a thief or one who deserves to die."

When he came to the place of execution without the city, near to Spittle-boughton, one Cawdrey, the deputy Chamberlain of Chester, shewed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept it, and said farther, that he loved the queen, but as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that he began to speak to the people, shewing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to hold fast to Christ. One of the sheriffs said, "We must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy;" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes to his shirt, and being chained to the post, having a number of fagots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in it over his head. The fire was unskilfully made, so that he suffered great extremity in his death, but he endured it very patiently.

When he had been a long time tormented in the fire, without moving, his flesh broiled and puffed up, so that they who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened, and therefore supposed that he had been dead, however he suddenly spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven have mercy upon me," and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the lord.

Upon this, many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvellously patient and godly; which caused the bishop shortly after to preach a sermon in the cathedral church, and he affirmed in it, that Marsh was an heretic, burnt like an heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

Letters of George Marsh.

This good man wrote sundry letters out of prison, besides reports of his examinations. The first in order concerning his examinations is as follows:—

"Here you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of christian doctrine briefly enumerated, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught, and yet do believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed by God's grace to continue in the same until the last day. I want both time and opportunity to write out at large the proofs, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desires to know, let them read over the common-places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon, Erasmus, and Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion, I do chiefly follow and lean to. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it has pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us to his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"Though Satan be suffered to sift us as wheat for a time, yet our faith fails not through Christ's aid, but we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; and when they backbite us as evil doers, they should be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ. I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates; I do confess it; but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but took my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Lawrence Sanders in the cure of Langton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long to continue there, although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman. But he has provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for my violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his dearly beloved disciples have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights, as the blind papists judge it, but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

"God at this present time in England hath his fan in his hand, and after his great harvest, into which for years past he has sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and making ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees. I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, who with their glosses deprave the scriptures. For as the apostle Peter teaches us, 'there shall be false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandize of you;' and Christ earnestly warns us, to beware of false prophets, who comes to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we christians taught, that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' Also the evangelist St. John saith, 'Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.' Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrines by the true touchstone, which is the word of God; and as the godly Bereans did 'Search the scriptures daily,' whether those things which are preached unto us be even so or not; or else by the outward conversation of them ye may be easily deceived."

A Letter Exhortatory of George Marsh to the faithful Professors of Langton.

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write to you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor, Master Sanders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, who now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel of which they have been preachers, but are willing and ready for your sakes (who are Christ's mystical body) to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life,—I mean their native countries, friends, livings, &c.—but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is, with their painful imprisonments and blood sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether these, being that good salt of the earth, that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and who themselves lose not their saltness, now when they are proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution; or others being that unsavoury salt which has lost its saltness, that is, those ungodly ministers, who fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist: whether of these, I say, is more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: And see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word; whom Christ likens to a wise man, who builds his house on a rock, that when the great rain descended, and the floods came, and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was founded upon a rock: that is, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world, with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty councils, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth, being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell, that is, the power of Satan, cannot prevail.

"And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did: for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, are they who receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, who both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and are ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an example to comfort us: for they all entered into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we be content to deny ourselves, and take up the cross of Christ, and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him.

"And again, If we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecution and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. As the apostle saith, 'Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.' 2 Thes. i. 6, 7. For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest: whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ by the parable of the rich glutton and the wretched Lazarus, plainly declares and teaches. These we ought to have before our eyes always, that in the time of adversity and persecution (of which, all that are the children of God shall be partakers, and with which it has pleased God to put some of us in practice already) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even to the end, that we may be saved. For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him, who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord, who is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.

"Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. As the apostle saith, 'For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.' 1 Cor. iii. 11—15.

"By fire here, the apostle understands persecution and trouble, for they who truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the Cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire.

"By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understands them that in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such, as in time of persecution fall away from the truth. And when Christ purges his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then who believe do in time of persecution stand steadfast in the truth, the builder, (I mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if they go back and swerve, when persecution arises, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost, but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, abides fast in the faith.

"Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon this sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel. We are also an holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual and of three kinds.

"The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which St. Paul calls the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God.

"The second is mercy towards our neighbour, as the prophet Hosea saith, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' Read 25th chap. of Matthew.

"The third is, when we make our body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice most acceptable to God, which the apostle calleth our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure, that unless we now at this present time take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threatens to the Jews,

shall happen to us; that is, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition idolatry, infidelity, and unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which by the grace of God was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall to our utter destruction return again unto us and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. 'For,' says St. Peter, 'if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.' 2 Pet. ii. 20—22.

"And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. 'For it is impossible,' saith St. Paul, 'for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame' Heb. vi 4—6

"St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide steadfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites for all their fair faces outwardly and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas Hymeneus Philetus, and others were, who all fell away from the truth, and made a mock of Christ which St. Paul calls here, to crucify Christ anew, because that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such can in no wise be renewed by repentance For their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was, which being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death These are not of the number of the elect: and as St. John doth say, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us.' 1 John ii. 19. Also the apostle Paul saith, in another place, 'For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins. But a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries' Heb x. 26, 27.

"They sin willingly, who of a set malice and purpose do hold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, who although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that all sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death yet they will not commit themselves wholly to it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience to whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man should pray.

"Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now in these last and perilous times in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ and the apostles have so much spoken, and given us an earnest forewarning we hold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do for whatever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death and as our Saviour Christ saith, 'If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins.' For unless we hold fast the word of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use and we, through our own unthankfulness, put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts, that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the earth that drinketh in rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God but that ground that beareth thorns and briars, is reproved, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better things of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, who although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and bye they are offended, or with the cares of this world, and deceitfulness of riches choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and amongst other things note and mark, that most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation, for only the fourth part of the seed brings forth fruit. Therefore let not us that are ministers or professors and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel and be saved

"Whoever therefore has ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, who when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves suffering them to live as they themselves please.

"But we trust to see better things of you, my dearly beloved and that ye, like very Gadarenes, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now when persecution arises because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you and be given to another nation which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually

give yourselves unto all manner of good works: Amongst which, the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, *i. e.* things contrary to true religion. For, then ought we to say with St. Peter, 'We ought to obey God rather than man.' But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also teaches us, that all power is of God, yea, even the power of the wicked, whom God causes oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whoever then resists any power, resists the ordinance of God, and so purchases to himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also by all means be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.

"Secondly, we must obey our parents, or them that are in their rooms, and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much more with spiritual food, which is the word of God.

"Thirdly, we must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them, for this is the law and the prophets.'

"Fourthly, we must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates, knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us; and by thus ordering ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified, beseeching you to help Master Sanders and me, your late pastors, and all them that are in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men, and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our christian brethren in the world, and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren; and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen. The 28th of June, by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner, "George Marsh."

"Save yourselves from this untoward generation.
Pray, pray, pray: never more need."

A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used to say daily.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, who art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open to thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, and knots, all which thou knowest; for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we are far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts, and for these old hearts create new ones within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and the custom of the old man changed, and that our hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting. Amen."

The Life and History of William Flower, who, being apprehended for striking a priest, first had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, was born at Snowhill, in the county of Cambridge, and then came to the abbey of Ely, where he was a professed monk, bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the house, until he came to one-and-twenty years of age: before he came to that age, he was made a priest also in the house, and there celebrated mass. After that, he forsook the house, and casting from him the monk's habit and religion, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snowhill, where he was born; and there he celebrated mass, and taught children for about half a year.

After some time, he moved to other places, and at last to Gloucestershire, where after he had made his abode in the country a while, he at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued. After this he settled in London, and on Easter he came over the water from Lambeth to St. Margaret's church at Westminster, where seeing a priest ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for his doing so, struck and wounded him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand with his woodknife, the priest having at the same time in his hand a chalice, with some consecrated hosts, which were sprinkled with the blood of the priest.

In so doing he acted neither well nor christian-like, and therefore afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, he confessed the same, submitting himself willingly to punishment. However, touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself; but being examined before Bishop Bonner, the following articles were objected against him:

Articles objected against William Branch, alias Flower.

"First, that thou being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years old, wast professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profession thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using all the meantime the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

"Also, that afterwards thou wast ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church, and afterward thou didst minister as a priest, and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Also, that afterwards thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst contrary to thy profession and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Fulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury in the diocese of Gloucester.

"Also, that thou being a religious man and a priest, didst contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and surgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

"Also, that upon Easter day last past, that is to say, the fourteenth day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon, that is, to wit, thy woodknife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelton, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said

weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sorely, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him, the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

"Also, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicated and accursed, *ipso facto*, and not to be associated with, neither in the church, nor otherwise, but in special cases

"Also, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty years, and yet art at this present time of this opinion; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ

"Also, that thou for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same as before) didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

"Also, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of that cruel act, art also by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged as thou art indeed a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

"Also, that all the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret's, and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame."

After his examination, the bishop began with his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he commonly used to others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides the remitting of what was past.

William Flower thanked him for his offer · and where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he was contented to let him do what he chose; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God either to save or destroy.

In the afternoon William Flower appeared again before the bishop. The bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words·—"You were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles, and I respited you till now, that you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and remember, while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar."

He answered, "That which I have said, I will stand to, and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Upon this, the bishop commanded his notary again to read his articles; which being read, William Flower answered to all parts of the articles, confessing, that whereas he struck the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he has since that time, and yet does dislike himself in that act, and does now judge and believe that the act was evil and naughty.

On the twentieth of April, 1555, William Flower was brought by the keeper of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion, went about to reduce him to his catholic church, that is, from Christ to antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors frightening him To this Flower answering, said, "Do what you will, I am determined for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion" &c The bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, and thus speaking to Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he pronounced as an heretic? The martyr of God answered, "I have nothing at all to say for I have already said all that I have to say, and what I have said I will not go from and therefore do what you will."

When he had thus spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an heretic, and afterwards pronounced him also to be degraded, and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the twenty-fourth day of April he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the act was committed and there coming to the stake he made his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his christian faith.

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who has sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's Prayer, and so made an end.

His hand being held up against the stake, was striken off his left hand being stayed behind him. At the striking off of his hand, some that were present observed that he in no part of his body shrunk at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

Then fire was set to him as he burned, he cried with a loud voice, "O Son of God have mercy upon me, O Son of God receive my soul," three times, and so he spake no more, lifting up his stump with his other arm as long as he could

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne.

Upon the thirtieth day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St John in Wallbrook. Of whom it remains now to give an account, beginning with Master Cardmaker, who was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys, afterwards was a married minister, and in King Edward's time appointed to be a reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Barlow bishop of Bath was brought to London and laid in prison in the Fleet, King Edward's laws yet being in force But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex-officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two were brought before Winchester, and others appointed by commission, to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners.

To this they both made such answer, that the chancellor with his fellow commissioners reported them as catholics Whether they in weakness so answered, or he in subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother, to mention to those who were to be examined, may be perceived by this, that to all who followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and

Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatever their answer was, yet Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence being delivered, he by exile constantly bore witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Lawrence Sanders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him), where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that in the end they both shewed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ.

Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his Answers to the same.

"First, I, Edmund bishop of London, object against thee John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me Edmund bishop of London.

"Also, that thou in times past didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Also, that thou in times past didst receive all the orders of the church then used.

"Also, that thou after thy entry into religion, and profession, and orders, didst take to wife a widow, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church."

The remaining articles relate to his denial of transubstantiation.

Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the eighth article, the next day answered these articles severally, and afterwards exhibited to the bishop in a schedule this which follows:—

"Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet farther, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution: so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament; so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporeal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.

"This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

"John Cardmaker."

Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer.

"First, that thou, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John, of Walbrook, in London, hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

"2. That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not, (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the bread is in no wise altered or changed.

"3. That thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, against God's truth and the scriptures.

"4. That thou hast said, that where, about a twelve month ago, and more, a great rough water spaniel of thine was shorn on the head, and had a crown like a priest made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

"5. That thou, neither at Lent past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done."

John Warne being examined upon these articles by the bishop, answered them, confessing and granting the articles to be true. Such strength and fortitude had God's Holy Spirit worked in him, to stand valiantly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

After the bishop had exhorted him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, he commanded him to appear again the next day.

On that day the bishop, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, he could not prevail, finished this examination with pronouncing the definitive sentence of condemnation against John Warne.

On the 30th of May, the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker and John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they were to suffer. Being come to the stake, the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing was wanted but the torch; but still Cardmaker continued talking with the sheriffs.

The people who had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this conversation, were in a great sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in secret: the people, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no appearance of any burning, were confirmed in their opinion, that he would recant.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes to his shirt, went with courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he then took Warne by the hand, and comforted him, and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this done so suddenly, contrary to their expectations, cried out for joy, saying, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit." And this continued while the executioner put fire to them; and thus these godly men passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne, Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, on the 30th of May, A.D. 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and maker of heaven and earth."

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them."

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth he was made also perfect man, and so being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them who were lost in Adam, our forefather He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation"

"Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin."

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Judea, and unjustly accused of many crimes, of which the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, who had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death, who doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the state of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth"

"The third day he rose again from death to life."

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead he became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins."

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

"After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell, leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal."

"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead"

"He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that are dead, that all may be brought to his judgment Then shall he give to each man according to his deeds. They who have followed him in regeneration, who have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they, who after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels."

"I believe in the Holy Ghost."

"I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in the Trinity; in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up until the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ."

"The holy catholic church."

"This is an holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach."

"The Communion of Saints"

"Which most holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teacheth, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone), though it is by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them who are departed from this mortal life, as of them who now are living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all his holy members, of which number, through Christ, I assuredly believe I am one, shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore"

"The forgiveness of sins."

"I do believe that my sins, and all their sins who do rightly believe the Holy Scriptures, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any man should boast. Through the blood of the cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven."

"The resurrection of the body."

"I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from the dead; for 'He,' as St. Paul saith, 'is risen from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.' This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality to live with Christ for ever, the reprobate also shall rise immortal to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting"

"And the life everlasting"

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Which life I am sure to possess as soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the last day both my body and soul shall possess the same for ever, to which God grant that all men may come.

"I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christ's blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, the nature of which is to strengthen the body, so do I by faith receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and in fine, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eat-

ing and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith; this do I believe, and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood. "John Warne."

The History of John Ardeley and John Simson.

Upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, John Ardeley and John Simson were also condemned. But before we come to their history, we shall give a letter of the king and queen, directed from the court the same day, and sent to the bishop by a post, early in the morning, in tenor and form as follows:—

"To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given therein for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are directed to have a special regard to such disorderly persons as forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; whom if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are directed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably dealt withal, and removed, if it may be, from their naughty opinions, or else if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that many of the said disorderly persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so dealt with, as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so have we thought convenient both to signify our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed.

"Given under our signet at Hampton Court, the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns."

This letter thus coming from the Court to the bishop made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others as of these men, of whom now we have presently to treat, namely, John Simson and John Ardeley, who being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, for Simson was of the age of thirty-four, and Ardeley thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation of heresy.

As the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop, as well as the articles laid against them, were much alike, so their answers were not much discrepant in manner and form; as we find them in the bishop's own registers as follows —

Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley.

"First, that thou John Simson (or John Ardeley, husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

"2. That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion or in any part thereof.

"3 That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the churches of Rome Italy Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, errroneous, and naught and in nowise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed by any christian man.

"4 That although it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and although that it be so believed, taught, and preached, undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe, but contrariwise thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine, are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

"5. That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to make material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people, remembering thereby the passsion and death of Christ only

"6. That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and in the other churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in Excelsis, and the epistle and the gospel, and that therefore thou hast not, nor will come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid

"7. That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but that it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught."

They answered to these articles with constancy and christian boldness, and then the bishop endeavoured to induce them to recant. John Ardeley answered Bonner as follows —"My lord, neither you, nor any other of

your religion, is of the catholic church; for you are of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length. Ye will shed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more," &c.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These, with many other words, he spoke. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered, "No, God forbid that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the said bishop asked John Ardeley if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him; and then read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, who stood with the same constancy as John Ardeley: they both were committed to the secular power; that is, to the hands of the sheriffs, to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed.

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley, it happened that the bishop, being in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the two prisoners, burst out his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away, have him away!"

The people in the church, who were assembled in great numbers, hearing these words, and thinking that the prisoners had received judgment, being desirous to see the prisoners, severed themselves, some running one way, others another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed: and the bishop being afraid of this sudden stir, asked what it was. The standers-by answering, said, that there was likely to be some tumult. When the bishop heard this, his heart failed him, and leaving his seat, he, with the rest of the court, took to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, sooner reached the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop out, and cried, "Save my lord, save my lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, by which they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at.

John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were both in one day (June 10, 1555) put to death. John Simson suffered at Rochford, John Ardeley at Railey.

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his fellows against John Tooly.

In the same month that the two godly men, above mentioned, were burned, a solemn process was made about the pope's spirituality against John Tooly, in a case of heresy. The history is this: There was, about the time that the Spaniards began first to make a stir in England, one John Tooly, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain others of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet it was aggravated and made greater than it was, by being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooly was found guilty, and judged to be hanged.

Tooly being led to the gallows, a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two papers: then having the halter about his neck, he desired the people present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood, and not by any masses, or trentals, images, or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, devised by the bishop of Rome: and that as Tooly and his fellows, who were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other peltry, for covetousness' and he spoke with a loud voice these words: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us!" He then spake to the people; "All you that are true christian men, say with me, Amen." And immediately about three hundred persons or more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, "Amen," three times.

As soon as the account of this fact came to the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. At last they all agreed that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and fagot. And I do easily believe that cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence: for as Winchester and Bonner always thirsted after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except, peradventure, being loath to be so cruel as the others; he thought, nevertheless, by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, who had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned in Cambridge, as Tooly's dead body was here at London. And besides this, that he might shew some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the dunghill. Of these two acts we shall say more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooly, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, as may further appear as follows:—

The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, set up at Charing Cross, on St. Paul's Church-door, and at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, for the citing and further enquiring into the case of John Tooly.

"Edmund, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our diocese of London, and especially unto Richard Clonie, our sworn sumner, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Forsomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John Tooly, late citizen and poulterer of London, the son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the selfsame time in which he should go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter divers and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the truth of the catholic faith, and unity of the same; and did exhort, stir up, and encourage the people, there standing in great multitudes, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions. And, moreover, certain of the people there standing, as it did appear, affected with errors and heresies, as abettors and defenders of the said John, did confirm and give express consent to the aforesaid words, propositions, and affirmations, which thing we do utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart.

"We, therefore, the aforesaid Edmund and bishop, not being able, nor daring to pass over in silence, nor wink at the aforesaid heinous act, lest by our negligence and slackness the blood of them might be required at our hands at the most terrible day of judgment, desiring to be certified and informed whether the premises declared unto us, be of the truth, and lest that any scabbed sheep, lurking amongst the simple flock of our Lord, do infect them with pestiferous

heresy. To you, therefore, we straightly charge and command that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation upon the church-door of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church-door of St. Paul's in London, leaving there the copy hereof; or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

"All which and singular by the tenor of these presents we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar-general, or commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, in the consistory place, upon Thursday, the second day of May next ensuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises, and moreover to do and receive what law and reason doth require.

"Further, we commit unto you as before, and straightly enjoining you, do command that you will generally cite the wife of the said Tooly that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars specially, and all other and every of them, if there be any that desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises, that you admonish them after manner and form aforesaid; whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, do in such sort cite and admonish that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep silence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose in due form of law, a reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooly, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for such an heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcass to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the arm and power secular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

"And furthermore to do, receive, and suffer, as law and reason will, and as the quality of such matter, and the nature of themselves do constrain and require; and moreover that you cite and admonish, after the manner aforesaid, all and every of the receivers, abettors, and creditors of the said John Tooly that is dead, especially if any of them do incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the said Thursday they return and submit themselves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy church; which thing if they do, we, trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promise that we will receive them, being penitent for such their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their persons to the uttermost of our power; otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know that we will punish more severely this offence, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it. And what you shall do in the premises, let him among you, who shall execute this our present mandate, certify us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patents, together with these authentically sealed.

"Dated at London, under our seal, the last day of April, 1555, and the eleventh year of our translation."

When the time of this citation was expired, and Tooly, being cited, did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him), and after that the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good-morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such a manner as in such cases they used to do, at length one stood out for the purpose, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor sufficiently answer them to avoid the name of an heretic, then he was condemned as an heretic, and so committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who, with diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore taking the man, being previously suspended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and besides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned for a continual remembrance thereof. This was done on the fourth day of June.

The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Hawkes.

Immediately after the history of Doctor Taylor, mention was made of six men who were brought before Bishop Bonner upon the 8th of February. The names of which martyrs were Stephen Knight, William Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, John Lawrence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Hawkes, who was condemned with them on the 9th day of February.

As to his education and order of life, he was born of honest parents, in Essex, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was comely of person, and tall of stature, and endued with excellent qualities. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love to true religion and godliness surmounted all the rest. In these, as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to ennoble the whole company of other holy martyrs.

This Hawkes, following the fashion of the court as he grew in years, entered into the service of the lord of Oxford, where he remained for some time, being there well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of good men. Hawkes disliking this state of things, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness, which he had made, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

Shortly after this, Hawkes had a son born to him, whose baptism he deferred to the third week, because he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner. So his adversaries, laying hands upon him, brought him to the earl of Oxford, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to argue with him in matters of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and letters, and so put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London.

Then the bishop began to enter into communication with Thomas Hawkes, first asking what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long?

Hawkes.—"Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner.—"Why; baptism is commanded by the word of God?"

Hawkes.—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner.—"What deny you then?"

Hawkes.—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner.—"What things be those that are devised by man, that you are so offended withal?"

Hawkes.—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water," &c.

Bonner.—"Will you deny that which all the whole world and your father has been contented with?"

Hawkes.—"What my father and the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with; but what God hath commanded me to do, to that I shall stand."

Bonner.—"Would not you be contented that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by King Edward?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, with a good will; it is a thing that I desire."

Bonner.—"I thought so; you would have the same thing. The principle is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in the necessity it may serve."

Hawkes.—"Christ did use it without any such necessity; and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Hawkes.—"'Go teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c."

Bonner.—"Thou speakest that because I am no preacher."

Hawkes.—"I quote the text; I do not mean you."

Bonner.—"Will you be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized?"

Hawkes.—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you."

Bonner.—"You seem to be a stout young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?"

Hawkes.—"What the queen and you can do I will not say, but you shall get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner.—"Well, you are a stubborn young man; I perceive I must work another way with you."

Hawkes.—"You are in the hands of God, and so am I."

Bonner.—"Whatever you think, I will not have you speak such words to me."

A Dialogue between Harpsfield and Thomas Hawkes.

Then the bishop brought Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to talk with him.

Harpsfield.—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

Hawkes.—"I know that well; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If you will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it to."

Harpsfield.—"Suppose your child die unchristened, what heavy a case stand you in?"

Hawkes.—"I admit that if it do, what then?"

Harpsfield.—"Why, then you are damned, and your child too."

Hawkes.—"Judge you no farther than you may by the scriptures."

Harpsfield.—"Do you not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield.—"How is original sin washed away?"

Hawkes.—"By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield.—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Hawkes.—"The deliverance of it from sin standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield.—"How prove you that?"

Hawkes,—"By St. Paul; in 1 Cor. vii. 14, where he says, 'For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.'"

Harpsfield.—"I will prove that they whom thou puttest thy trust in are against thee in this opinion."

Hawkes.—"Who are those?"

Harpsfield.—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Hawkes.—"If they do it by the scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner.—"Recant, recant; do you not know that Christ said, 'Except ye be baptized ye cannot be saved?'"

Hawkes.—"Doth christianity stand in outward ceremonies or not?"

Bonner.—"Partly it doth: what say you to that?"

Hawkes.—"I say as St. Peter saith, 'Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.'"

Harpsfield.—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride."

Hawkes.—"It is written, 'Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men.'"

Bonner.—"Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass, sirrah?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner.—"What, nothing profitable in it! What say you to the epistle and gospel?"

Hawkes.—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner.—"Well, I am glad that you somewhat recant: recant all, recant all."

Hawkes.—"I have recanted nothing, nor will I."

Bonner.—"How say you to the confessional?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"To trust to any, we bid you not; but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do you not know when you come into the court you cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Hawkes.—"They that choose may receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them; and St. Paul saith, 'How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?'"

Bonner.—"Will you have no body to pray for you when you be dead?"

Hawkes.—"No, surely, except you can prove it by the scriptures; a man's prayers, you being dead, profit nothing at all."

Bonner.—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Hawkes—"I grant it does for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner.—"Not for the dead?"

Hawkes.—"No; for David saith, 'None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever.' Also Ezekiel saith, 'Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.'"

Harpsfield.—"What books have you?"

Hawkes.—"The New Testament, Solomon's Books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield.—"Will you read any other books?"

Hawkes.—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield.—"What books do you require?"

Hawkes.—"Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's Sermons, Ridley's books."

Bonner.—"Away, away! he will have no books but such as maintain his heresies."

The next day an old bishop attended, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my lord a dish of apples and a bottle of wine; for he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Hawkes.—"I deny not baptism."

Bonner (speaking in much anger).—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have."

Hawkes.—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

Bonner.—"Thou judgest me to be angry; no, by my faith am I not. What say you to holy water?"

Hawkes.—"I say to it as to the rest, and to all that are of his making that made them."

Bonner.—"The scriptures allow it."

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Hawkes.—"Where prove you that?"

Bonner.—"In the book of Kings, where Elisha threw salt into the water."

Hawkes.—"Ye say truth; the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying, 'The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted.' This was the cause that Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good; and so when our waters be corrupted, if you can, by putting in of salt, make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies."

Bonner.—"We believe no doctrine but that which is wrought by miracles."

Hawkes.—"No, forsooth, for Christ saith, 'And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.'"

Bonner.—"With what new tongues do you speak?"

Hawkes.—"Forsooth, whereas before I came to the knowledge of God's word I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

Bonner.—"How do you cast out devils?"

Hawkes.—"Christ did cast them out by his word, and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner.—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

Hawkes.—"Yea, forsooth, that I have; for I have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome."

Bonner.—"Now you shew yourself to be a right heretic."

Hawkes.—"I pray you, what is heretic?"

Bonner.—"All things that are contrary to God's word."

Hawkes.—"If I stand in any thing contrary to that word, then I am worthy to be so called."

Bonner.—"Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."

Hawkes.—"Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"

Bonner.—"Did not St. Paul excommunicate?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning?"

Bonner.—"Have you not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"

Hawkes.—"Yes, forsooth, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost."

The next day Fecknam came to converse with him, and asked, "Are you he that will have no ceremonies?"

Hawkes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"You will not have your child christened, unless in English, and you will have no ceremonies."

Hawkes.—"Whatsoever the scripture commands to be done I refuse not."

Fecknam.—"Ceremonies are to be used by the scriptures."

Hawkes.—"Which are those?"

Fecknam.—"How say you by St. Paul's breeches?"

Hawkes.—"I have read no such thing."

Fecknam.—"Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how things went from St. Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

Hawkes.—"I have read in the nineteenth of the Acts, how there went handkerchiefs or aprons from St. Paul's body, is it that you mean?"

Fecknam.—"Yea, the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?"

Hawkes.—"I say nothing to the ceremonies. For the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of St. Paul, that there went handkerchiefs or aprons from him, &c. So that it seems by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam.—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Hawkes.—"No, forsooth: for Christ turned back, and said to St. Peter, 'Who touched me?' And St. Peter said, 'Master, the multitude throng thee, and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me? And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I perceive that virtue hath gone out of me.' I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?"

Fecknam.—"Both."

Hawkes.—"Then is not Christ true? for he said, 'Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole.'"

Bonner.—"Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam.—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread and brake it, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.'"

Hawkes.—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam.—"And is it not so?"

Hawkes.—"No, forsooth, I do not understand it so."

Fecknam.—"Why, then is Christ a liar?"

Hawkes.—"I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam.—"Will I? Why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Hawkes.—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, &c."

Fecknam.—"Christ spake these words in parables."

Hawkes.—"And why speaketh he this in parables when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. more than this when he said, 'This is my body?' For after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, 'This is my body,' so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not, I am like a door, like a vine, &c."

The next day came Doctor Chedsey to him, and he, as well as Bonner, entered into the following argument with him.

Bonner.—"He thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Hawkes.—"And ye think that there is no church, but the church of Rome."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is a church of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the bishop of Rome?"

Hawkes.—"From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Chedsey.—"Marry, so may we say, from King Henry VIII. and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Hawkes.—"Where were ye, while he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey.—"I was not far."

Hawkes.—"Where were ye in his son's days?"

Chedsey.—"In prison."

Bonner.—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, nor the sacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey.—"Christ never spake in English."

Hawkes.—"Neither spake he ever any Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul says, that 'tongues profit us nothing.' He makes a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet means, who can prepare himself to the battle. So if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I by it? No more than he has by the trumpet, that knows not what it means."

Bonner.—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world; that they should pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Hawkes.—"This your councils of Rome settled."

Bonner.—"Understand you what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Hawkes.—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome

are in Latin, I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

Chedsey.—"You are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils through the world."

Hawkes.—"I reprove them not, but St. Paul rebukes them, saying, 'If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'"

Chedsey.—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Hawkes.—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey.—"What gospel have ye been taught?"

Hawkes.—"Praying to saints, and to our Lady, and to trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey.—"He that teaches you so, teaches you not amiss."

Hawkes.—"Cursed be he that teacheth me so: for I will not trust him nor believe him."

Bonner.—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

Hawkes.—"God hath taught us what they are: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

Chedsey.—"What are those that ye are so offended with?"

Hawkes.—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c."

Bonner.—"What say ye to that?"

Hawkes.—"I say it is an idol. What say you to it?"

Bonner.—"I say every idol is an image; but every image is not an idol."

Hawkes.—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner.—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol; but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Hawkes.—"Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and you shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not? and even so have your idols."

Chedsey.—"'God forbid,' says St. Paul, 'that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

Hawkes.—"Do you understand St. Paul so?"

Bonner.—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Hawkes.—"If the cross were such a profit to us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with a salutation."

Chedsey.—"It was taken up."

Hawkes.—"Who took it up? Helen, as you say; for she sent a piece of it to a monastery, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the monks had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded as if it had been clean gold."

Chedsey.—"It is a pity that thou shouldest live, or any such as thou art."

Hawkes.—"In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey.—"You die boldly, because you would glory in your death."

After all these and other private conferences, persuasions, and long debatings, with Hawkes in the bishop's house, the bishop seeing no hope to win him over, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law.

After the bill of confession was read, and he adhered to it, the bishop assigned him, with five others, the ninth of February to appear before him again, to give a final answer; which day being come, and the prisoners severally called before the bishop, at the appearing of Thomas Hawkes, the bishop desired him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now while he had time to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," said Hawkes again, "I will willingly receive whatever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles objected to him. Then being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church, "No, my lord," said he, "that I will not: for if I had an hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." Whereupon Bonner at the last read the sentence of death upon him, and he was condemned on the ninth of February. His execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the tenth day of June.

A little before his death, there were some of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet being frightened with the sharpness of the punishment, they desired that in the midst of the flame he would shew them some token, if he could, by which they might be more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do: and so it was agreed secretly between them, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, when the hour was come, Hawkes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Rich and his assistants: at the stake he mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a chain cast about his middle amid a great multitude of people assembled. To whom, after he had spoken many things, especially to the lord Rich, reasoning with him about the innocent blood of saints, at length, after he had made fervent prayers and poured out his soul unto God, the fire was set to him.

When he had continued a long while in the fire, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, so that all thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation, this blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise before made, reached up his burning hands over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight of which there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of those who understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10, A.D. 1555.

A Letter to the Congregation, by Thomas Hawkes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be always with you all, my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, for ever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to his works, you may as obedient children be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and when the Bridegroom shall shew himself, you need not be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour, that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon pass away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. 'All flesh is grass (saith the prophet), and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.' Isaiah xl. 6, 7. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind, subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment, in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his

sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaseth not behind every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry, to have his pleasure upon us,—casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life,—promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at naught the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood: 'And especially Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches,' as saith the prophet.

"Therefore I am bold in bonds, as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity, to warn you, and most heartily desire you to watch and pray: For our state is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains, doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing, saith our Saviour, is honour and riches, that without grace it choaketh up the good seed sown in his creatures, and so blindeth their seeing, that they go groping at noon-day in darkness: it maketh a man think himself something, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons. For riches help not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partial for money. But as we have ministered unto the saints, so shall we receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon all, for the great goodness shewed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and so will do unto the world's end.

"Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, and your hearts consented unto it, that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father. Therefore I say in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock, as we have one Shepherd, may rise to life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

"Yours, in him that liveth for ever,
"Thomas Hawkes."

The History of Thomas Watts.

Thomas Watts, of Billericay, in Essex, was a linen draper. Being in continual fear of seizure, he had sold his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things to his wife and children, and gave away much to the poor.

On the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich, and other commissioners, and there being accused for not coming to church, was examined before the lord Rich, and others.

At the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Rich said to him, "You are brought hither, because of disobedience to the laws of the queen. You will not come to the church, you will not hear mass, &c. contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings."

Watts answered, "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said to him, "I pray thee tell me who has been thy schoolmaster, to teach thee thus; or where didst thou first learn this religion?" Watts answered, "Even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days, in open session, you spake against this religion now in fashion, no preacher could say more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, earnestly exhorting that none should believe in them, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then that whoever should bring in any foreign power to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered." Then said Brown to my lord Rich, "He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this? he will soon belie me behind my back, when he does it before my face," and my lord Rich said, "I dare say he does."

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, sent him to the bishop of London.

Articles objected against Thomas Watts, of Billericay, in the county of Essex, by Bishop Bonner.

"1. That the said Thomas Watts was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. Also, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome and all other churches members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people, nor has allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but has despised the same.

"3. Also, that he believeth, and also taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed, and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"4. Also, that he believeth and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

"5. Also, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow that it is a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"6. Also, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

"7. Also, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

"8. Also, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

"9. Also, that the said Watts of late coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, Esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that, like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naughty; so he the said Thomas Watts then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naughty: And that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

"10. Also, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the

premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic, and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as an heretic.

"11. Also, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooly, of late hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his execution, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

"12. Also, that the premises and every part thereof are true, notoriously, manifestly, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof."

The answer of Thomas Watts to the aforesaid Articles.

To the first, he confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he does not believe now as he had done in time past; for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he does not so believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him, and further said that he was so taught to believe by the preaching of one Master Alvey, and others, whose he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else: and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he believed, that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit, he denieth not it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article, but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained, and further he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he would submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusted that with God he should be blessed, although with men he should be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooly, he said, he never saw or knew him: but in case the said Tooly did wish and pray as is contained in the article, than he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop at another appearance of Watts in the consistory began with him in this wise; "You know what I said to you to-day. The time is now come: weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and although you wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not away your soul, but while ye have time, return and confess the truth."

Watts answered, "I am weary of living in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in."

The bishop after many persuasions to recant, desired him to depart, and to come again on Saturday. When the bishop was absent, Doctor Nicholas Harpsfield, his deputy, earnestly exhorted Watts to renounce his opinions. To whom in the end he answered:

"Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it."

On the 10th of May, the bishop privately sent for Watts into his chamber, and there with many fair promises tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he termed them. But Watts answered, "I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church, and therefore you do but labour in vain with me." He was hereupon again dismissed until Friday the 17th, and then commanded to appear in the consistory.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and from hour to hour, he was at last, on the 18th of May, brought into the consistory, and there being desired to renounce his profession, made this final answer, "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come to, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that, which I have done: for I will stand to mine answers."

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises to be useless, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them he was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or, (as some record) to the 22nd of May: at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there was brought to an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Hawkes and the rest that came down to be burned, they prayed together, both before and after their meat.

Then Watts went and prayed privately, and afterward came to his wife and six children, and said, "Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth I know you no more; but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against which I shall soon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's cause, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." In this manner he spoke to them, and they to him: two of them offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spoke thus to Lord Rich, "My lord, beware! beware! for you act against your own conscience in this, and unless you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the cause of my death."

An Account of the supposed pregnancy of Queen Mary.

A persuasion had been in England, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was pregnant. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and

others about the court: so that several were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given, that in all churches supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery. And also, provision was made in an act of parliament for the child.

In the beginning of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, should be prepared and in readiness. Suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a rumour was spread in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child. So that the bells were wrung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also at the town of Antwerp, guns were fired upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners rewarded with an hundred pistolets or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was queen of Hungary. So great was the rejoicing and triumph for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Some preachers, as the parson of St. Anne, within Aldersgate, after the procession and *Te Deum*, took upon him to describe the proportions of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was.

In the end, all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was then delivered, nor was in hope of having any child.

About this time there was brought over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for the recovery of abbey lands, which book was called 'A Warning for England.' Of which more shall be said when we come to the Spanish inquisition. So that by the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month, a certain proclamation was set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, tending to the disparagement of the pope's dignity. The proclamation here followeth:

A Proclamation of the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry IV. concerning the repressing of heresy, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their favourers and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless in most parts of the realm the same is neglected and little regarded. The king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore, straitly charge and command, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed, into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned, that is to say, any book or books, writing or works, made or set forth, by, or in the name of, Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made and set forth, by, or in the name of, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called friar Bale, Justus, Jonas John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindal, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called 'Hall's Chronicle,' or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward VI., commonly called the communion book, or book of common service, and ordering of ministers, otherwise called 'The book set forth by authority of parliament, for common prayer and administration of the sacraments, or to be used in the mother tongue within the church of England,' but shall within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour or deceit, at the said ordinaries' will and disposition, to be burnt or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender, contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall, in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation; and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

"Given under our signs manual, at our Honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

"Imprinted by John Cawood, A.D. 1555."

Articles to be inquired into by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, 'A Warning for England.'

"1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.

"2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.

"3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.

"4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wesel, Emden, and Disburgh.

"5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence.

"6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter."

In this proclamation thou hast heard, christian reader, the profound and learned censure of the popish church of England, what books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against which censure

I do not now argue. Only it may please the reader to allow me to set before him a balance, wherein to weigh the books condemned on one side, with the books allowed on the other side, that we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weighs best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation of these books above recited: so I desire thee to give thy censure of the books allowed by them, and of the matter contained in them.

And first to begin with the Primer in English; for children after the use of Salisbury, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesties' letters patent in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us survey some part of the Primer, beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary; mother most pure of virgins all;
Mother and daughter of the king celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special mediation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," &c.

Compare this with the scriptures, good reader, and judge rightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not:

It follows further in the second lesson:

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That he our prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

In the third lesson:

"Thy Son beseech with humble intercession,
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

The versicle:

"Pray for the people, intreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," &c.

Another versicle:

"Holy mother of God, make thy petition, that we may deserve Christ's remission," &c.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect after, it follows:

"And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It follows moreover in the said primer thus, concerning the material cross:

"O God, who hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prays:

"O Lord, defend us always through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," &c.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the folly of the reason. For where their doctrine pretends that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It follows further in the name of Peter and Paul:

"Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," &c.

Of St. Andrew:

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," &c.

Of St. Lawrence, thus:

"St. Lawrence, the deacon, did work a great work. For by virtue of the holy cross he gave sight to the blind," &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen, who first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years!

To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury:

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."

Of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen.

"Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," &c.

Another prayer to our Lady.

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet mother,
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father, &c."

Another prayer in the said primer to our Lady.

"Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva:
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some grace attain.
Shew thyself to be a mother:
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin," &c.

Also,

"Holy mother succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind," &c.

Another blasphemous prayer.

"O thou meek mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou hadst these pains all,
Seeing thy Son that vine cluster pressed sore:
And from the pestilence of death eternal,
Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal,
And join us with them which rewarded be
With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Another blasphemy in the said primer.

"Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroness, cast upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," &c.

Also to our Lady,

"The fruit of thy womb everlasting,
May we behold through thy deserving," &c.

Also,

"Grant we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, whereas she being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much for this popish primer, called "Our Lady's Matins." To this, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also add our Lady's Psalter, that all impartial readers, as they have seen what books these popish fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so they may also see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And as perhaps it is not known to every one what "Our Lady's Psalter" is, and some perhaps will deny that "Our Lady's Psalter was approved, therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized by pope Sixtus IV., A.D. 1482., for a saint in the Calendar, who in his book has taken every psalm of David's psalter, which was peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God, and has in several psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and has inserted in its stead the name of "Our Lady." This being done through the whole psalms, it is called "Our

Lady's Psalter," and was used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A little of which, for example's sake, we thought here to exhibit to the reader.

The Title in English of the Psalter.

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical Doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Alban, and Cardinal of the holy church of Rome."

Psalm 1.—"Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary, thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified everywhere, &c. Glory be to the Father," &c.

Psalm 2.—"Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father," &c.

Psalm 3.—"Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator.—Glory be to the Father," &c.

Psalm 4.—"When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me. Because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth," &c.

Psalm 5.—"Hear my words, O Lady, &c.; turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces."

Psalm 6.—"O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers, deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may shew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in hell shall not praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting."

Psalm 7.—"O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to shew thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not."

Psalm 9.—"I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will shew forth among the nations thy praise and glory, &c. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their hearts." &c.

Psalm 11.—"In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, &c. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, &c. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits," &c.

Psalm 12.—"Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy, &c. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee."

Psalm 13.—"How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him, &c. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired," &c.

Psalm 16.—"Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust, &c. Blessed be thy breasts, with which thy deifying milk didst nourish the Saviour," &c.

Psalm 18.—"I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, &c. All ye cloisterers honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion."

Psalm 20.—"Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, &c. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, &c. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God."

Psalm 25.—"To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul, &c. Let not the snares of death prevail against me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me."

Psalm 26.—"Judge thou me, O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall," &c.

Psalm 27.—"O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my sight, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind," &c.

Psalm 28.—"To thee, O Lady, &c. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me," &c.

Psalm 31.—"In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, let me not be confounded for ever, in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c.

Psalm 34.—"I will always praise our Lady, &c. In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because, therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word uncreate to take flesh of thee."

Psalm 36.—"The wicked man said, &c. Let him depart from his evil purpose; O mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us. Compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empire and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth."

Psalm 45.—"My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, &c. By thy holiness let my sins be purged, by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption," &c.

Psalm 47.—"Clap your hands, all ye people, &c. For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee."

Psalm 51.—"Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of Mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities."

Psalm 54.—"O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me," &c.

Psalm 70.—"Make haste, O Lady, to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invocated," &c.

Psalm 71.—"In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever, in thy mercy deliver me," &c.

Psalm 79.—"O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits," &c.

Psalm 80.—"Thou that rulest Israel, &c. The savour

of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart," &c.

Psalm 91.—Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him."

Psalm 95.—"Come, let us rejoice to our Lady, &c. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest," &c.

Psalm 105.—"Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady," &c.

Psalm 110.—"The Lord said unto our Lady, 'Sit here, my mother, on my right hand,'" &c.

Psalm 119.—"The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and, therefore, I will search out the way of thy justifications, &c. I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications," &c.

Psalm 125.—"They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy," &c.

Psalm 127.—"Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue."

Psalm 128.—"Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will," &c.

Psalm 130.—"Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lady; O Lady, hear my voice," &c.

Psalm 132.—"O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name," &c.

Psalm 134.—"Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name."

Psalm 136.—"At the floods of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her," &c.

Psalm 140.—"Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me," &c.

Psalm 145.—"Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient, &c. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever."

Psalm 148.—"Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion; for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts," &c.

I could recite also much more of such blasphemy in this "Psalter of our Lady," by the seraphical doctor, St. Bonaventure.

Is not here good popish stuff, christian reader? Compare, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer you to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now, if any man has been in doubt in times past of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with intolerable blasphemy and abominable idolatry, or not, he may now be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this "Matins" and "Psalter of Our Lady?" If idolatry be the making an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of "our Lady," to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than the Lord God himself. And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be king, she is the queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she bears the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is to shew herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet she is our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship, or service, can we give to God more than all this ascribes to her? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ, our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, we groan, we knock, and kneel; to her we trust, and if we believe not also in our Lady, we are forthwith denounced as heretics.

Further, as Christ, our only Lord and Saviour, has his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities and brotherhoods, which, professing her name in like manner, are called our Lady's brethren, or White friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one has his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together are included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now, to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service has the Lord in all the church of Rome that our Lady has not jointly with him? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and complin, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter, her holidays likewise, yea, five to one. Finally, as the Lord has his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her 'Hail Mary', yea, ten Hail Marys to one Our Father; and read further in Bonaventure, and you shall see her 'We praise thee,' her 'Blessed,' her 'My soul doth magnify,' and also her 'Whosoever will be saved,' &c.

If the Lord our God had not expressed to us his will by plain words, limiting unto us, by express injunction, what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation, but had left us to the imagination of our own minds, every man to shift for himself, then perhaps this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some reason; but now God's word binds us, prescribes and limits us, precisely in every point touching salvation what to believe, and what to do, shewing us plainly that we cannot be saved but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore, not to believe that which he has promised is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath sent us is plain idolatry; which two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this primer and psalter of our Lady, but also in all their proceedings, teaching and preaching besides, may well appear. For where the scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and allows us to seek our salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus; the institution of the church of Rome, neither will receive that which God has freely given (wherein standeth infidelity), neither yet will seek the same where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the papists to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas, the others, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true christianity, in no wise can be suffered. But of this it is vain to complain. We will now proceed in our history.

The History of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne.

Mention was made before in the account of Thomas Hawkes, of six prisoners besides, who were sent down with him to Essex at the same time that he went to execution; three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant and to do penance, of whom it follows now to treat. The names of the six were these:—Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Webb, weaver, being all of the town of Coxhall. All which six Coxhall men, next after the examinations of Thomas Hawkes and Thomas Watts, were sent up to Bonner to be exa-

mined by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris, knight.

The prisoners being sent up, were brought before the bishop, on the 17th of the month, to be examined upon some articles objected against them; to which they were compelled to answer. The articles were similar to those so frequently objected to other godly martyrs, and were answered in like manner.

The articles being propounded and answered, they were dismissed until the afternoon, when they again appeared, and were examined by fair and flattering speeches, as well by the bishop as by his assistants, and talked to, to recant and revoke their opinions. They notwithstanding remained firm in their opinions, and therefore, after the common usage of the ecclesiastical laws of the papal church, were sent away again until the next day, being the 18th day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, according to his accustomed manner of proceeding, again dismissed them, and at last in the afternoon condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed,—Chamberlain at Colchester, on the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, on the 15th, and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, on the same day.

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Master John Bradford.

John Bradford was born at Manchester. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living. He continued some years in an honest and good life, after the course of this world, when the Lord, who had elected him to a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace, which in his secret council he had appointed, called his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the gospel of life. In which he was so truly taught, that his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For Bradford forsook his worldly affairs and worldly wealth, and gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures. To accomplish his purpose the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation so pleased all men, that within one year after that he had been there, the university gave him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after the master and fellows of Pembroke hall did give him a fellowship in their college; that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he held him not only most dear to him, but also often exhorted him to direct his talent to preaching. He answered always that he was unable to serve in that office, through want of learning. To the which Bucer was used to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Doctor Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, called him to take the degree of a deacon. He obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. He sharply opened and reproved sin; he sweetly preached Christ crucified, pithily impugned heresies and errors, and earnestly persuaded the people to live godly lives. After the death of our blessed young King Edward VI. when Queen Mary had got the crown, Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council.

The fact was this: on the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourne, then bishop of Bath, made a sermon at St. Paul's Cross in London, to set popery abroad, so that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, nor yet the commandment of the Mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourne, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, ended his sermon, fearing lest he should there end his wretched life, and desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford at his request spoke to the people, and exhorted them to godly and quiet obedience. As soon as the people saw him begin to speak to them, they were so glad to hear him, that they cried with a great shout: "Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life, Bradford!" Shewing not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had preached to them, and exhorted them to be quiet and patient, soon all the raging ceased, and in the end each man departed quietly to his house. Yet Bourne thought himself not yet full sure of his life till he was safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he was in safety; which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs led Bourne to the school-master's house, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so set him safe.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which act they called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching. He was then committed first to the Tower, then to other prisons, out of which neither his innocence, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause), he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he was sent to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London; in which two places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the sacrament was often administered; and through the kindness of the keeper to him, there was such a resort of good people daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying occupied his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came usually plenty of tears. He was very gentle to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening, being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick. Neither did he fail in his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather anticipating his hour, than breaking his fidelity, so constant was he in word and in deed.

In person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept commonly not above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book was not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaming, or other pastime, but only in honest company, and profitable talk, in which he would spend a little time after dinner, and then went to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, in which he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally share what he had with his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the

thieves, pick-pockets, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay, to whom he would give godly exhortation, to amend their lives by repentance, and afterwards distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Sanders in the Marshalsea prison, at the rear of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together; so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles; and Bradford was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day but he might have easily escaped if he would, but the Lord had other work for him. In the summer, while he was in the King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things were prepared for his journey, and the party in readiness who should ride with him; but God prevented him by sickness, so that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came to him whilst he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what he would do, or whither he would go? He made answer, as not caring whether he went out or not; but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people, and occupying himself in that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, who never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily that his life should be spared.

One afternoon as he was walking in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife suddenly came to him, as one seeming in much trouble, and said: "Oh, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she; "to-morrow you are to be burned; and your chain is now buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that Master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said: "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy;" so thanking her for her gentleness, departed to his chamber, and called his friend with him. When he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed; which done, he came again to his friend, and gave him several writings and papers, and shewed him his mind in those things which he wished to have done. They then continued together all the evening, when there came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom he spent the time in prayer and other good exercise, they wondering to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer at his farewell, with such humility and holy unction, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he put on the shirt that was made for his burning, he made such a prayer concerning the wedding garment, that some of those present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned himself to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for Christ's sake. When he was in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before with tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad; and yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapside and other places, between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears, and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents; or whether it were devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or not, I cannot tell; but there was a great noise over-night about the city, that Bradford was to be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four o'clock in the morning, before it should be much known. Some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause of this; others thought that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth. So some thought one thing, and some another. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield a great multitude of men and women.

However, it was nine o'clock of the day before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield. He was led forth with a great company of armed men, as the like was not seen at any man's burning. Bradford, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes to his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, whose name was John Leaf, joyfully and constantly.

Communication between John Bradford and the Lord Chancellor and others in Commission with him, on the 22d of January, A. D. 1555.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Farrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshall of the King's Bench, was commanded to bring in John Bradford: being come into the presence of the council, he kneeled down on his knees; but immediately was bidden by the lord chancellor to stand up.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him: but he gave no place, that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, and sighed for God's grace.

Then the lord chancellor, somewhat troubled, spake to him to this effect; "That for a long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at St. Paul's cross, on the 13th August, 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now," he added, "the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, willing to offer mercy, hath sent to declare and give the same, if you will return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake.

To these words John Bradford spake: "My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or deed, by preaching or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject both in going about to save Master Bourne, now the bishop of Bath, who was preaching then at St. Paul's Cross."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the lord chancellor said that "the act was seditious, as you, my lord of London, can bear witness."

Bonner.—"You say true, my lord, I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly, thereby proving that he was the author of the sedition."

Bradford.—"My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet I have told the truth, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him: In the mean time, as I cannot be believed by you, I must and am ready to suffer."

Lord Chancellor.—"I know thou hast a showy and glorious tongue, but all thou speakest is lies. I have not forgot how stubborn thou was when thou wast be-

fore us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which thou hast worthily been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Bradford.—"My lord, as I said before, so I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now you will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath (Master Bourne) will witness with me, that I sought his safety at the peril of mine own life."

Bonner.—"That is not true; for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."

Bradford.—"No, I took nothing upon me that was not desired, and that too by Master Bourne himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm what I say. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. If I said any thing before your honours, in the Tower, that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me what it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."

Chancellor.—"Well, leave this matter: Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon?"

Bradford.—"My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, may God keep me from: my conscience doth not accuse me. All that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm."

Chancellor.—"Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a 'purgation of all such as thou art.'"

Bradford.—"The Lord, before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what I have sought: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands who will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. Therefore his good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than death; and death with his true favour, is true life."

Chancellor.—"I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough from thee: be assured, therefore, that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

Bradford.—"I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

Durham.—"Why, tell me, what say you about the ministration of the communion?"

Bradford.—"My lord, here I must desire of your lordship, and of all your honours, a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you ask me this question by his authority, or not? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Secretary Bourn.—"Hast thou been sworn six times? what office hast thou borne?"

Bradford.—"I was thrice sworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted master of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke Hall, and when I was there, the visitors came there, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the king a little before his death."

Chancellor.—"Tush! Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

Bradford.—"But, my lord, these were no Herod's oaths; no unlawful oaths; but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book 'De vera obedientia.'"

Rochester.—"My lords, I never knew why this man was in prison before now: but I see that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was and is to be kept in prison."

Bourn.—"Yea, it was reported this parliament-time, by the earl of Derby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curses all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calls that which is not according to what he taught) and most heartily exhorts them to whom he writes to continue still in what they have received from him."

Bradford.—"I have not written, nor spoken any thing seditiously, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bourn.—"Yea, thou hast written letters."

Chancellor.—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

Bradford.—"What I have written, I have written."

Southwell.—"Lord God! what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly behaves himself before the queen's council!"

Chancellor.—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short; wilt thou have mercy?"

Bradford.—"I pray God to give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it; but otherwise I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that about his arrogance, in refusing the queen's pardon.

He was again brought before them on the 29th of July, when he was again offered mercy and pardon if he would recant. After the lord chancellor's long talk about the queen's pardon, Bradford began to speak, "My lord, and my lords all, as now I stand before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David witnesses) is in the congregation of judges, and sittest in the midst of them: and as you would your place to be now regarded as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting, that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado to purge himself, as that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's act at St. Paul's Cross, was presumptuous, arrogant, and shewed a taking upon him to lead the people, and charged Bradford with writing seditious letters.

Bradford.—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, I will, by God's grace, never deny. And where your lordship saith, that I dare not answer you; that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will: only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace. Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, plainly to answer."

Ld. Chanc.—"Well, then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?"

Bradford.—"My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporeally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word (corporeally) I mean that Christ is there present corporeally unto faith."

Ld. Chanc.—"Unto faith? We must have many more words to make it plain."

Bradford.—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

Ld. Chanc.—"Speak on."

Bradford.—"I have been now a year and almost three-quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned with me about this, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your wishes, and so now you come to demand this question! Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith."

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," said he, "for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle."

Bradford.—"My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it. I was three-quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity."

Here were several persons telling my lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying, that in the afternoon he would speak more with him. He was then brought into the vestry, and was kept there till night, when he was conveyed again to prison.

On the next day a gentleman, called Master Thomas Hussey, came into the chamber in which John Bradford lay, and he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came to him. "You," said he, "so wonderfully behaved yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you; and I, therefore, advise you to desire a time, and men to confer with, and so all men shall think there is a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you, and by this means you shall escape present danger." To this John Bradford answered, "I neither can, nor will make such request. For then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess, which I do not."

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Doctor Seton came in, with the very same insidious design to deceive and entrap this godly man.

This Doctor Seton, after some talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a long sermon of my lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer anything at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that Bradford should make the like request for a conference; but to this he briefly answered, as he before had done to Hussey. With this answer neither Seton nor Hussey were content; and after many persuasions, Seton said, "I have heard much talk of you, and yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that you were able to persuade as much as any one that he knew. And I thought your modesty was such before the bishops, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor has a regard for you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer with," &c.

But Bradford kept still one answer: "I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I do not doubt; I am most certain of the truth of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, and vain glorious.

Then Bradford besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him: "For," said he, "otherwise I am helpless;" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford prayed to God, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need, praised be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the church, and there tarried till eleven o'clock.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought before the lord chancellor and the bishops, the lord chancellor said, that if Bradford would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, urging him to recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended, Bradford began to speak thus: "As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, that you might follow him, who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray your lordships to do, not as one that takes upon myself to condemn you, but that you might be the more admonished to do that, which none does so much as he should. For our nature is so corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I alleged mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England, so do I again at this day. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which, yesterday," said he, "you uttered."

Bradford.—"My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation; neither did I speak anything of the sacrament which you disallowed. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

Ld. Chanc.—"What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Bradford.—"No, indeed, my lord: you said so, but you did not prove it."

Ld. Chanc.—"O Lord God, what a fellow art thou? Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm be perjured! O what an heretic is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need, were this a good answer to tell my neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

Bradford.—"O, my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; but Bradford proved, that obedience in this point to the queen, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her. "No more," said he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proves it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance."

And thus great talk was made about this matter, the lord chancellor speaking much; to whom Bradford replied, "That it was a wonder his honour weighed conscience no more in this, and yet would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes." The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford

said, that the queen's highness could do no more than remit her own right; as for the oath made to God, she could never remit it, forasmuch as it was made unto God."

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully and said, that in plain sense Bradford slandered the realm of perjury; "and, therefore," observed he to the people, "you may see how this fellow takes upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Here came forth the chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my lord chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving-man, and was with Master Harrington.

Ld. Chanc.—"True, and did deceive his master of seven-score pounds; and because of this, he became a gospeller and a preacher, and yet you see how he pretends conscience."

Bradford.—"My lord, I set my foot by his, whoever he be, that comes forth and vouches to my face, that I ever deceived my master. And as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Here my lord chancellor and the chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," said my lord chancellor, "we have another matter than this against you: for you are an heretic."

"Yea," said the bishop of London, "he did write letters to Master Pendleton, who knows his hand as well as his own, your honour did see the letters."

Bradford.—"This is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison."

London.—"Yea, but you indited it."

Bradford.—"I did not, nor know what you mean."

Here came one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

Ld. Chanc.—"You say true: for we have his hand to shew."

Bradford.—"I deny that you have my hand to shew of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than such as I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here all was answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter. "Sir," said he, "in my house the other day you did most contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy, and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days against all men."

Bradford.—"Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me before this day justly. Now I say, that I did not contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy, but would have received it, if I might have had it with God's mercy; that is, without doing or saying anything against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now."

Ld. Chanc.—"Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."

Bradford.—"My lord, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed, and reproved not, nor gave me anything to deliberate on."

Ld. Chanc.—"Why? didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"

Bradford.—"No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, a whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as the bread and wine to the due receiver."

Ld. Chanc.—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"

Bradford.—"My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver; as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."

Here was Bradford called a devil, a slanderer: "for we ask no question," said my lord chancellor "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence.

Bradford.—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was transubstantiated."

Another bishop asked, "Whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or not?" And Bradford answered plainly, "No." At this the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordship, although he received it not; so that (said he) the receiving makes not the presence, as your lordship infers; but God's grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. And here Bradford prayed my lord not to separate that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all these together; "Take, eat, this is my body;" he saith not, "See, peep, this is my body," but "Take, eat." So that it appears this is a promise depending upon condition if we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops exclaimed that Bradford had found out a toy of the condition, but Bradford said, "My lord, are not these words, 'Take, eat,' a commandment? Are not these words, 'This is my body,' a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?"

Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

"Why, my lord," said Bradford, "I pray you tell the people what mood 'Take, eat,' is; is it not plain to children that Christ, in saying so, commandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor began trifling about the imperative mood, and fell to parsing, or examining, as he should teach a child, and so concluded that it was no commandment.

But Bradford prayed him to leave trifling, and said, "My lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity which God leaveth free, as you do in making it a necessary commandment once a year for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament?"

After much more examination and questioning, which are too long to detail, the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, layman, "Why," said he, "art thou no priest?"

Bradford.—"No, nor never was either priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand; but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse." And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so praying God to give him repentance and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, that he should be delivered from thence to the Earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born; but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of John Bradford, which was on the last day of January, being sent to prison, he there remained until the first day of July, during all which time he sustained other conferences with sundry adversaries, who repaired to him in the prison. Of whom, first, Bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, on the fourth day of February, entered into talk with Bradford, the effect whereof was as follows:—

Private conferences with John Bradford, by such as the Prelates sent unto him, after the time of his condemnation; from his own writing.

On the fourth of Feb., that is, the same day on which Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to degrade Dr. Taylor, but before he spake to Master

Taylor he called for John Bradford, and when he saw him, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying, "Because I perceive that you are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Archdeacon Harpsfield to you: and I tell you, you act like a wise man."

Bradford.—"My lord, I never desired to confer with any man; however, if you will have one to talk with me, I am ready."

"What," said Bonner in a passion to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper.—"No, my lord; I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any, but I did not say that it was his desire."

Bonner.—"Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well-beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered."

Bradford.—"Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws."

Bonner.—"Well, well." And so he called for Doctor Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

On another day, Mr. Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, came to confer with Bradford, but when he perceived that Bradford did not desire to see him, he said "Well, Mr. Bradford, I pray you let us confer a little, for perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none." At these words Bradford consented, and they entered into conversation about the doctors, the fathers, and the sixth of St. John. He then departed, and in the afternoon he came again, and they had a long talk to little effect. At length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying that Bradford swerved from the church.

Bradford.—"No, I do not, but you do; for the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robs the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

Willerton.—"Why, it is not profitable to have the service in English."

Bradford.—"Should not the people, then, have the scriptures? Wherefore serves this saying of Christ, Search the scriptures?' "

Willerton.—"This is not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

Bradford.—"Then the people must not have the scriptures?"

Willerton.—"No; for it is written, 'They shall be all taught of God.' "

Bradford.—"And must we learn all of the priests?"

Willerton.—"Yes."

Bradford.—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ and let Barabbas go, as the priests did then persuade the people."

On the 12th of February, there came one of the Earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My lord hath sent me to you; he wishes you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you."

Bradford.—"I thank his lordship for his good will towards me, but in this I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant.—"Ah, Mr. Bradford, consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be to them to see you die as an heretic."

Bradford.—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have; yea, even mine own self, for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Servant.—"If my lord should obtain for you that you might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?"

Bradford.—"No, I had rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

On the fourteenth of February, Percival Cresswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, and said, "Mr. Bradford, tell me what suit I should make for you?"

Bradford.—"What you do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her; if she will banish me, I will thank her; if she will burn me, I will thank her; if she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her."

Cresswell went away, and about eleven o'clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over.

Bradford, taking the book, said, "Good Percival, I am fixed in this article."

Cresswell.—"Oh, if ever you loved me, do one thing for me."

Bradford.—"What is it?"

Cresswell.—"Desire and name what learned man, or men, you will have to come unto you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others, will gladly come to you."

Bradford.—"No, I never will desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me, for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of anything; but for your pleasure, and that all men may know that I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom you will, and I will talk with them."

On the 15th of February, after a fruitless conference with Harding on a previous day, Percival Cresswell came with Harpsfield, archdeacon of London. After formal salutations, he said that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the christians, and that every one thinks they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly that he spake not far amiss.

Harpsfield.—"But the way thither is not all alike; for the infidels come to heaven by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud."

Bradford.—"You speak truly."

Harpsfield.—"Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven."

Bradford.—"We may not invent any ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself witnesses, 'I am the way.' "

After some further conference on the church and succession of bishops, and on baptism, they departed.

On the 16th of February, in the morning, the archdeacon, and two others with him, came again, and after a few words they sat down.

The archdeacon began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over before, and began to prove the succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France, at Lyons, for twelve hundred years: in Spain, at Hispalen, for eight hundred years: in Italy, at Milan, for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used all the succession of bishops in the eastern church for the confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: The exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could shew any such succession for the demonstration of his church, for so he called it, which followed.

To this long oration, Bradford made this short answer: "My memory is bad, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Therefore I will do it generally. If Christ or his apostles here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church that then was, to have made a demonstration of that church by a succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught; I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alleged that which upholds the church, even the truth, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, who of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good men who perchance were accounted for heretics of the church; which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God."

Harpsfield.—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem."

Bradford.—"I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."

Harpsfield.—"Why, did they not allow Moses' law?"

Bradford—"Yes, and kept it, as touching the books thereof, as you do the bible and holy scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they corrupted, as you have done and do, and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now, that we must receive the interpretation of the scriptures at your hands. But to conclude, I look daily for death; yea, hourly, and I think my time is but very short. Therefore, I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, to pray for his help and comfort, and therefore, I pray you, bear with me, that I do not now particulary and in more words answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration; but because I dare not, nor will I, leave off preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself."

Then began the archdeacon to tell him he was in a very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so settled.

Bradford.—"I doubt not but that I shall die well; for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully to the comfort of his children."

Harpsfield.—"But what if you be deceived?"

Bradford.—"What if you should say the sun did not shine now?" (The sun was shining through the window where they sat.)

Harpsfield.—"Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

Bradford.—"Indeed, I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be. God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be too secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harpsfield.—"You are not; for you are out of the catholic church."

Bradford.—"No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated by the synagogue. And I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church has taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the testimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred years after Christ, to believe or not believe."

Harpsfield.—"What is that?"

Bradford.—"Transubstantiation."

Harpsfield.—"Why you are not condemned for that only."

Bradford.—"For that and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

After some further conference on transubstantiation, they departed.

On the 23d of the same month, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester came to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the archbishop of York, used him very gently: they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they insisted he should put on not only his nightcap, but his upper cap also, saying to him that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him; and after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, "How he was certain of salvation and of his religion?"

After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God, even by the scriptures, I am certain of my salvation and religion."

York.—"Very well said. But how do you know the word of God and the scriptures, but by the church?"

Bradford.—"Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ: but when they heard him speak, they said, 'Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him:' so after we come to the hearing and reading of the scriptures showed unto us by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep, not because the church saith they are the scriptures, but because they are so, being assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York.—"You know that, in the apostles' time at the first the word was not written."

Bradford.—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament: but for the old Testament, Peter tells us, 'We have a more sure word of prophecy.'"

York.—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the written word."

Bradford.—"Yea, sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester.—"Yea, indeed Mr. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point," and then added, "I pray you to tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was these four hundred years?"

Bradford.—"I will tell you, my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing, where the church was in Elijah's time, when Elijah said that he was left alone?"

Chichester.—"That is no answer."

Bradford.—"I am sorry that you say so: but this I will tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."

Here my lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustine, how that there were many things that held him in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity: "Besides this, there holds me in the church," said St. Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic holds me," &c.

Bradford.—"My lord, these words of St Augustine make as much for me as for you; although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so urgent as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the law and the ceremonies consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time till then."

York.—"But what say you to St. Augustine? Where is your church that has the consent of people and nations?"

Bradford.—Even all people and nations that are God's people have consented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith."

York.—"St. Augustine here talks of succession, even from St. Peter's seat."

Bradford.—"Yea, that seat then was not so corrupt as it is now."

York.—"Well, you always judge the church."

Bradford.—"No, my lord, as Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."

York.—"Yes, that they do."

Bradford.—"No; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeys not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church does."

York.—"Wherein?"

Bradford.—"In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament, and in many other things, in which it commits most horrible sacrilege."

Chichester.—"Why? Latin service was in England when the Pope was gone."

Bradford.—"True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery; as in King Henry's days."

Chichester.—"Ye are too ready to blame, in saying that the church robs the people of the cup."

Bradford.—"Well, my lord, term it as it may please you; all men know that the laity have none of it."

Chichester.—"Indeed, I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

Bradford.—"If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?"

And so after more conversation of this kind, the bishop left him.

On the 25th of February, two Spanish friars came to Bradford, when one of them, who was the king's confessor, asked him in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus that had written against heresy?

Bradford.—"I do not know him."

Confessor.—"Well, this man (pointing to Alphonsus) is he. We are come to you out of love and charity, because you desire to confer with us."

Bradford.—"I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But as you are come out of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you if you will."

Alphonsus.—"It were requisite that you prayed unto God, that you might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that you be not addicted to your own self-will or wisdom."

Upon this Bradford offered up a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alphonsus.—"Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."

Bradford.—"Sir, do not judge, lest you be judged. You have heard my words, now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alphonsus.—"You must not be wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt; pray, and be ready to receive what God shall inspire."

Bradford.—"Sir, my conviction of religion must not be doubting or uncertain, and I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it, and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth, and because it is so certain and true, that it may abide the light. I dare behold to have it looked on, and to confer about it with you, or with any man."

Alphonsus.—"Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporeally in the form of bread?"

Bradford.—"No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man."

Alphonsus.—"I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscriptible." And here he made a long harangue about two natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place, asking such questions as no wise man would have spent time about. He then said, "Will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the scriptures?"

Bradford.—"Yes, sir, I will believe whatever you shall by demonstration out of the scriptures declare to me."

"He is obstinate," said Alphonsus to his companion; and then turning to Bradford, said, "Is not God able to do it?"

Bradford.—"Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

Alphonsus.—"Why? doth he not say plainly, 'This is my body?'"

Bradford.—"Yes; and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

Alphonsus.—"To the faith? how is that?"

Bradford.—"Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it, so I know you have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alphonsus.—"But I can tell all that I believe."

Bradford.—"You believe not much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable than the mouth, so it conceives more than tongue can express."

Alphonsus.—"Christ saith it is his body."

Bradford.—"And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alphonsus.—"After a certain manner! that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

Bradford.—"Augustine tells it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith, or to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

Alphonsus.—"Very well said, baptism and the water is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

Bradford.—"No, sir, away with your enclosing: but this I grant, that in the same way as Christ's body is in the bread, so the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

Alphonsus.—"In water is God's grace by signification."

Bradford.—"So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

Here the friar was in a wonderful rage, and spake so high, that the whole house rang again. He had a great name of learning, but surely he had little patience. For if Bradford had been hot, one house could not have held them. At length he came to this point, that Bradford could not find in the scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude together. And here he triumphed, saying, that these men would receive nothing but scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the scripture.

Bradford.—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the scriptures I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."

Alphonsus.—"No, that thou canst never do. Let me see a text of it."

Bradford.—"St. Paul saith, 'By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit,' (1 Cor. xii. 13) meaning the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alphonsus.—"St. Paul hath no such words."

Bradford.—"Yes, he has."

Confessor.—"He has not."

Bradford.—"Give me a Testament, and I will shew you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he shewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another.

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this defeat, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. xi. 29. and there he read how that he was guilty, who made no difference of the Lord's body.

Bradford.—"Yea, but therewith he saith, 'He that eateth of the bread:' calling it bread still: and that after consecration, (as you call it), as in the first of Corinthians, (x. 16.) he saith, 'The bread which we break,'" &c.

Alphonsus.—"Oh how ignorant you are, who know not that things after their conversion do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod:" and calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to triumph. But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying,

Bradford.—"Sir, there is mention made of the conversion in that case, and it appeared to the senses. But here you cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, you bring some matter that makes for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, that Bradford depended on his own sense.

Bradford.—"No, I do not; for I will bring you the fathers of the church for eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm what I say."

Alphonsus. — "No, you have the church against you."

Bradford. — "I have not Christ's church against me."

Alphonsus.—"Yes, you have. What is the church?"

Bradford. — "Christ's wife, the chair and seat of truth."

Alphonsus.—"Is she visible?"

Bradford.—"Yea, that she is to them who will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."

After much more passed between them, the friars departed.

Certain reasons against Transubstantion, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Doctor Weston, and others.

"1. That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally before the council of Lateran, about one thousand two hundred and fifteen years after Christ's coming under Pope Innocent III. of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not to believe it, as the bishop of Durham doth witness in his book of the 'Presence of Christ in his Supper' lately put forth: Ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

"2. That the words of Christ's supper are figurative, as the circumstances of the scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, who did write for the space of one thousand years after Christ's ascension, do teach: whereupon it follows, that there was no transubstantiation.

"5. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body; which he took in his hands; whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread, as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue who are of antiquity do affirm: but in as much as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

"4. The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiated, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said, that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it follows, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon St. Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

"5. As the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's natural body, so it is his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, 'This is my body;' did say also, 'For we, being many, are one bread, and one body,' &c. but now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"6. The words spoken over the cup in Luke, and in the Corinthians, are not so mighty and effectual, as to transubstantiate it: For then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiated into the New Testament: therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

"7. All that doctrine which agrees with those churches which are apostolic mother churches, or original churches is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present time by the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, does not agree with the apostolic and mother churches of Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, who never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that See did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, who divided the mystery, and kept from the laity the cup; therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth."

These arguments were written out by Bradford, and handed to Weston, who expressed a desire to confer with him; but the conference, like all the others, ended in nothing but the confirming Bradford in the true faith which he had professed.

Thus continued Bradford in prison until the month of July, in labours and sufferings; but when the time appointed for his death was come, he was suddenly conveyed in the night to Newgate, and from thence he was carried on the following morning to Smithfield, where, as was before narrated, he firmly adhered to the truth of God, which he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to turn to Christ; and sweetly comforting the godly young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years, who was burned with him, he cheerfully ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

John Leaf, who was burned with Bradford, was an apprentice to Humphrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ's Church, in London. He was born at Kirkby Moreside, in the county of York. On the Friday before Palm Sunday he was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London who had the rule and charge of that ward or part of the city where John Leaf dwelt; and when brought before Bonner, he gave a firm and christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the bishop.

First, As touching his belief and faith in the sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance—that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable—also, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before—and further, that he believed, that when the priest delivers the material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivers but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually in faith they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine; and also affirmed that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made to a priest; for it is no point of the soul's health, nor that the priest has any authority given him by the scriptures to absolve and remit any sin.

On making these answers, he was dismissed at that time, and ordered to appear on the Monday following, being the 16th of June, then and there to hear the sentence of his condemnation. Accordingly the bishop then propounding the articles again to him, endeavoured by all manner of ways to turn him from truth to error, but notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so firmly planted was he upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been Master Rogers' scholar? John Leaf answered, that it was so, and that he did believe in the doctrine of Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine which they died for. And after other replications again of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he with great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My lord, you call my opinion heresy; it is the true light of the word of God." And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his well-grounded opinion while breath was in his body. The bishop being too weak, either to refute his sentence, or to remove his constancy, proceeded to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation; by which this godly and constant

young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered on the same day with John Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of John Leaf, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent to him, one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, he refused it; and when the other was read to him, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the reader to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

When these holy martyrs came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves for the space of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood upon their feet, and then Bradford took a fagot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had done so, he desired the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. "For," said he, "I have nothing else to give him; and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Bradford put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry; beware of false Antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you!" And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bid them tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O Master Sheriff," said Bradford, "I am quiet. God forgive you this." And one of the officers who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and had better hold your peace." To which words Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and requested the people to pray for him. Then turning his head to the young man that suffered with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a happy supper with the Lord this night." And spake no more words that any man heard; but embracing the reeds, said thus, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it."

And thus, like two lambs, they both ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize for which they had long run; to which may Almighty God happily conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

The Letters of Mr. John Bradford.

This godly and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote several comfortable treatises, and many godly letters, of which, some he wrote to the city of London, to Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire and Cheshire, and several to his private friends. By which letters will appear how piously this man occupied his time while a prisoner—what special zeal he bore to the state of Christ's church—what care he had to perform his office—how earnestly he admonished all men—how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted—how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught. I have thought well to give a few of the most important of those letters; referring the reader for the rest to the book of the Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

"To the City of London.

"To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated, and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wishes mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and all-sufficient Redeemer, Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

"My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very short (for hourly I look when I shall be had hence to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence,) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify anything to the world of my state; yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, in spite of the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

"First, for my faith, I do confess, and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is God's only gift), all the twelve articles of the symbol and creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in the manner that I do, and, therefore, I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine than which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar, general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporeal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

"To believe Christ our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow,) is a true and very presence of a whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander by and looker upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men; to believe this, I say, will not serve, and, therefore, as an heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; wherefore I heartily ask God mercy, that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour, to suffer.

"For though my manifold sins, ever since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised, therefore, be his holy name) although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments are true and deserved on my behalf; yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, great cause to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it

pleaseth my heavenly Father to glorify his name; to testify his truth; to confirm his word; to repugn his adversaries. O, good God and merciful Father! forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood do now, for my last farewell in this present life, beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly: first by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; profess not the gospel with your tongue and lips only, but in heart and truth; frame and fashion your lives accordingly; beware that God's name is not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without greater hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ; we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek for the righteousness thereof. To this petition: 'Let thy kingdom come;' we must join: 'Thy will be done:' done 'On earth as it is in heaven.' If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel, and love it not; we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth: if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then perchance God may answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

"To faith, see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the affections and lusts thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God, most justly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deserts, that from the bottom of our hearts, all of us may say: 'It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace of thine enemies. Oh, be merciful! be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of Hosts! and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger; chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure; reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. Oh, then, be merciful unto us, that we may truly worship thee! Help us, for the glory of thy name! Be merciful unto our sins, for they are great! O, heal us! and help us for thine honour! Let not the wicked people say, where is their God! &c.

"On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy scriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness. Let us fly from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; renounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that are not against God and his word, for then answer with the apostles, 'It is meet to obey God rather than man.' However, never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you; and you shall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

"In fine, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he careth for you; with him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to our bodies, which shall not be profitable, however for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means, yea, when all means are against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you shall not lie still: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, herein; doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you, not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you, in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity: namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not though the devil and the world hate you, though you be persecuted here; for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor the things that are in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus' coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall you appear with him in glory.

"In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God: 'For the just shall live by faith,' which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lanthorn to her feet, and a light to her steps; her eyes are above where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth. It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time, through Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you; but that my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every one of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when

I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you are called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all. Amen. This 11th of February, 1555.

"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,

"JOHN BRADFORD."

"*To the University and Town of Cambridge.*

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I shall be had to the stake, (my right dearly beloved in the Lord), and although the charge over me is great and straight, yet having by the providence of God secretly obtained pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (especially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, so that it is needless to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the same; but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For although I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall find mercy) eternal death, and hell-fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not for these, nor any of these things, wherefore the prelates persecute me, but for God's word and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance, and because I will not grant such corporeal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked: yea, of dogs and mice. Also, I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore you ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope, for his mercy's and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's word and truth! Thou, my mother, the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and, as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the truth, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers, who slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"Of this, therefore, I thought good before my death, as time and liberty did suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee) to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know, if you will, these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown; his priesthood abolished; his sacrifice frustrated; the ministry of his word unplaced; repentance repelled; faith fainted; godliness extinguished; the mass maintained; idolatry supported; and all impiety cherished: you know, I say, if you will, that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

"Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's collyrium and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting, as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas! authorized, and by consent confirmed, the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not like the proverb: 'The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.' Beware, lest Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then the latter end shall be worse than the first. It had been better you had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! wo to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. Oh, that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! For thou, O mother! art as the eye of the realm. If thou shine and give light, all the body shall fare the better; but if thy light be darkness, alas! how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou should thus be afraid of him?

"Oh, what is honour and life here but baubles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it happen unto this? And thinkest thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her? and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

"And, alas! how hast thou offended? Yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the church of Christ: without or within? Doth not David say within? O, remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy who are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, who make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman (that is, Christ's wife) except they would make much of her husband, Christ and his word, she would not be made much of them.

"When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church, they or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore, said Christ, 'Search the scriptures.' And, good mother, shall the servant be above his Master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the

hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who was taken in Noah's time for the church? Poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom? Lot, or others? and doth not Christ say; As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he declare that charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, who would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly can tell more of this than I can write.

"Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scorie, Ponet, &c. something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was; for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of body and soul. Ah! therefore, good mother, awake! awake! repent! repent! bestir thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for thee. O, harden not your hearts! O, stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice! though it be by a most unworthy messenger. O, fear the Lord! for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the plague came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon all, both town and university, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

"Oh, Perne repent! oh, Thompson, repent! oh, you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! oh, mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent! repent! repent! that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rend your hearts, and come space, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, 'We have all sinned; we have done wickedly; we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh, pardon our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts! for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say; Where is now their God? O, for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us! Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever!

"If, in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look graciously upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

"Oh, turn you now and repent yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers; you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your portions shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; you shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves for the cross, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my farewell for ever of you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen.

"Out of prison the eleventh of February, A.D. 1555.

"Your own in the Lord for ever,

"JOHN BRADFORD."

"To Lancashire and Cheshire.

"To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabout, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

"I heard it credibly reported, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed, that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in Manchester I was born) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, who exercise this cruelty upon me, (I speak in respect of mine offence which is none to themwards) do think by killing me amongst you to terrify you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will by my death more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own craftiness, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it; for they only are counted wise who have the wisdom of God our Saviour.

"Indeed, if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, 'Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also: yea, since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's welfare; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for Christ's sake, as I hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

"But when I consider the cause of my condemna-

tion, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do. For it is God's word and truth; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in whom Christ and his doctrine is condemned. And, therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, rejoice and give thanks with me and for me; that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"But, perchance, you will say unto me, what is the cause for which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so make it a mere sign and common bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton is gone down to preach among you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach before I came amongst you) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I care much not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

"Indeed, the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporeal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine, that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion; whereby the mass is maintained; Christ's supper perverted; his sacrifice and cross made imperfect; his priesthood destroyed; the ministry taken away; repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true, and very presence of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the stander by and looker on) as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church, (which the popish church doth persecute) I will not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, in spite of the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the truth in any other than such as are children of unbelief, who have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy, Amen.

"And to the end you might be delivered from this plague, right dear to me in the Lord, I shall for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy scriptures of the Lord.

"You know an heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king, and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c. And setting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? In his anger, therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved (yea, undesired on our behalf) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him), but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

"Let us arise with David, and say, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.' Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee: speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently with the publican look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, 'O God be merciful to us sinners.' Let us with the lost son return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and before thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy children. Let us, I say, do on this sort, that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, repent, and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name, and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we now feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding, and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest brother dow departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in æternum* (i. e. my farewell for ever) for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison (as often out of your pulpits I have done) that you would repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth that he may shew mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that you should return, repent, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

"Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false christians, as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace. Oh turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to shew mercy to them that call upon him. Oh then call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will be have in mind our unrighteousness.

"Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn

you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. O why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass, especially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached on the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c., wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth: if, I say, you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you, oh your blood will be upon your own heads! you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

"As I said, therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and darlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, fly the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness, fly from fornication and flattery, murder and malice, destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on piety and godliness, serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c.; be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections, be sober, holy, true; loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doings' sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen, take this council of the Lord by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies, whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causers thereof, for they know not what they do, so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly-beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

"Turn unto the Lord, yet once more I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Steppor, Winsley, Eccles, Prieatwich, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, 'It is enough, put up the sword.' The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"Out of prison, ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, A.D. 1555."

"To my loving Brethren, B.C. &c., their Wives and whole Families.

"I beseech the everlasting God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seems to have the upper hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and scripture seemeth to be oppressed, and they who take part therewith, are unjustly treated; as they who love the truth lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a Father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion, and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward act, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

"This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger produced by our sins, which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment, which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which of all plagues is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

"A great mercy it is, therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be condemned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us. Now calleth he us to remember our past sins. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ, and at his coming in very deed we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but praise God, not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross, thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for, 'blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' 'If,' saith St. Peter, 'ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.' After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which you have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service, set up again amongst us: as you for your parts even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly

wealth; so shall your wives and children in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell. For he will shew merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this cross with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be esteemed, than life itself, much more than any pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a straight way which few walk in. For few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

"But I trust you are of this few, my dearly beloved; I trust you are of that little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters who shall be comforted with that comfort, which shall not be taken from you; if now you repent your former evils, if now you strive against the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon God, if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches, if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a pledge of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth, which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

"And of this I would you were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, who loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave, and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing may he do for his holy name's sake in Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Your afflicted poor brother and bondsman,

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a Woman that desired to know his mind, whether she, refraining from the Mass, might be present at the popish Matins, or not.

"I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

"Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins, or at even-song, or not, is your desire to have me to write something for your further guidance. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you think, that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne with; yet by God's grace I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

"First, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ, that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

"Secondly, Learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

"Thirdly, Know, that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's imagination, custom, multitude, &c., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity, that is, to do as you would be done by. In these is the sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service, is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor never can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to shew:

"First, the matins and even-song, is in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in the congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how St. Paul affirms it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. 1 Cor. 14. This one, indeed, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

"Again, both in matins and in even-song is idolatry maintained instead of God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

"Moreover, this service, and the setters forth of it condemns the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good, whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

"Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so are cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

"Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of antichrist (as doubtless you do indeed, however in heart you think) occasions the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion externally, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad, serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue, yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this world be but trifles.

"Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes, daily set yourself and your doings as before the judgment seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, 'He that will save his life, shall lose it.' The Father of heaven commands you to hear Christ, and he saith, 'Follow me:' this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. Fly from such, saith the scripture.

"This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually, Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large. The 2nd of March, A.D. 1555.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends for not coming to the Mass.

"I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly-beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, to strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called, Amen.

"I perceived by yourself the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort to see the number of God's elect by you increased, who are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as St. Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord for his faithfulness sake will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

"If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly-beloved, how much more ought it to be so to you? Unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the cause of suffering for his sake, and that not merely of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me. By which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide, and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him, how that for conscience to him your father and mother hath forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you, and by this would have you to see that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him. For he will make your body which now you defile not with idolatrous service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, who do not deny his truth in word nor deed, before your Father; he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you are afflicted, yet therein he will comfort and strengthen you, and at length make you to rejoice with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe away all tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly he will show you how steadfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

"Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it comes to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked in betraying in act and deed that which their heart embraceth for truth; which thing, if you should do (which God forbid), then my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you shall not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. 'For he that gathereth not with me,' saith Christ, as no mass-gospeller doth, 'scattereth abroad.' According to what we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If by our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation, much more then of our acts and deeds. You cannot be a partaker of God's religion and antichrist's service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If your husband would have, both heart and body shall Christ have less, think you, who hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband would not have admitted an excuse that your heart was his if he had found you faithless to him, do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

"God esteemeth his children, not only by their hearts, but by their pure hands and works; and therefore in Elijah's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; so now he doth not in England account any to be his servants who know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds, as do our mass gospellers.

"We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priest's and baker's making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God, and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia offering sacrifice unto them, and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be silent? What thing helpeth more or so much antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than it doth? And how can we then say, 'Let thy kingdom come,' and go to mass? How can we pray before God, 'Thy will be done on earth,' when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friend? How pray we, 'Deliver us from evil,' who knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

"But what go I about to light a candle in the noonday, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees? saith God. Halting, saith St. Paul, bringeth out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he who is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, who are now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

"Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and through it to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it, making thereby your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteoussness, as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure, therefore, and keep yourself from all filthiness of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

"And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail to inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not yourself

to the wicked world, but fight against it until the end. God for his holy name's sake, which is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be helped at his hands in all things, and especially in this his own cause. Amen, Amen. "JOHN BRADFORD."

William Minge.

The next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and likely to have suffered also, if his life had continued; for he with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake.

James Trevisam buried in the Fields.

On Sunday, the third of July, A.D. 1555, died one James Trevisam, in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury. Being impotent and lame, he kept his bed, for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Small, who read in the Bible; and as he was reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and insisted to go up stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife, to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All which folks Berd apprehended and carried to the compter, where they remained about a fortnight. Moreover, Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door), but for the neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was made to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick. So within a few days, James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller. "Yea," said he, "are you agreed? I will accuse you, for he denies the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt; and if he were dead he should be buried in a ditch. And so when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would he let her have the coffin to put him in, nor anything else, but she was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the summoner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at St. Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him. But what more befel him, I have not certainly to say.

The History of John Bland.

On the twelfth of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all four burned together at Canterbury for one cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvendon.

Mr. Bland was at first employed in bringing up children in learning and virtue. After this, coming to the ministry in the church of God, he was filled with earnest desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that when he was cast into Canterbury prison for preaching the gospel, and was delivered once or twice at the suit of his friends, yet he would preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Upon this, being apprehended the third time, when his friends would again have found means to have delivered him if he would promise to abstain from preaching; he would admit no such condition, shewing well to us the example which we read in the Apostle Paul; "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" &c. But as to the life and doings of this godly martyr, it will be best to refer the reader to his own account, which he sent to his father about his troubles.

A Discourse of the whole Process and doings of John Bland, written and reported by himself to his Father in his own Letter, as follows:—

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have befallen me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

"Your son, JOHN BLAND."

"First, on Sunday, the third of September, after service ended, before I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord's Table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' Now they say, that they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave that set it here.' I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's highness has set forth a proclamation, that you may move no sedition.' And before I could speak any more, he said, 'Thou art a knave.' And I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, what I have said, I have said.'—'By God's soul,' said he, 'thou art a very knave.' Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, 'Both of you are heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if you say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face:' and in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the tressels by it. Wherefore I rode by and bye to Master Isaac, and shewed him how seditiously he had spoken and acted. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately observed, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"On the twenty-sixth of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen, and his brother Thomas came to the table after the communion was done, and as I was going past them, Richard said to me, 'Master Parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, 'What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle, wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompense you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must be put up again.'

"I answered 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.'

"'No,' said Thomas Austen, 'you will not know the queen's proceedings.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'I refuse not to know them.'

"Then said Richard, 'You are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.'

"'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'if I so said, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.'

"'Masters all,' exclaimed Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words,' and went his way.

"Thomas Austen said, 'thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.'—'No,' said I, 'not so soon.'—'Tell us,' said he, 'what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.'

"'I often preached it to you,' said I, 'and you have not believed it, nor borne it away; nor will now neither, though I should tell you.'

"He replied, 'Thou art an heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy: for thou canst say nothing that is true.'

"'Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say, that is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

"'Thou hast taught us like an heretic,' he answered, 'and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.'

"He gave many other taunts, too long to write. And at the last he said, 'You pulled down the altar; will you build it again?'—'No,' said I, 'except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do what I did.'

"'Well, if you will not,' said he, 'then I will; for I am churchwarden.'

"'I charge you,' said I, 'that you do not, except you have authority.'—'I will not,' said he, 'refrain for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher, that shall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"When the Sunday came, I looked for the preacher, but he never came, so I preached in his absence.

"Upon Innocents' day, being the twenty-eighth of December, they procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say mass. He had nigh made an end of matins before I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, 'Master Parson, your neighbour has desired me to say matins and mass; I trust you will not be against the queen's proceedings.'—'No,' said I, 'I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing.'—'What say you?' said he; and made as though he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time (so that all the church heard) that I would not offend the queen's laws; and then he went to mass.

"And the priest came down into the stall where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always shewn to his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration. So that as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it, in that form, to be no sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; whereas one only in the mass eats and drinks, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship: and after these things, as briefly as I could, I spake of the originators of the mass, and began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the addition that he made to the mass; and before I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the constable, his son-in-law, violently came, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'thou heretic;' some, 'thou traitor;' some, 'thou rebel;' and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was something past, 'Be quiet, good neighbours,' said I, 'and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters, no more till mass be done;' and they ceased. Then said I to the churchwarden and the constable, holding me by the arm, 'Masters, let me go into the churchyard till your mass be done.'—'No,' said the churchwarden, 'thou shalt tarry here till mass be done.'—'I will not,' said I; 'but against my will.' And they said, 'Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away.' Then said I to the constable, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me;' and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door, and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me. Then Thomas Austen said, 'Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's.'—'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Now, the 23rd or 24th of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by commandment of Sir Thomas Moyles, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions, to be held at Canterbury; but after that, they changed it to be at Ashford, on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, on the 19th of May: in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.

"On the 18th day of May, Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, had me brought before him, and the commissary, into Christ's church. Then the archdeacon said, 'Art thou a priest?' And I said, 'I was.' And he said, 'Art thou any graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yea.' 'What degree,' said he, 'hast thou taken?' 'The degree,' said I, 'of a master of art.' 'Thou hast been a licensed preacher?' And I said, 'I have.'

"'What hast thou preached?'

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"'No, no,' he replied, 'to the destroying of their souls and thine too, except the mercy of God is all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.'

"'I told you what I have preached,' I answered.

"'Nay, but tell me,' said he, 'what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?'

"I replied, 'I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"'For thou hast preached,' said he, 'that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ, after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?'

"I answered, 'Sir, I perceive that you seek matter against me, and therefore, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.'

"Collins.—'Do you not remember, that St. Peter bids you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?'

"Bland.—'I know that, and am content so to answer as that text directs: but I know that Master Archdeacon does not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble.' They said, 'No, you shall not be troubled for any thing that you say here.'

"Bland.—'I am content for knowledge sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise.' And so they commenced reasoning for more than the space of an hour, about the sacrament.

"On the 21st of May, I again appeared in the Chapter-house, where a great multitude of people had assembled; and the Archdeacon said to me, 'You are come here according as you were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness to place me here to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and grievous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is poisoned with error, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I for my part shall be right glad to shew you the favour that lies in me.'

"Bland.—'I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, nor did I ever teach any error or heresy willingly.'

"Harpsfield.—'Hear you what he saith? His conscience is clear! I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? let me hear what thy faith is?'

"Bland.—'I know not why you should ask me a reason of my faith, more than any other man in this open audience?'

"Harpsfield.—'Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? if it were a christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it.'

"Bland.—'I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other articles of the creed; and I do believe all the holy scriptures of God to be most certain and true.'

"Harpsfield.—'Wilt thou declare no more than this?'

"Bland.—'No.'

"Harpsfield.—'Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith, and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were since the apostles' time. Lo, upon this I ground my faith.'

"When he could get no other answer from me, than I had given before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And I said, 'By what law and authority will you proceed against me?'

"Collins said, 'By the canon law.'

"Bland.—'I doubt whether it be valid or not. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law.'

"Harpsfield.—'Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me,—I who have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?'

"Bland.—'Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that you would be content at my desire, to confer out of the scriptures with me, to see if you could win me; and you said you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I might have what book I wished; and now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.'"

[Then they entered upon some arguments on transubstantiation, and then Bland was bound in sureties to appear again.]

"About the 28th day of June I came to Master Commissary, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me; but Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me. And so appointed me to appear before him on Friday seven nights after. In the meantime the sessions were held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear.

"Sir Thomas Moyle said, 'Ah, Bland, thou art a stiff-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called.'

"So the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assizes, where we were among the prisoners two days: and when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, the clerk of the peace, said that I was an excommunicated person.'

"Then the judges of assize said, 'Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be held next at the town of Maldon.'

"We tarried at Maidstone till the sessions were held at Greenwich, on the 18th and 19th of February. I and others being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out by the jailor and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Webb, and two others whom I know not."

Another Examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker.

"Baker.—'Bland, wherefore were you cast into prison?'

"Bland.—'I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.'

"Baker.—'Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?'

"Bland.—'For an unjust complaint laid against me.'

"Baker.—'What was the complaint?'

"I then told him as truly and briefly as I could.

"Baker.—'Let me see thy book;' and I shewed him a Latin Testament.

"Baker.—'Will you go to church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?'

"Bland.—'I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do.'

"Baker.—'Will you do as I said?'

"Bland.—'Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?'

"Baker.—'Yea.'

"Bland.—'Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied is good?'

"Baker.—'Away, away!' and throwing down the book, he said: 'It is no Testament.' And I said: 'Yes.' And Master Webb took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently; 'I knew you when you were out of this opinion. I would to God you would reform yourself;' with better words than I will write. And I said: 'If you have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge.'

"Baker.—'Yea, sayest thou so? by St. Mary, I will give six fagots to burn thee with, ere thou shouldst be unburned. Hence, knave, hence!'

"At night, when judgment was passed on the felons, and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailor: 'Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution.' And one of our company said: 'My Lord, if we were killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever.'

"Then we came to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second day of March, when we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree-church, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, with others; and then went to them Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Webb and Master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, Master Webb said: 'Here we present this man to you, as one strongly suspected of heresy.'

"Bland.—'You have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and nothing proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?'

"Webb.—'Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to what is laid to your charge.'

"Bland.—'I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.'

"Webb.—'Yes; you refused to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.'

"Bland.—'Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy, for asking a question with leave?' So we had more words there than I well remember.

"Then stood up Master Petit, and said: 'You were cast into prison, because you fled away from your ordinary.'

"Bland.—'Then I have suffered wrongfully; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:' but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said: 'Master commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?' 'No,' said he; 'you know that when you went from me, you were appointed to appear on the Friday after the sessions."

Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented, and then we were sent to Westgate to prison, and were put in several close holds, so that not one of us could speak to another, nor was any man permitted to come to us."

And thus passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now follows the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen, before whom he was examined. The chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Doctor Richard Thornton.—

"Collins.—'You know that you are presented to us as one suspected of heresy. How say you, are you contented to conform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?'

"Bland.—'I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy.'

"Dover.—'Only that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witnesses to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol.'

"Bland.—'You, my lord, never heard me say so; but I heard you once say, that in your conscience you had abhorred the mass three years.'

"Dover.—'Thou liest; I never said so.'

"Bland.—'My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnesses to prove it, with the day, time, and place.'

"Collins.—'You had better answer now, or you shall to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if you then will not answer directly, you shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you.'

"Bland.—'I will not refuse to answer to any thing that you can lay to my charge by the law; wherefore I trust you will let me have the benefit of the law.'

"Collins.—'This is the law, that if you be required by the ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei*, you must not refuse.'

"Bland.—'Then I will answer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the creed. And I believe all the articles contained both in the creed, called the Nicene Creed, and in the creed of Athanasius. And I do believe, that all the holy scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true.'

"Collins.—'This will not serve you; you must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you.'

"Bland.—'Let me know the law and I will answer.'

"Collins.—'How say you, will you answer?'

"Bland.—'Sir, I have answered you.'

"Dover.—'Have him away; he had better have answered.'

"Bland.—'My lord, I am ready to answer, if you have any thing against me by the law.'

"Dover.—'You have preached many heresies in Adesham, where I am parson now; and therefore you must make answer to them.'

"Bland.—'Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them.'

"Collins.—'All this will not serve you; you must answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will you conform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?'

"Bland.—'I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?'

"Collins.—'To answer to such things as are demanded of you.'

"Bland.—'Sir, I thought you had some matters against me by the law.'

"Collins.—'Well, on Monday at nine o'clock you shall see the law, and have articles laid to you. Do you not believe that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remains no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?'

"Bland.—'I know not by any law why you should ask me that question more than any other man here.'

"Dover.—'Doest not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?'

"Bland.—'No, I do not so believe; for the scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh.'

"Faucet.—'As you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be glad to do you good; but you may not thus stand against the church. For Christ saith, You must humble yourself, and take up his cross and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not adhere to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remains no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ.'

"Bland.—'Master Doctor, if you take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the scriptures. I do not believe any transubstantiation, nor never will.'

"Faucet.—'Then I have done with you; I would no more pray for you than I would for a dog.'

"Glasier.—'How think you? Did St. Paul, when he said, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' Did he mean baker's bread?'

"Bland.—'Though he did not mean baker's bread, that does not prove that he brake natural and real flesh.'

"Glasier.—'No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine.'

"Bland.—'Then the apostles had it not in the same state as we have; or else his glorified body was crucified for us.'

"Glasier.—'Tush, you do not understand the scriptures. For Christ's body was always glorified, because it was so marvellously united to the Godhead; yea, and he shewed his body many times glorified, as on Mount Thabor: and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?'

"Bland.—'Then Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the act of a glorified body! and the iron that Elisha made to swim on the water!'

"Dover.—'Tush, that was done by prayer.'

"Here they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my lord said.

"Glasier.—'I was glad, when I heard you say you believed the catholic church, and now go you from it?'

"Bland.—'No, that I do not.'

"Glasier.—'You know that Christ saith, Mat. xviii. 15—17. 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church, but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.' I pray you where could you have found this church of yours fifty years ago?'

"Bland.—'Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.'

"Dover.—'No more! I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another.'

"The Monday after we were brought to the same place again; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, that I would conform myself. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which they said before I should see.

"Dover.—'What needs that? We have enough against you. For you denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament.'"

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Being again dismissed, he had a conference, as follows, with Milles:

"Milles.—'We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporeally, which are the forms of bread and wine; and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, are there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight are there also by invisible measure.'

"Bland.—'This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet you say, the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, and trifle with God's work.'

"Milles.—'To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is, where he chooses; and is in the sacrament really and corporeally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place.'

"Bland.—'Mark your own reason. All power is given to Christ both in heaven and in earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he chooses; therefore he is in the sacrament really and corporeally, without occupying of place! I deny your argument, for I would learn of you, how you know that Christ chooses to be present at every priest's bidding. For if the priest choose not to say your mass, then Christ chooses not to be there.'

"Milles.—'We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also do eat it corporeally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive has life. For the Godhead is annexed to it; which although it be received together with the body of Christ, yet it is not visible, and the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it has the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities of the wine, without the substance of blood.'

"Bland.—'I am glad that you say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament; it may bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinks it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else you must grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And you say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that makes a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that does that, which ye deny not. And a greater truth you confess than you did think, when you said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities without the substance of blood; for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it; by which it is evident that there is no natural blood.' If a man be drunken with consecrated wine, it must be a miracle, as you will have it, that the accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents; and so it follows, that a man may be drunken by miracle! The body that you receive, you say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that you receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh; the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: you make of it a thing so fantastical, that you imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as you do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.'

"Milles.—'If case so require, and there is a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance, but accidents without substance to a true believer.'

"Bland.—'You grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents; and to increase it, you have brought in two inconveniences: first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it, and if that lack, you seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest hinders not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever you seem to say, that it is not the same, as it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration.'

"Milles.—'The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly. For although he receives the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse does not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it does not feed him spiritually or corporeally, as it does man, because he does not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh.'

"Bland.—'You make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. You say, he does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation; therefore, with violation he receives the substance inwardly. You say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violates the substance that he eats. And this your speech does import as much, as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as does the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cause that she properly eats not the body of Christ, because she does not feed upon it spiritually nor corporeally, nor receives it to any inducement of immortality, as you say; then it follows, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the mouse will live by consecrated bread, and then you must grant this absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents!'

"Milles.—'Men's bodies are fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but men's bodies are corporeally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and we deny that by the sacramental eating any gross humour turned into blood, is made miraculously in the body.'

"Bland.—'Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated; you cannot avoid that: but then you turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which does not put away the absurdity that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But you say, men's bodies are corporeally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and then you must needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For else all that is the nutriment in man is accidents and no substance.'

"Milles.—'If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceases to be there.'

"Bland.—'You grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms; but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, even though we granted to you, which we do not, that it ever were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleasure, to see the truth.'"

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tossed to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, on the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton. The commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his letters patent had appointed before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great number of innocent servants of Christ were cruelly treated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom John Bland was one of the first; who, being brought before the said bishop, with his colleagues, who were John Frank-

esh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker, was examined of the following articles:

Articles ministered by Richard, Bishop of Dover, to John Bland, and likewise to the others after him.

"First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"2. That thou art a christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"3. That all persons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretics, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"4. That thou, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance; but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and hood of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else.

"5. That thou, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man safely and with a good conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

"6. That thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind: and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

"7. That the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

To all these articles he gave his consent and admission. So on the 25th day of the month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope, whereupon his sentence was read, and he was forthwith condemned and committed to the secular power.

The Prayer of John Bland before his Death.

"O! Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I choose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do anything that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the flame of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake, my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this freewill-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus receive my soul. So be it."

An Account of John Frankesh, Humphrey Middleton, and Nicholas Sheterden.

Having now given the examinations of John Bland, we shall further proceed to give an account of the rest of his fellow captives, who were joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction, namely, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only fell away. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were condemned together by the suffragan of Canterbury, on the 25th day of June, 1555. Touching whose examinations it will not be necessary to enlarge, inasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one; so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed. In the meantime, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will begin with him first:

The Examination of Nicholas Sheterden by Master Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Collins, the commissary, for which they sent him to prison.

"Archdeacon.—'The very words of Christ, when he said, 'This is my body,' changed the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.'

"Sheterden.—'Then belike when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.'

"Archdeacon.—'Not so; for when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.'

"Sheterden.—'If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup.'

"Archdeacon.—'There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it stands, without any other meaning.'

"Sheterden.—'Then you make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so you divide Christ's supper.'

"Archdeacon.—'Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, 'This cup is my blood.'

"Sheterden.—'Then shew me whether the words, which the priest speaks over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest does it?'

"Archdeacon.—'The mind of the priest does it, and not the words.'

"Sheterden.—'If the mind of the priest does it, and not the words, then none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter stands in the mind of the priest. For no man can tell what the priest means but himself; and so they are ever in danger of committing idolatry.'

"Archdeacon—(somewhat moved, and sitting down) 'I pray you, Master Commissary, speak you to him, for they are as unreasonable and perverse answers, as ever I heard of.'

"Commissary.—'Your argument is much against yourself, for you grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body; but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.'

"Sheterden.—'My argument is not against me at all;

for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words do not change the substance of the bread, any more than they do the cup into blood.'

"Commissary.—'It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, 'This cup is my blood;' but he meant the wine in the cup.'

"Sheterden.—'Then it remains for you to answer my question to the archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the priest when he speaks over the cup, does change it into blood, or is it the bare words?'

"Commissary.—'Both together do it, the *words* and the *mind* of the priest together; yea, the intent and the words together do it.'

"Sheterden.—'If the words and intention together change the substance, yet the cup must be his blood, and not the wine, for the words are, 'This cup is my blood,' and the intention, you say, was the wine, or else the words take no effect, but the intention only.'

"Commissary.—'It was the intention of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained; then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.'

"Sheterden.—'If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intends not, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that to be God, which is but bread, because for lack of the priest's intention, the words take no effect in it, so that by this it is doubtful, whether they worship Christ or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests intend!'

After some farther conference the Commissary departed.

Afterwards he was examined before the bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor, of which he gives the following account:—

"I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. The lord chancellor stood at the table, who called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

"Then said he, 'I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted for heresy; and being called before the commissioners, you will not answer nor submit yourself.'

"I said, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison a long time, and it was reasonable that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to cover my wrong imprisonment, neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made.

"Winchester.—He said, 'if thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a christian, thou shalt go, and then you shall have a writ of wrong imprisonment,' &c.

"Sheterden.—I said 'I was not minded to sue now, but required to have justice. It might be that my conscience was not persuaded, nor would be in prison; seeing these things which I have learned were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm.'

"Winchester.—He said 'it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament.'

"Sheterden.—I said 'against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught, and that when they preached to us, they took pains to set out the word of God in our tongue, that we might read and judge whether they said true or not; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a strong argument.'

"Winchester.—'It was not a few that could be your guide, but the doctors and all the whole church; now whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?'

"Sheterden.—'I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for he that brings the word, and shows it to me to be so according to it.'

"Winchester.—'Well then if an Arian come to thee with scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he shew this text, 'My Father is greater than I?'

"Sheterden.—I answered 'no, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, 'I and my Father are one.'

"Winchester.—'Yea, that is in love, as we are one with him.'

"Sheterden.—I said 'that gloss would not stand with the rest of the scripture.'

"So after many words he came to the church's faith and ceremonies and images. And then I joined issue with him about the commandment against images.'

"Winchester.—He said, 'that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice.'

"Sheterden.—I said 'that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness.'

"Winchester.—'Where find ye that?'

"Sheterden.—'In the law where God gave them the commandments: for he said, 'Ye saw no similitude, but heard a voice only;' and added a reason why, lest they should make images. So that God would not shew his shape, because they should have no image of him who was the true God,' &c.

"Winchester.—He said, 'I made a goodly *interpretation*.'

"Sheterden.—I said 'no, it was the *text*.'

"Then was the English bible brought. He made me find it; and so I read it aloud; and then he said, 'Lo, here thou mayest see, this is no more to forbid the image of God than of any other beast, fowl, or fish,' (the place was Deut. iv. 15-18.) 'I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man could know what shape he was of. Therefore, no man might say of any image, this is an image of God.'

"Winchester.—'Well; yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may represent, that is, of Christ and the Holy Ghost. The Father appeared to Daniel like an old man,' &c.

"Sheterden.—'That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet he was not like in shape, but in certain qualities, and therefore when I saw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving,' &c.

"Winchester, somewhat moved, said I had learned my lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c."

And thus much touching the examinations of Nicholas Sheterden and John Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, who at the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humphrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent.

To the articles propounded to these persons, John Frankesh answered somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite of fourteen days to deliberate, which was granted; John Bland answered firmly and distinctly, as you have heard before; Nicholas Sheterden and Humphrey Middleton answered also well. Middleton added, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God." Thacker only recanted, and was content to perform penance. Thus the four were condemned by the bishop of Dover, on the 25th day of June, A.D. 1555.

And so being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury, on the 12th of July, at two stakes, but all in one fire; where they, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

"O Lord my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God look upon me, and others of thy people, who at this time are oppressed by the worldly-minded for thy law's sake; yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden

under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise and commodities of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by their permission enjoy those commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoin them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body, and lo! I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them who fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

"O, Father! I do not presume to come to thee, in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will; and now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now are spoiled and consumed by the fire. O, Lord Jesus! receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

A Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

"After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that you may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan, our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly shew himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceives them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, does by his ministers make many believe, that those things, which they compel us to for their stomach's sake, have many godly significations, although they are most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they are, even as did the serpent in Paradise to our first mother, Eve. What (said he) hath God commanded you shall not eat of all the trees in the garden? The woman said, of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat: but of the tree in the midst of the garden, said God, see ye eat not lest you die. Even so our ministers now-a-days, say, hath God commanded ye shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing? Yea, forsooth. Tush, say they, what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better, when we see his image or picture? For they are good books for the laymen; but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

"And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we, in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind: and this follows upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore surely except we repent, God will shortly remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues, as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

"But I know the craftiness of them herein, (I thank God) who will say; Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life? And, lo, they say that it is good hay; although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet, and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir, be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What, wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach, or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift: for peradventure they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ: Yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

"Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off: we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure: I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they condemn us not, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in what they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those we shall never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not; 'Yet shall the gospel,' saith he, 'be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come.'

"And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith, and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now peradventure are jealous over me amiss. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do: Nevertheless I pray they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and mediator, and by his holy apostles; and then I doubt not, but our matter

shall be ended with peace, and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy sake. Amen.

"Your own child, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, prisoner for the truth, in Westgate, 1555."

A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart to the same. It is shewed me, my brother, that you wished me by a letter to a friend of yours, to persuade me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, who saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother, I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have I refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongs to mortal men. But if they require of me any thing which pertains to God duly, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe, I trust in God, shall get it of me; nor yet the angels in heaven.

"For though I be not learned, (as the vain men of the world call learning) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism, and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together: so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must be so ignorant as to say thus, 'I believe as the holy church believes:' if he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments; if I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, his mortification, or his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism, and then they may as well say, he was baptised before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised, and that were even right antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh, ye must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things,' &c. True it is, that God is Almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time, neither does he require of us to judge or believe of his Almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom, and yet is he nevertheless Almighty.

"But if peradventure you shall think with yourself, why they are learned; it were a marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others, who never kept any such study, &c. To that I answer, that if they had studied God's word, the author of truth, as they have done logic, and duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in weak reasons. But thus has God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, who would not believe nor walk in his truth.

"And again; this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles' time by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins' sake. And why should not we think that this and such like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings are to Christ's and his apostles': and that seen, either we must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they are the very antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

"Your brother, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, prisoner for the truth, in Westgate."

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

"Oh! my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness, of all my misdeeds towards you. Oh! my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope myself to feel, and partly taste of before this comes to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. Oh! let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no God, yea, the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould, and I take Christ's testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath shewed it unto you, be warned in time. Oh! give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your father be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your pastime; but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things: so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore: Oh! farewell my friends and lovers all, God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.

"From Westgate, the 11th of July, 1555. Your Child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, being appointed to be slain."

The day after the condemnation of these godly men, which was the 26th day of July, there were also condemned for the same articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, W. Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, when we come to the month of August.

In the same month followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, and Christopher Waid of Dartford, who were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified; and sentence of condemnation was pronounced by Maurice the bishop against them, after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th day of July.

With Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, the bishop aforenamed, whose names were Joan Beach, widow; John Harpol, of Rochester; and Margery Polley. Of Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here follows the account.

The Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

Margery Polley, widow, was accused and brought before Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the begin-

ning of June. The bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair, in a high swelling style to dash the poor woman, began in these words:

"We, Maurice, by the sufferance of God bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepingbery, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath being administered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to others before, she so framed her answers, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For which sentence was read against her about the beginning of June. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer treating of it to the due place and time.

The Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was early in the morning carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither, also, was brought a load of broom-fagots, with other fagots and tall wood, to which place the people of the country resorted in great numbers, and there awaited his coming. About ten o'clock, the sheriff, with a number of other gentlemen, who were appointed to assist him, came riding to the place; and with them Waid, at whose side was riding, pinioned, Margery Polley of Tunbridge, who were both singing a psalm. Margery, as soon as she saw afar off the multitude gathered about the place where Waid was to suffer, said to him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day." And so passing by the place, they were carried to the town, where Margery was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Waid being made ready, and stripped of his clothes in an inn, he had brought to him a long white shirt from his wife, which he put on; he was then pinioned, and led to the Brimth; and coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embraced it, and set his back to it, and stept into a pitch-barrel; then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus fixed, he repeated, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the lxxxvi. Psalm, "Shew me a token for good; that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near to the stake was a little hill, and upon the top of it were erected four staves, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into this place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, a friar entered with a book in his hand; when Waid saw him he cried earnestly to the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days; but the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, master sheriff, and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered something: but Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which, when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, withdrew out of the place immediately, without speaking a word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being placed about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making an opening about his face, that his voice might be heard. Then the fire being put to him, he cried to God often, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul;" without any token or sign of impatience in the fire; till at length, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was not heard to speak, but continued to hold up his hands over his head towards heaven.

The burning of Dirick Carver and John Launder.

On the twenty-second of July, there was burned at Lewes, in the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver; and, on the next day, was also burned at Stening, another man named John Launder. These two men, with others, had been apprehended about the end of October, 1554, while they were at prayer in the dwelling-house of Dirick; and were sent up to the queen's council. After examination they were sent as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. They were brought by the keeper of the prison on the eighth of June, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there being examined upon many points of religion, they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected to them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory of St. Paul's, on the tenth day of the month.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner.

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmston, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelt by the space of eight or nine years; born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age, or thereabout, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallows day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Also, being examined concerning the mass in Latin, now used in the popish church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a christian man, except it should be said in the mother tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they are not profitable to a christian man.

"Also, being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, That he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

"Also, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the said church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And, furthermore, he saith, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were of late burned, were good christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ as he believeth; and saith that they did

shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

"And further being examined, he saith, That since the queen's coronation, he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmston divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers. And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his house at Brighthelmston, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallows day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

The Confession of John Launder, before Bonner.

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone; being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallows-eve, last past, this examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with other persons to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward VI., in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brighthelmston in Sussex) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other companions, hath ever since remained in prison.

"And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmston was upon certain business there to be done for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinate did resort to his house and company, whom before that time he did never see or know, and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before: And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members are dispersed throughout the world, and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they are of the catholic church, but abhors them from the bottom of his heart: And doth further say and believe, that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which hath been used after the same manner) are erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

"Also, he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really, and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is, that when he receives the material bread and wine he receives the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and so receiving it, he eats and drinks Christ's body and blood by faith, and no other way as he believeth.

"And, moreover, he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere, in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that although the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass are of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that are naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also, as he believeth.

"Also, he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins, and also believeth that the right and true way (according to the scriptures) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, neither to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith," &c.

On the tenth of June these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper to the bishop's consistory, where the bishop beginning with Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be read to him, asking him whether he would stand to them. Dirick answered, that he would: "For your doctrine," said he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here, you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say that you can make a god; you can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church are beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

The bishop seeing his constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing (i. e. sentence of condemnation to be burned), both on Dirick Carver and John Launder, who remained in the same constancy, and therefore they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and afterwards were conveyed to the places above-named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who has assured them of a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures. At his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed to God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the faith. As he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the pitch-barrel, and when he had stripped himself as a joyful member of God, he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as he came in, he took up the book and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again; and immediately Dirick spake with a joyful voice, saying:—

"Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood, Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true: it is not unknown to all of you, that it has been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and that now it is not. And because I will not deny God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to such belief. And as many of you as believe in the pope of Rome, or any of his laws, which he sets forth in these days, you believe to your utter condemnation; and except the great mercy of God prevents you, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff spake to him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul." And further the sheriff said to him, "Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or else to strike me down for an example to this people." But this faithful martyr said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then he spake again to all the people with a loud voice, saying, "Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you, who have offended me in thought, word, or deed." And he said further in his prayer, "Oh Lord, my God, thou hast written, 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me.' (Matt. x. 37, 38.) But thou Lord knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee. Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee do I commend my spirit, and my soul doth rejoice in thee. These were the last words of this faithful martyr of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after the fire came to him, he cried, "Oh Lord, have mercy upon me," and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and died.

An Account of Thomas Iveson.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter, whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, as it was at one time, and in one form, with Dirick Carver and John Launder, I here omit, referring the reader to their history.

Iveson being earnestly pressed to recant, he said, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to it: and what I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer being thus made, he was condemned as an heretic, and was committed to the secular power, as they term it, and at the place abovementioned was burned, persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

In the latter end of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel, whom, although the prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude from christian burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbeys, a Martyr, for the true cause of Christ's Gospel.

Among many that laboured in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbeys, a young man, who, through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was forced to take part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of arrest. But when the time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Doctor Hopton, who, examining him of his religion, and charging him both with threats and fair speech, at the last poor James yielded to their persuasions, although his conscience consented not.

When he was dismissed, and was about to go from the bishop, the bishop called him again, and gave him a piece of money, which, when James had received, and was departed from the bishop, his conscience began inwardly to accuse his act, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their persuasions. In which combat with himself, he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his money, which he had received at his hand, and said he repented that ever he gave his consent to their wicked persuasions; and also that he gave his consent in taking his money.

Now, this being done, the bishop with his chaplains laboured afresh to win him again, but in vain; for James Abbeys would not yield, although he had played Peter before through infirmity, yet he stood manfully in his master's cause to the end, and abode the trial of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which burning took place at Bury, on the 2nd of August, 1555.

The Martyrdom of John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, there were many, who, though they were not clergymen, yet thought to help this furious flame of persecution. Amongst whom was one Edmund Tyrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace in the county of Essex. As Tyrel came from the burning of certain godly martyrs, he met with John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, both of Maidstone in Kent, travelling upon the way, and going to visit some of their godly friends. Upon suspicion he apprehended, and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up to the queen's commissioners.

The following is from the confession of faith found on the person of John Denley:

"The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say that Christ is corporeally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporeally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporeally.

"For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporeally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this: that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament; and that after thanks given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly life in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I do understand spiritually that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting, and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, admonishes and puts us in remembrance of his death, and so excites us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we there have Christ present; in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood, that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"John Denley."

The commissioners receiving these prisoners, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them to Bishop Bonner, to be handled after his discretion. On the 28th of June he caused Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber within his palace, and there examined them upon their confessions, objecting also to them certain other articles of his own. To which

they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others.

The following are the articles objected.—

1. That he is of the diocese of London.

2. That he does not believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ in earth.

3. That he does not believe, that this church of England is any part of the catholic church.

4. That he believes, that the mass is full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word.

5. That he believes that auricular confession is not good, but contrary to God's word.

6. That he believes that absolution given by the priest hearing confession is not good, nor allowable by God's word.

7. That he believes that christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and evensong, anointing or absolving of sick persons, making holy bread and holy water.

8. That he believes that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

9. That he believes that as Christ is ascended up into heaven; therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

(Objected only to one.) That thou, Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, on the said twenty-third of June, in the year 1555, didst unreverendly stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of mass; and didst also refuse to receive holy water, and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

The Answer of John Denley and the others.

"To the first article, I answer, it is very true.

"To the second article, I answer, that it is not true; for I believe in the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

"To the third article, I answer, that I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof; for it is plain, that they have altered the Testament of God, and set up a Testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies; for Christ's Testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as appears when he taught them to pray, Matt. vi.: and also it appears by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 4. 'But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church.'

"Also he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 9. 'So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air,' that is as much as to say, in vain. Also he saith, verse 17—19. 'For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: 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.'

"Also it is written in Psalm xlvii. 7, 'For God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding,' &c. So it appears, that this church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words are true, and also the Psalms; therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To the fourth article I answer, and I do believe that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and made an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.' (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) So it appears by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he saith, 'No similitude,' therefore, 'Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.' I pray you, what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtsey, with other such-like superstition? You would make men to be so blind as to believe, that this is no worshipping.

"Peradventure you will object and say, you do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words are true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith in Hebrews x. 12, 13, 'But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.'

"Also in Heb. ix. 24, 'For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.' Also, Philip. iii. 20, 'For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 Thess. i. 9, 10, 'For they themselves shew of us what manner of entering in we had unto you; and how ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.' Also John xvi. 28, 'I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world:' again, 'I leave the world, and go to the Father.' John xvii. 11, 'And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to thee.' All these places of the scriptures, with others, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

"To this fifth article, I answer, that I do believe that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. As to my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission of them; for our Saviour Christ saith (Matt. xi. 28), 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The prodigal son (Luke xv. 18, 19), saith, 'I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants.' Psalm xxxii. 5, 'I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' Job xiii. 15, 16, 'But I will maintain mine own ways before him. He also shall be my salvation: for an hypocrite shall not come before him.' Wisdom xxxiv. saith, 'Who can be cleansed of the unclean?' And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks. He asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to ex-

communicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but to such time as I do openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault, then the minister has power by the word to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the thirteenth of the Acts of the Apostles, and in Matt. xviii. Other confession I know none.

"To the sixth article I have answered in the fifth.

"To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for John the Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it appears, when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also who came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matt. iii. 5. 13; Mark i. 5. 9; Luke iii. 7. 21; and Acts viii. 36. the eunuch said, 'See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?' It appears here that Philip had preached to him; for he said, 'Here is water.' We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor chrism, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water, and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before. Also Acts x. 46, 47, 'Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' Acts xvi. 32, 33. And Paul and Silas 'Spake unto him' (the Philippian gaoler) 'the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and was baptized, he and all his, straightway.' Where you see nothing but preaching the word, and the water. The like also is said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the eighth article I answer shortly, that there are no more than two sacraments; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

"To the ninth article I do answer you, that you have my mind written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and also ye know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

"By me, JOHN DENLEY."

On the first of July, the above three prisoners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's church, where the bishop proceeded against them after the usual form, and then tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, othertimes with threatenings, which were always his chief arguments and reasons to persuade with. In the end, seeing their immoveable constancy, on the fifth of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; namely, John Denley to Uxbridge, where, on the eighth of August, he was burned. When set in the fire, and the flames about him, he sung a psalm with a joyful heart.

Then Doctor Story, who was present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a fagot at him, whereupon being hurt upon the face, so that he bled, he ceased his singing, and clapped both his hands on his face. 'Truly,' said Doctor Story to him that hurled the fagot, 'thou hast spoiled a good old song.'

Shortly, however, Denley put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of John Denley at Uxbridge, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at Uxbridge, about the twenty-eighth of August. This Packingham was charged by Bonner (as you heard in the tenth article before), for the behaviour he shewed in the bishop's chapel, who would not put off his cap at the time of mass, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packingham being much intreated by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the popish church he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

John Newman was burned on the 31st of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly persecuted and burnt, here follows, written by himself.

First, we shall give his answer in writing to the suffragan after his apprehension, as follows:—

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporeal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it: and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed, what they preached with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other; and by their diligent setting forth of it by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will, in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The Examination and Answers of John Newman, before Doctor Thornton, and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, either the archdeacon or Fawcet, or some other, whose name John Newman does not express, began asking in this wise:

Doctor.—"How say you to this: 'This is my body which is given for you?'"

Newman.—"It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant, as Christ saith; 'I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone,' &c. Is he, therefore, a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, 'This is my body, which is given for you,' and he saith not so of the stone, vine, or door; that is a figurative speech."

Newman.—"Christ saith, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' If you will have it meant literally, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves: We say to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.—"If you will have the one understood literally, you must understand the other literally."

Doctor.—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, drink a cup of ale or beer. And therefore it is no figurative speech."

Newman.—"The often using of a thing does not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wherever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.—"Well, we will not stand about this. How say you of the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man does not feed upon natural things as the body does."

Doctor.—"Why, how then does it feed?"

Newman.—"I think the soul of man feeds as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delight that they have in God: and so the soul of man feeds and eats, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

Newman.—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul lives otherwise than the body, which perishes: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.—"Judas received the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

Newman.—Why! was the devil entered into him before? Then he had not the devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins.—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.—Yea, and before too: what do you think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.—"Well, suppose it be so: what say you to that?"

Newman.—"If Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.—"Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? and you will grant that the devil is there; and so he might be in Judas, if it pleased him."

Newman.—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, who sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less will he suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton.—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he pleases, and be where he will. And does not the Psalm say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman.—"Though his *godhead* be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his *humanity* is in all places."

Thornton.—"No! do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman.—"I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he chooses to do."

Thornton.—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

Newman.—"I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he chooses: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself."

Thornton.—"What is that to your purpose?"

Newman.—"Will you have the *humanity* of Christ in all places, as the *deity* is?"

Thornton.—"Yea, he is in all places as the deity is, if it please him."

Newman.—"That seems to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet you say, that wherever the deity is, there is also the humanity, and so you will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a real body."

Thornton.—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the deity."

Newman.—"That seems to me as great an heresy as ever I heard, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the scriptures."

Thornton.—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say that he does not believe that Christ was born of his mother. Do you believe that Christ rose from the dead, and came through the stone?"

Newman.—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither does the scripture so say."

Thornton.—"Lo, how say you? he does not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he does not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman.—"The scripture does not say that he went through the stone, but it saith the angel of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men."

Thornton.—"Ah fool, fool, that was because the woman should see that he was risen again from death."

Newman.—"Well, the scripture makes as much for me, as it does for you, and more too."

Thornton.—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. How say you, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman.—"I have answered you already."

Thornton.—"Well, do you not believe that it is there really?"

Newman.—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.—"Well, will you stand to it?"

Newman.—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton.—"Nay, you will not be persuaded, but stand to you own opinion."

Newman.—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, I take God to witness, but only to the scriptures of God, and that all those that stand here can witness with me, and nothing but the scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that what I do is only my conscience, and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith: therefore I trust you will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God, and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

Richard Hook, about the same season, and for the same matter, gave up his life at Chichester.

The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the Bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Mention has been made in the histories of John Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men, who being at the same time with them called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover; Harpsfield, Fawcet, and Collins: yet, because the condemnation and execution of them was deferred till August, we will now briefly give some part of their examinations and answers, as we find them in the registers. The names of these were, Coker, Hopper, Laurence, Collier, Wright, and Stere. What the articles objected to

Master Bland, and to them were, you heard before. They answered for themselves severally, and with great firmness.

William Coker being offered a respite of six days refused to take it, and so sentence of condemnation was read against him on the 11th of July.

William Hopper at first seemed to yield to the solicitation of the popish church, and afterwards expressed his determination to abide by the truth, and he was condemned on the 16th of July.

Henry Lawrence answered boldly, denying auricular confession, and said that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament of the popish church, because the order of the holy scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament.

Concerning the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c., adding that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations: "Ye are all of antichrist, and him ye fol—" And here his hand was stopped, or he would have written out "follow," &c. Sentence was given against him on the 2nd of August.

Richard Collier replied by saying, that he did not believe that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he was condemned on the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm. Wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his senses.

Richard Wright being required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered, that as to the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church of Rome. Against him the sentence was also read on the 16th of August.

William Stere, being required to make answer to the charges laid to him by the judge, declared that Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, alleging that the bishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his diocesan.

And the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar with reverence, and putting off his cap, Stere said, that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus the sentence was pronounced against him, and after sentence was read, he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was invented, &c.

And thus these six godly martyrs and witnesses to the truth being condemned by the suffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Collins and Fawcet were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes, but in one fire, about the latter end of August.

After this follows the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord, not such saints as the pope makes, or which are mentioned in "The Legend of the Saints," or in "The Lives of the Fathers," or in such fabulous books; but such as are spoken of in the book of Revelations, of whom it is written: "These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," &c. Thus these saints are not of the pope's making, or, rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making—of the pope's making, I say, in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope; for as by the inflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved, and by Pharaoh, God's power declared; so in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these were—

Elizabeth Warne, George Tankervil, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hall, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be full with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten to be sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be examined, and at once rid out of the way.

We will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, the wife of John Warne who was burned, as before recorded. Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, on the first of January, in a house in Bow church-yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and was carried to the Compter, where she lay as prisoner until the eleventh of June. She was then brought to Newgate, and remained there till the second of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners to Bonner, bishop of London, who on the sixth of the same month caused her, with others, as Robert Smith, George Tankervil, &c., to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon articles, such as were administered to the poor saints and martyrs of God.

The chief objection that he used both towards her, and most of the others, was touching the real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and foundation for their dignity. Many other matters he objected against them: as for not coming to the church; for speaking against the mass; for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with other fond and trifling toys, not worth mentioning.

In the end, when she had been several times brought before him and his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said: "Do what ye will. For if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer she was on the twelfth of July adjudged and condemned as an heretic, and so delivered to the secular power, as they term it, to be by them put to death, which thing was accomplished in August, at Stratford-le-Bow, near London.

George Tankervil, of London, was born in the city of York, and was in King Edward's days a papist, till the time Queen Mary came to the throne, and then, perceiving the great cruelty of the pope's side, was brought to doubt of their doings, and began in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, of which he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself; at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not. If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it; which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor it; and so he was moved to read the Testament, by which, as is said, the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry, and so he came no more to their practices: and not only that, but, also this lively faith, enkindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but uttered itself reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to be converted and turn to the truth with him, and thus he began to be suspected among them, till at last he was sent for.

Tankervil being brought to prison, underwent the usual examination before Bonner. To the articles he answered unhesitatingly, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, &c.; that he had not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any other but only to God: for that he found it not in Christ's book. And concerning the sa-

crament, commonly called here in England of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ, because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father. And, moreover, he said, that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand; and so he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him with many words to revoke his professed opinion, which he called damnable and heretical, he resisted all persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form, "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can refute them by the scriptures; and I care not for your divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner used to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, "That the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church:" and pointing to the bishop, he spake to the people saying, "Good people beware of him, and such as he is, for these are the people that deceive you," &c.

The bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power. And so this blessed servant of God was sent to St. Alban's, and there, with much patience and constancy, ended his life, on the 26th of August, for the defence of the truth.

On his way to St. Alban's there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner: some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. There were, however, some who said, it was a pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old women and men cried against him; one called him "heretic," and said it was a pity that he lived. But George Tankervil did speak to them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting to them his unspotted conscience, that God softened their hardened hearts, so that some of them departed with weeping eyes.

There also came to him a certain schoolmaster who had a communication with him, touching the sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion: but as he urged Tankervil with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so, on the other side, Tankervil answered him mightily by the scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. And as he would not allow such allegations as Tankervil brought out of the scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankervil would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the scriptures.

When the hour drew near when he was to suffer, he desired the wine-drawer to give him a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded, and then he kneeled down, making his confession to the Lord with all those who were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earnestly to God, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus, out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those who are thy ministers; but only because I cannot have it administered according to thy word," &c. and when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so; and then he sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, shewing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the Spirit another way. The flesh said, O, thou fool! wilt thou burn and needest not? The Spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintances, who love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer. The Spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever, &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town; whither, also, resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked to. And George Tankervil all that time was kindly and lovingly treated by his host; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was never so long, yet at the last it rings to evening song.

About two o'clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankervil out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh to the west end of the Abby church: when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the fagots were arranged about him, there came a priest to him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankervil cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Babylon: fie of that abominable idol; good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him!" And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, "If he had but one load of fagots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him." There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankervil, and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ," this he spake softly; and Tankervil said, "O sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God." Then fire was set to him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part of whom did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus he was quickly out of pain, &c.

Robert Smith was brought to Newgate on the fifth of November. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he practised. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; he was much confirmed by the preaching and reading of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon, at the coming of Queen Mary, he was deprived of his clerkship in Windsor college, by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here follows, written and testified with his own hand.

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and I first of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as follows, after he had asked my name:—

"Bonner.—'How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?'

"Smith.—'Never since I came to years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to shew my faults to any of that sinful number, whom you call priests.'

"Bonner.—'Thou shewest thyself even at the first chop to be a rank heretic, who, being weary of painting, hast entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy.'

"Smith.—'Although I have understanding in the occupation, yet I praise God I have had little need all my

life to live by the same; but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit.'

"Bonner.—'How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion of the same?'

"Smith.—'I never received the same since I arrived at years of discretion, nor never will, by God's grace; neither do I esteem the same in any point, because it has not God's ordinance, either in name, or in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God.'

"Bonner.—'Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?'

"Smith.—'I shewed you before it was none of God's ordinances, *as you use it*; then much less can it be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine appointed to that use: yet, nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body that you spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth.'

"Bonner.—(After many raging words and vain objections said) 'There is no remedy but you must be burned.'

"Smith.—'You shall do no more to me, than you have done to better men than either of us both. But think not to quench the Spirit of God, nor to make your matter good. For your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame.'

"Bonner.—(After many railing sentences, throwing away the paper of my examination) 'Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.'

"Smith.—'It would be too much to your shame to shew it to men of discretion.'

"After which answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following:—

"Bonner.—'What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?'

"Smith.—'Yes, verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, 'is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone?' which church, in all her words and works, maintains the word, and brings the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.'

"Bonner.—'You shall understand that I am bound, when my brother offends, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the church: now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?'

"Smith.—'It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of men was so great against the church, they were obliged to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet they were nevertheless the church of God; and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now a days?'

"Bonner.—'Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, directing the man to be punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil; by which we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.'

"Smith.—'Then you could not persecute it as you do: but as you say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, whom you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor conversation; you, and your own sinful number have professed their truth, and maintained the same a long time.'

"Bonner.—'Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth when St. Paul wrote to them, and I will put it so in writing. Shall I?'

"Smith.—'I marvel greatly, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. This is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.'

"Harpsfield.—'Well, you are no innocent, as it appears.'

"Smith.—'By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.'

"Bonner.—'Well, (laughing), tell me what sayest thou of the church?'

"Smith.—'I told you upon what the true church is built, and I affirm that in England there is the congregation of God, and also in all the earth, as it is written, 'Their sound is gone forth into all the earth;' and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which you cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. In Corinth there was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither St. Paul nor St. Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet they were of the church of God, as many thousands more who also communicate in that Holy Spirit.'

"Bonner.—'What do you call catholic, and what do you call church?'

"Smith.—'Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.'

"Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spoke false things. For this I praised God, and was sent away.

"On Saturday I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined as follows:—

"Bonner.—'Thou, Robert Smith, &c., sayest, that there is no catholic church here on earth.'

"Smith.—'You have both heard me speak and seen me write the contrary.'

"Bonner.—'Yea, but I must ask thee this question. How sayest thou?'

"Smith.—'If you will be answered, ask my articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.'

"Bonner.—'Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be absolved by the priest?'

"Smith.—'It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for any thing for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters are all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain.'

"Bonner.—'Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?'

"Smith.—'I speak from experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of it. For first it has been, we see, a betrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health.'

"I began to say how when I was a child waiting on a gentlemen of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave to Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him, which when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how by the sublety of the priest he had robbed his wife and

children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This tale I began to tell. But when my lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me.

"Bonner.—'By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of my mind, you should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied to it, and so should be thrown into the water.

"Smith.—'I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation; for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly.'

"Bonner.—'How sayest thou to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of,' &c.

"Smith.—'I believe that in God's church there are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and as for the sacraments of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me about them.'

"Bonner.—'Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?'

"Smith.—'In hallowing your water; in conjuring it; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other foolish ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.'

"Bonner.—'By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard.'

Smith.—'Well sworn, my lord.'

"Bonner.—'Well, you catch me at my words. but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.'

"Mordant.—'By my troth, my lord, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disallows holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian man will deny.'

"Smith.—'It is a shameful blasphemy against Christ to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants.'

"Bonner.—'I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they are baptized, they are damned.'

"Smith.—'You shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water or by Christ?'

"Bonner.—'By both.'

"Smith.—'Then the water died for our sins! and so must you say, that the water hath life, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our saviour! This, my lord, is a strange doctrine, is it not?'

"Mordant.—'By our Lady, sir, I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.'

"Bonner.—'Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant.'

"Smith.—'Such catholic! such salvation!'

"Bonner.—'Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?'

"Smith.—'You may call it the sacrament of misorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, poling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's word, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not disfigure yourself as you do.'

"Bonner.—'Sayest thou so? now, by my faith, I will go shave myself to vex thee.'

"And so Bonner sent for his barber, who immediately came; and before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles.

"Bonner.—'What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?'

"Smith.—'I say, they be baubles for fools to play with, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and, therefore, they may go among the refuse.'

"Then went away Master Mordant, and my lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do: by whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, 'Where were all you in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?'

"Doctor.—'We were in England.'

"Smith.—'Yea, but then you had the faces of men; but now you have put on lions' faces. You have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, you would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.'

"Then I was reviled, and sent away, and brought in again before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession?

"Smith.—'Look in my articles, and they shall shew you what I allow.'

"Doctor.—'Your articles confess that you allow not auricular confession.'

"Smith.—'I allow it not, because the word allows it not, nor commands it.'

"Doctor.—'Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences.'

"Smith.—'No more do I when I confess them to Almighty God.'

"Doctor.—'Why, you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.'

"Smith.—'You have made a good answer, then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more than he knows mine. But if you confess to the priest, and not to God, you shall have the reward which Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.'

"Bonner.—(Returning.)—'How stands it, master doctors, have ye done any good?'

"Doctor.—'No, by my faith, my lord, we can do no good.'

"Smith.—'Then it is fulfilled which is written, 'How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?''

"Bonner.—'Nay, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ.'

"Smith.—'Such gentlemen! such Christs! As truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ.'

"Bonner.—'Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?'

"Smith.—'Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.'

"Bonner.—'Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.'

"Smith.—'And you shall burn in hell, if you repent not: but my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesey with you. I perceive you will not, with your doctors come to me, and I am determined not to come to you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass.'

"Then after many railing sentences I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it: that you may see how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

"On the twelfth of July I was, with my brethren, brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants.

"Bonner.—'By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shewed him as much favour as any man living could do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company.'

"Smith.—'My lord, it is written, 'Swear not at all.''

"Bonner.—'Ah, are ye come? By my troth, master speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.'

"Smith.—'Well sworn, my lord.'

"Bonner.—'Well, I am no saint.'

"Smith.—'No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, says St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?'

"Bonner.—'Well, you are faultless.'

"Smith.—'My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, that I may have justice. We are here to-day, a great number of innocent men, who are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who, being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have allowed: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen speak shame of your fact. 'For a city,' saith our Saviour, 'that is built on a hill cannot be hid:' if they, therefore, have the truth, let it come to light. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.'

"Then my lord mayor hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, 'Away with him!'

"Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: and at length my friends requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had the sentence read, and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it read every man severally. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankervil, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, 'My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing mattter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'

"Bonner.—'Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he has disdained it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way? You cannot say, but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now, I pray thee, call me bloody bishop, and say, I seek thy blood, if you will.'

"Smith.—'Well, my lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your act, yet shall these stones cry out, rather than that it shall be hidden.'

"Bonner.—'Away with him! away with him!'

"Woodroffe.—'Away with him! take him away!'

"Smith.—'Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as here you have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will.'

"Then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the truth of my unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England. Requiring your hearty prayers to God for his grace and spirit of boldness; with hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the eighth of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"Robert Smith."

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow in this man a singular example of christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so he was no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which is also to be observed in his other fellow-prisoners, who, being there together, had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and reading, which they to their great comfort all engaged in; amongst whom Robert Smith was chief doer. This said man was always solicitous, not only for those of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to exhort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity, and many he converted to his religion. He wrote several letters while in prison to sundry of his friends, the following is one of them:—

"To all who love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth, unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that you be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake, knowing that thereunto you are called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are you who in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, oh! my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom you suffer; for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in anywise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Watch, therefore, and pray, that you be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear, whether you have built upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmoveable Rock, Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets; whereon every house that is built, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that you shew yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that you may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your captain, and you are his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now he triumphs over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behoves, therefore, every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as you have him for an ensample; and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you, even to the world's end, you have his promise in Mat. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and you, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the utmost danger he will make a way, that you may be able to bear it.

"Shrink not, therefore, dear hearts, when you shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we

have the comforter, even the Spirit of truth who was sent from the heavens to teach us. He shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us. Who is he then that shall be able to confound us? Nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord who made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net. He shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvellously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake. Then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door. Then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost. Then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot. Then shall the scribes and pharisees for madness fret and rage. Then shall their painted wisdom be known for extreme folly. Then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey. Then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance. Then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre; when no man will buy their wares any more. Then shall the popish priesthood cry away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the meantime, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.

"Acquit yourselves like men against the enemies of God in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one only Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus, once offered for all and for ever. Who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time that blessed body occupies no other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be inclosed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last day. And as he never ceases to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not, and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions, except sin.

"And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they two united together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baken in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a very man, one only Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold, therefore, to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness comes only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing, and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.

"This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can you then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that gives his life for the truth, takes the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now hinder, but that you go forward as you have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that you may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back, have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and so run, that you may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your ownselves; and in respect of that heavenly treasure you look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choak the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they are suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that finds heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loses that man any thing, who of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal; for transitory, things permanent, is great gains to a christian conscience.

"Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren; mistrust not God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him who is your captain, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments at the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

"Be strong, therefore, in your battle: The Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you are none but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knows what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men, he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison; proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore, doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards,

bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts; teaching us thereby to understand, what their natural inclination is; to deceive, poison, and destroy, as much as in them lies, the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, who have conspired against him: he hath numbered all the hairs of his children's head, so that one of them shall not perish without his fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme, let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits, shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ; even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist.

Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously treat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh, in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah, in Babylon: Where, when the people of God were in most extreme thraldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire; this shall be their final reward. Our duty, in the mean while, is patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

"Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punishes us with his fatherly correction in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means he seeks his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way he seeks to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for those Balaamites which now molest us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate. For he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

"Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his, then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, who with their pretended holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's highness to espy them out what they are, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with popeholy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's highness and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates, who are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of rabbits.

"To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work always that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are both body and soul. Whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word; God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him, deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such with their partakers shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

"Robert Smith."

This valiant and constant martyr of Christ, Robert Smith, was condemned at London by Bishop Bonner, on the 12th of July, and suffered at Uxbridge, on the 8th of August. As he had been an instrument of God before to comfort all those who were in prison with him, so now at the stake he did no less comfort the people standing about him, desiring them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life. And, said he, I doubt not but that God will shew you some token thereof. At length being nearly half burned, and black with the fire, all men thinking him dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart to them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended his mortal life.

About this time also were burned Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust. Their death took place about the same time as Robert Smith and George Tankervil; they were also examined and openly condemned together with them. The process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and the others, I thought it superfluous to repeat. They were for their faithful perseverance in the truth, condemned together, by Bishop Bonner, as heretics, and sentenced to be burned, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, which occurred in the month of August, 1555.

Of the same company as the ten above recorded, who were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, was also William Hale of Thorp, in the county of Essex, who being examined with the rest, on the 12th of July received sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation to the lookers-on: "Ah! good people," said he, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist," pointing to the bishop of London. He was delivered to the sheriffs as an heretic to be burned, and sent to Barnet, where he most constantly sealed his faith in the midst of the fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

Of the ten persons sent to Bonner, six were executed in several places, as has been shewed. Three others, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into houses within the city of London, and there died. Their bodies were cast out into the fields, and buried by night, by the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it. The last that remained of this company was Joan Laysh or Layshford; but as she was reprieved to another time, her history and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January, in the year following.

William Andrew.

The like popish charity was also shewed to William

Andrew, of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate on the 1st of April, 1555.

Being twice brought before Bonner for examination, he manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through too severe treatment in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life, which his adversaries would have taken away by fire; and so, after the popish manner, his body was cast out into the fields, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock, in the county of Suffolk, and a little distance from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and its professors, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those into captivity that were inclined to religion; but also whoever they were that once came into his power, they escaped not without clog of conscience, or loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edward's days a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seems worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge.

At last, being removed from the ministry, and put out of his benefice (as many other good pastors were) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet he would not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly do so. When order was given by the queen, that all priests who had married in King Edward's days, should put their wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their celibacy and single life; this decree Samuel would not submit to, for he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave diligence in the meantime to instruct others who were about him. At last Master Foster having intelligence of this, slackened no time nor diligence, but soon sent out his spies abroad, laying wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

Accordingly, when such as sought to betray him, spied him at home with his wife, they immediately flocked about his house, and beset it with a great company, and took him in the night, because they durst not do it in the day-time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did not withstand them, but meekly yielded himself into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after he was carried to Norwich, where Bishop Hopton exercised great cruelty against him. Indeed, I never yet heard of any who so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this Hopton did.

The bishop, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might prevail with Samuel, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt upright to a great post, so that standing only on tiptoe, he was obliged to stay up the whole weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain which he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, by which he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, that he might be reserved to farther torment, rather than that they would preserve his life. O, worthy constancy of the martyr! O, pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O, the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature?

At last he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had undergone in prison.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maiden to him, who took him about the neck and kissed him, who being marked by those who were present, was sought for the next day to be taken to prison and burned, as the party herself informed me. However, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But though this maiden, called Rose Nottingham, was preserved by the providence of God, there were two other women who fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband, even Christ.

With these two Rose Nottingham was very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time, giving counsel to one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, received this answer at her hands:—"I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may use, if you like. But my case stands otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have some young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a worldly man, will take my departure from him; therefore, I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly women, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and taken to prison. As they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender; so they were at first less able to endure the prison, and especially the brewer's wife, who was cast into marvellous great agonies and trouble of mind. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; at length they both suffered after Samuel, February 19, A.D. 1556, as shall be declared hereafter.

A Letter or Exhortation to the patient suffering of Afflictions for Christ's Cause, by Robert Samuel.

"A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the hook, and as the birds are caught with the snare; even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezekiel vii. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woful, heinous, and lamentable divisions approach so fast, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, who seeth me, and seeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures, and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesenes, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messiah, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

"Oh! perilous abundance of goods, too much abundance of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws

of God without reprehension; but brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loath to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake the worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the highways of confusion and perpetual perdition.

"We might now worthily, dear christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance: yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God hath in all ages reserved a remnant, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy thing. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: 'For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are his,' as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. vi. 20. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith, 'Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.'

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions, utterly to destroy you both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? Oh, palpable darkness! horrible madness! and wilful blindness! without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. Oh, miserable and brainless souls! which would for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their God and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us who are of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other earthly belials and carnal people, pass for things that are pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once (as the kingly prophet saith) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect, but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us, therefore, pass for those things that do pertain to the Spirit, and are celestial. We must be here (saith St. Paul) not as inhabiters, and home dwellers, but as strangers: not as strangers only, but after the mind of St. Paul, as painful soldiers appointed of our King to fight against the ruler of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremiah, speaking in the person of God, saith, 'Lo, I begin to bring evil on the city which is called by my name:' but as for you (meaning the wicked) you shall be as innocents, and not once touched. Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And, therefore, let us, like Hezekiah, Play the men, and shrink not: Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. 'The Lord is (saith he) with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you: And again, when you forsake him, he will forsake you.' (2 Chron. xv. 2.)

"Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (saith St. Paul, meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves, by persecuting, and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries, and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man (saith the Psalmist) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down, and cast into the fire for ever. For as Job saith, 'Their joy lasteth but for a moment,' and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as St. Mark saith) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us, therefore, (good Christians,) be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth; yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and good will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the Gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, who sit in the chair of perverse pestilent scorners? To whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereas they now being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"These are the days of vengeance, saith St. Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts, who so many times and so many ways have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience, and long suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

"Now, therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, 'I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee:' upon thee, I say, O England, and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after

all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals. For thou wast once enlightened, and hadst tasted of the heaveuly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England, thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst not obey it; 'Thou must, therefore,' saith he, 'suffer many stripes,' and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and on the coals that thou hast kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, saith the Lord, namely, 'That thou shalt sleep in sorrow,' yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirmeth the same. The joy of our heart, saith Jeremiah, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas! alas! that ever we sinned so sore. Woe to all abominations and wickedness; woe to cloaked hypocrisy; woe to our carnal liberty; woe to our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

"Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all plagues, and clean without hope of God's accounting day, who know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, saith St. John, needs abide and perish with their sins in death and in eternal damnation. But we are the children of saints, as the early Tobias did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them who change not their faith, nor shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, who are kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, 'I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep.' No, nor yet this flattering world, with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and valiant boasts, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away, or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it not harm nor hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us, therefore, with an earnest faith take fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be turned from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the truth of God to be inviucible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us; it is his only benefit, and of his mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not, therefore, the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish baubles and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh that happy and joyful last day! I mean to the faithful, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on the throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now afflicted with Christ, shall then be glorified with Christ; now in the butchers' hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, the enjoyment of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy souls! Oh precious death, and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God! to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. 'Therefore,' as saith Isaiah, 'the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion, and everlasting joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.' Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

William Allen.

After the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen, a labouring man, was burned in Walsingham. He being brought before the bishop, and asked why he was imprisoned; answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then being commanded by the bishop to return again to the catholic church; he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church; and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all other follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which sentence of condemnation was given against him on the 12th of August, to be burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September. He manifested such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his suffering, and there being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking, until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo.

Roger Coo, when brought before the bishop, was first asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo.—"At the justice's commandment."

Bishop.—"There was some cause why."

Coo.—"Here is my accuser, let him declare."

His accuser said that he would not receive the sacrament.

Bishop.—"Why will you not receive?"

Coo.—"Because that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same."

The bishop asked him if he could say his belief?

Coo answered, "Yea," and repeated part of the creed, and then said, he believed more; for he believed the ten commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient to them.

Bishop.—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"

Coo.—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo.—"Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?"

Bishop.—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

Coo.—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, 'There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary.' I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the queen's laws.

Coo.—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop.—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

Coo.—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A.D. 1555.

Thomas Cob, Martyr.

Over and besides these martyrs, in the same year, on the 12th of August, Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, was also condemned, being brought before and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; he answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scriptures, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament. Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or not; he answered, that his body should be at the King and Queen's commandment so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. He was burned in the town of Thetford, in the month of September, A.D. 1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Having given an account of the martyrs in Norfolk and Suffolk, we return again to the diocese of Canterbury; and we first have to treat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood, in the same year, and month of September, was shed for the true testimony of Christ, and his gospel's cause. The names of the five martyrs were these:—George Catmer, of Hythe; Robert Streater, of Hythe; Anthony Burward, of Calete; George Brodbridge, of Bromfield: and James Tutty, of Brenchley.

On the 3rd day of August they were brought before Thornton, the bishop of Dover, and there were jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

To which Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise:—"Christ," said he, "sitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar: but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament as you use it, is an abominable idol."

Next to him Robert Streater was called forth, who being also asked whether he did believe in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said, that he did not so believe; for "You maintain heresy and idolatry," said he, "in that you teach people to worship a false God in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God."

The like objection was made also against Anthony Burward, who also said, that "Their sacrament was made an idol."

After him George Brodbridge was demanded what he said to those articles. Who answered, that "He would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins." And farther said, that "In the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do utterly reject them."

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirmed their answers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were consumed in one fire at Canterbury, about the sixth day of September.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemence of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days did chiefly exist in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm. And first to begin with the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find two godly men condemned and also burned about the middle of the month of September, at the town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward, and John Goreway.

*The persecution of Robert Glover, and of John Glover.**

To this month of September, pertains the memorable martyrdom of Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. I must intermix with his history some mention of his brother, John Glover, for this commission was chiefly sent down for John, and not for Robert Glover, although it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert was apprehended instead. I thought, therefore, in one history to comprehend them both together, in describing some part of their virtuous lives.

And first to begin with John, the eldest brother; who being a gentleman, and heir to his father, in the town of Manchester, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet was much more enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues. Which grace of God so working in him, he with his other brothers, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed the same.

It pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did; yet if we consider what this man felt and suffered inwardly in spirit and mind, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom.

For as Robert was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, in his spirit, he inwardly felt and sustained, no language is able to express. I remember that, when I was young, I was once or twice with him, and I perceived, and by mine own eyes saw him so worn and consumed for the space of five years, that he had no enjoyment of meat, quiet of sleep, or pleasure of life. And yet the occasion was not of great moment. But we see often among holy and blessed men, how, the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves.

The occasion of this was, that he being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to doubt himself, on account of the words written in the seventh chapter of the Hebrews; "For it is impossible that they which were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift," &c. Upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had verily sinned against the Holy Ghost: even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could not almost have despaired more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, and convulsions filled his breast.

And this I rehearse of him, that by his example we all

* A detailed and interesting account of the sufferings of the martyrs GLOVER and LEWIS, has been written by the Rev. Mr. Kitchin, incumbent of Manchester, to which the enquirer is referred, who desires more copious details.—ED.

may with him glorify the Son of God, who suffers none to be tempted above their strength, but so tempers the asperity of evils, that what seems to us intolerable, he not only removes or lightens, that we may bear it, but also turns it to our further advantage than we can think. Which well appeared in this good servant of God. Who though he suffered many years so sharp temptations and buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, in that his conversation was in heaven, and being dead to this world, he in word and meditation led a life altogether heavenly, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk different from his life, never using any idle or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers, by which he might the more quietly give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry VIII.'s reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward VI.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John, he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry, to apprehend him. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who seeing his old and trusty servant so many years broken with many torments, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor sheep: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan: God, therefore, of his divine providence, graciously provided, that Robert, his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a master of art in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict.

As soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letter for the apprehending of John Glover, he sent forthwith private word to John to convey himself away: who, with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet in the sight of the sheriff, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's command.

But when John could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found Robert the other brother lying on his bed, and sick of a severe disease; who was immediately brought before the sheriff. The sheriff would fain have dismissed him, and did what he could, saying, that he was not the man for whom they were sent. Yet nevertheless the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will.

We shall now give an account of the history of Robert Glover. As the whole narration, in his own writing, was sent to his wife, we shall therefore give his own letter as follows:

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to his Wife.

"To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

"The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in our heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

"I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears, more than once or twice; with tears, I say, for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

"These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, who set more by their own pleasure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appears) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer shall be whilst I am in this world, that God, who of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name, and by the mighty power and inspiration of his holy Spirit so strengthen, establish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together shew forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

"So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins which Christ daily and hourly pardons and forgives us, and then we shall, as St. Peter affirms, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many. And because God's word teaches us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ saith, 'The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.' Let your prayer be to this end especially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

"And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seems pleasant in this world, as experience teaches you in this time: call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teaches, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you, endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always, as Christ saith, Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeases God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commands; look not back, I say, nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remains nothing in the church of England at this present time, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

"They object that they are the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, The church of God knows and acknowledges no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, the enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

"Christ's church hears, teaches, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, 'My sheep hear my voice.' 'If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ye are my disciples.' Their church rejects God's word, and forces all men to follow their traditions.

"Christ's church dare not add nor diminish, alter or change his blessed testament; but they are not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the scripture says) with their own inventions;

to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

"The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, because they are not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues, never so excellent.

"Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, 'Search the scriptures;' but this church takes away the word from the people, and suffers neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

"The true church of God labours by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these, for the most part, give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, as St. Paul says, it is a shame to speak of them.

"By these, and such like manifest proofs, they declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them, therefore, to Nimrod, whom the scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion; telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will or not, and I called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) stands by lying and murdering.

"Have no fellowship with them, therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrines and traditions, lest you be partakers of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. 'It is a fearful thing,' as St. Paul says, 'to fall into the hands of the living God.' Remember the words of the prophet Elijah, 'Why halt ye between two opinions?' Also what Christ says, 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbers among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be 'fearful' in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, St. Stephen, St. Peter, St. Paul, and in your days, Ann Askew, Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. 'And in nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God.' (Philipp. i. 28.) Christ commanded the same, saying, 'Fear them not.' Let us not follow the example of him who asked time first to take leave of his friends. If we do so, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that St. James and St. John, St. Andrew and St. Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers, and friends' pleasure. But the scripture saith, 'They forsook all, and followed Christ.' Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosover hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part, now-a-days, are like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant are they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, are less in value than a barley-corn.

"If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet of tender age, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and, because of my sickness, fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

"But these, and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed, yet before I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff, at his coming to me, 'What matter have you, master sheriff, to charge me with?' He answered, 'You shall know when you come before the masters;' and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me with: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man finds at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort; O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart: O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

"Not long after came unto me, W. Brasbridge, C. Phineas, and N. Hopkins, endeavouring to prevail with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me with, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with bonds.

"Secondly, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise. I said unto them I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing, and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart, methought, was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

"Afterwards debating the matter with myself, these

considerations came into my head; I have from time to time, with good conscience (I take God to record) moved all such as I had conference with to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to shew themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now, thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, he hath been a great emboldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being, as it were, by the great goodness of God, marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so the hour being come, with my act and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So I remained a prisoner in Coventry for the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realms, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summoner: who being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and commanded the chief gaoler to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he, and all of his inclination, shall find, I fear, too true for their parts; that is, that all they who cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion the rich man did) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop, in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

"I said to him, 'I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?'

"He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.'

"Master chancellor standing by, said, I was a master of arts.

"Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

"Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save, if I had them, five hundred lives. I desired him to shew me one jot or tittle in the scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass.

"He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

"I was content, I told him, to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

"Bishop.—'Who shall judge the word?'

"Glover.—'Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the scriptures, and so was St. Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.'"

[Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him; but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.]

"Glover.—'If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say; and believe the same, because you say it is so?'

"The chancellor here said I was arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

"Glover.—'If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?'

"Bishop.—'Because they were heretics'

"Glover.—'And may not you err, as well as they?'

"I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward VI's time?

"I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elijah's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time.

"Bishop.—'Elijah's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.'

"Glover.—'You are not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that time.'

"My lord making no answer to that, Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, comes in, taking upon him as though he would answer the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers desired him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleases you, I said to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again from whence I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling (which I looked for) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer; but I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner:—'What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Does not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Micah, and Jeremiah, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in

prison, neither in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself, much less one of his ministers, shall be able to prevail against us.' With such-like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort: so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please, I am well content for my part.'

"Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to convey us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, we were commanded to mount on horseback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they proclaimed a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disanulling of all such books as truly expound and interpret the scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves till our supper-time. We stopped at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained in a friendly manner.

"Jephcot put me into a prison that night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, in a narrow strong building, and very cold, with little light, and being allowed only a bundle of straw, instead of a bed, without chair, form, or convenience. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: But Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience;' and no more.

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a prayer-book which I privately procured.

"Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me in my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own, perhaps because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

"A second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church.

"Glover.—'The church shews which is the word of God; therefore the church is above the word of God.'

—'This is no good reason in learning,' said I to Master Chancellor. 'For it is like unto this; John shewed the people who was Christ; therefore John was above Christ. Or else I have a man that knows not the king, and I tell him who was the king: am I therefore above the king?'

"Master Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. Thus I remained without any further conference of any man for the space of eight and till the bishop's coming. All which time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made to all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever.

"The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, for his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort: 'What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest. As St. Paul saith 'Who gave first unto him?' And also speaking to every man, 'What hast thou that thou receivedst not?' Likewise John, 'All have received of his fulness,' they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. God is near, he is at hand, he is with all,—with all, I say, and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burthen God, as it were, with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approaches to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample, and large manner, than he can well wish, or dare desire. His word cannot lie: 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.'

"I answered the enemy also on this manner; I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, 'He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I will be also ashamed before my Father and all his angels.' I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the commandments, shall I not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom, when I came and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued for so many years. 'As for our church,' as he called it, 'it was not known, but lately in king Edward's time.'

"'I profess myself to be a member of that church,' said I, 'that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head cornerstone;' and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. 'And this church hath been from the beginning,' said I, 'though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted.' My lord on the other side, contended that they were the church.

"Glover.—'So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying,—The temple of the Lord!—the temple of the Lord!'

"And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, 'Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace,' calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

"I desired my lord to charge me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

"Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should be sent to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this, 'How many sacraments hath Christ instituted to be used in the church?'

"Glover, 'The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.'

"Bishop.—'No more?'

"Glover.—'To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ, to such, I grant, ministers have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins.'

"Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

"He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession? I answered, 'No.'

"Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

"I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament; because, said I, 'you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning his treatment in prison, and also his contentions with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if the hurry of his execution had permitted him to finish what he intended; but by reason of the writ for his burning arriving from London, I could not obtain even the records of his last examinations, wherever they are.

Cornelius Bungey, Martyr.

In the same fire with Glover was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by Radulph bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The effect of the articles which were objected against him, was as follows:—

1. It was articled against him, that these years past, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the priest hath no power on earth to absolve any sinner from his sins.

2. That by baptism sins are not washed away, because he said that the washing of the flesh purges the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

3. That there are in the church two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

4. That in the sacrament of the popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

5. That he within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

6. That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

7. That the premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.

Upon these articles, Radulph, the bishop, read the sentence, and so committed him, after the condemnation of Master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop, suffered at the same stake with the christian martyr, Master Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

Account of John Glover and William Glover.

Now that we have given the history of Master Robert Glover, something also may be said of his other two brothers, John and William Glover. Who although they were not called to finish their course by martyrdom in the fire, as the other did; yet for their constant profession of God's gospel to the end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was; I therefore thought them not unworthy to be associated in history, who in one cause and the same profession were not divided.

And first concerning John Glover, the eldest brother, what agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, has been before described: what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remains to be declared.

After the martyrdom of Robert Glover, John Glover, seeing his brother apprehended for him, had little joy of his life for the sorrow of heart wherewith he was oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, shewing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but would do his brother no good. He endured great care and vexation, yet notwithstanding persevered, till at length, about the latter end of the reign of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for him.

The sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, being sent to seek John Glover, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced, as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door, where he, holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the door.

In the meantime another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Upon which they went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover, his wife, who being taken to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny: John Glover in the meantime, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he lay hid, had an ague, and not long after gave up his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Thus by the protection of Almighty God, John Glover was delivered and defended from the hand of his persecuting enemies during all the time of his life. Now what befel after his death both to him and William his brother, is not unworthy to be remembered. After he was dead, and buried in the church-yard without priest or clerk, Doctor Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway. The parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the stench of him. "Well," said Doctor Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelve-month after take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried."

Similar usage was practised also by these children of the mother church, upon the body of Willliam, the third brother; whom, after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body into the parish

church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the church, to stop the burial, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice. The body in the meantime lay there a whole day, and in the night-time, one Richard Maurice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others, and would not suffer the body to be buried; shewing to us the contrary examples of good Tobias: for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man puts religion in not burying the dead; so that after he had lain there two days and one night, Bernard, the curate, comes with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter being copied out word for word, here follows:

"Understanding that one Glover, an heretic, is dead, in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all those rites belonging to a christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried with a christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak to have him buried in holy ground; but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending and rendering, and procuring that he be not buried either in the church, or within the limits of the church-yard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this sixth of September, A.D. 1555.

"By your ordinary, Radulph Coventry and Lichfield."

It so fell out, that they who brought the corpse thither, were at their own charges to carry it back again. But as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that no man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

The like example of charitable affection in these popish churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq. who, in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chads, in Shrewsbury) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat. Which being declared to the curate of that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate being offended, said, plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. One of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering, said, "That God would judge him in the last day," &c. Then said the priest, "Judge God or devil, the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverford-west, Sir John Ygone being sheriff at the time, which seems to be about the latter year of King Henry VIII. Whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to notice him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.

After the suffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, next follows the condemnation of two other blessed martyrs, who were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, of Ely; Doctor Shaxton, his suffragan; Robert Steward, dean of Ely; John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, A.D. 1555. The names of these martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach: William Wolsey was a constable, in the town of Wells, and was there brought to death by Richard Everard, a justice, who caused him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions to be held within the Isle of Ely: afterwards he was commanded to the gaol.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him Doctor Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Doctor Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the scriptures than it became such a layman as he was. William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say what they pleased, at last answered in this wise: 'Good Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in Matthew's gospel, chapter xxiii. 13. 'Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.'"

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees."

"Nay, Master Doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all others such as you."

"Away, Master Doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man."

"Yet," saith Doctor Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read; I promise thee of a learned man's doing, that is to say, of Doctor Watson's doing;" who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, diligently read it over, which in many places manifestly appears contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks after, Doctor Fuller, resorting again to the prison to confer with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the book, who answered him and said: "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book departed home.

At night, when Doctor Fuller came to his chamber to look at it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book marked with a pen by Wolsey, which he seeing, and being vexed, said: "Oh, this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes, holden at Wisbeach, drawing nigh, Doctor Fuller comes again to Wolsey, and speaking to him on this manner: "Thou doest much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou art complained of, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Master Doctor," said Wolsey; "I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered."

Then being brought to the sessions, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, where he and his friends thought he would have suffered, but it proved not so.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was presented by some evil disposed persons for not coming to the church.

Pygot, being called before the sessions, would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, judge, who said to him: "Ah! are you the holy father, the painter? How came ye not to the church?" "Sir," said the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge. "This is no church, this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall; but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah, sirrah," said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk with; wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the gaol, where Wolsey lay. So the

sessions being ended, Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they remained till the day of their death.

In the meantime some of their neighbours came to see how they did.

There came thither also a chaplain of Bishop Goodrikes, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said to Wolsey and Pygot: "My brethren, according to mine office I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you; I promise you, not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word, and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to shed tears, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be praised therefore.

Then, within a short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the ninth day of October, before Doctor Fuller, then chancellor, with old Doctor Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not really present in the said sacrament, and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy, but the very truth.

After sentence of condemnation was read, and a sermon preached, Pygot and Wolsey were brought to the place of execution, and bound to the stake with a chain. Then Richard Collinson, a priest, said to Wolsey: "Brother Wolsey, the preacher has openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you err in the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the scripture you do err or find fault."

Wolsey.—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the same, to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other christians to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there for." With that comes one to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, that looked as if they had been New Testaments. "O," said Wolsey, "give me one of them," and Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the hundredth and sixth Psalm, desiring all the people to say Amen, and so received the fire most thankfully.

Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ, with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.

In the same year, month, and day which the two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was October 16th, A.D. 1555, followed also, at Oxford, the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, of whose famous doings, and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments, and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can sufficiently witness; so it needs not greatly that we should stand at this time setting forth a full description, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serves to the due instruction of the reader, and makes to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up, then their studies and acts in the university, their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and labour in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of Doctor Ridley, whose history here ensueth.

Among many other worthy histories and notable acts of such as have been murdered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical history and life of Doctor Ridley, I thought good to leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man endowed with such excellent qualities, so spiritually inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberland, and while a child learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in a short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, and at length to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to King Henry VIII., and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the bishopric of London in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so laboured and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered. To his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he not only preached, but exemplified by his life, as a lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and holiness of life, that even his very enemies could not reprove him.

Besides this, he was well learned, his memory was great, and of such reading, that he deserved to be compared to the best of this our age, as his learned works, pithy sermons, and disputations in both the universities, and also his very adversaries can testify, all of whom will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, he was wise of counsel, deep of knowledge, and very judicious in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Doctor Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declares. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England may justly lament the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now I will speak something further of his person and condition. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways fotgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and affectionate to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him; and that they were his brother and sister, who lived honestly, and a godly life.

Using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, he was given to much prayer and contemplation: for every morning, as soon as his apparel was put on, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for the space of half an hour; which being done, he went to

his study, where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to "the common prayer," which was daily used in his house. The prayers being over, he went to dinner; where he used little talk, and then it was sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes cheerful, as cause required.

That done, he returned to his study, and there generally continued until five o'clock, and then came to "common-prayer," as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, conducting himself there as at his dinner before. He would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed. At his manor of Fulham, he read daily a lecture to his family, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, being scrupulously careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

It now remains that a word or two should be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought proper to allude to, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition of Dr. Bonner. When Bishop Ridley was at his manor of Fulham, he always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister. She was ever placed in the chair at the end of the table, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there, "By your lordships' favour this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." How he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and kindness afterwards at the hands of her son, Dr. Bonner, our readers are well acquainted.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the favouring of Christ and his gospel, by reading Bertram's book of the sacrament; and the conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr not a little confirmed him. After the coming in of Queen Mary, he was soon laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as has sufficiently been expressed before: first in the Tower, then sent with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, where he was with them confined in the common gaol, and afterwards was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his martyrdom, which was from the year 1554 till the 16th day of October 1555.

As to his disputations at Oxford, and also of his determination at Cambridge; also his labour in persuading and instructing the lady Mary before she was queen; his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough has been said in a former part of this book. Besides this, he had other conferences in prison both with Doctor Cranmer, and Master Latimer, as here follows:—

A Conference betwixt Ridley and Latimer in Prison, upon the Objection of Antonian, meaning by that name some Popish Persecutor, as Winchester.

Ridley.—"In writing again you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable instruction with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my heart. For surely except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in my infirmity he will prove himself strong, and make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.

"Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me: wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head by some one of Diotrephes, or Antonius' soldiers."

Objection.

"All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing, as you know, now much esteemed of all men, yea of the queen herself."

Answer.

Ridley.—"Because no man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt, Gal. ii. And again, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.' This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward act to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so prove a stumbling-block to the weak. But woe be to him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

Latimer.—"Except the Lord help me, you say. Truth it is. 'For without me,' saith he, 'ye can do nothing,' much less suffer death by our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it follows, 'If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ye shall ask what you will, and it shall be done unto you.' What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by labouring thus with me; you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me: pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For, indeed, you minister armour to me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saying that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

Objection.

"What is it, then, that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?"

Answer.

Ridley.—"I confess to you my fault, and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at St. Paul's cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, [*i. e.*, he had openly confessed his former error, and renounced popery in the pulpit at Cambridge,] and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it from ignorance. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which are most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they are these: the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins; to be short, the manifold superstitions, and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

Latimer.—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying than with studying, though mixture is best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the

other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law you ought to die. 'Be ye steadfast and unmovable,' saith St. Paul: and again, 'Stand fast:' And how oft is this repeated, 'If ye abide,' 'if ye abide,' &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Objection.

"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church."

Answer.

Ridley.—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as, without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers or communicants with them, they always reproved something for which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."

Latimer.—"I remember that Calvin begins to confute the interim after this sort with this saying of Hilary, 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ?' I would you had that little book, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requires unity, withal adds, 'according to Jesus Christ,' no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, Sir,' said I, 'but in truth, not in popery. Better is diversity than unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

Objection.

"But admit there is in the mass, that which peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there is a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"

Answer.

Ridley.—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same,) yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent to it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them who suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them that abhor superstition and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church, instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer.—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne with: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the greatest papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that follows; for if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mass has been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass; from thence grows the grief."

Objection.

"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough; he shall not have God to be his father, who acknowledges not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, saith St. Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Answer.

Ridley.—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the creed. This church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon the whole Israel of God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that are born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Out of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. In times past, saith Chrysostom, there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from the time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours. Wherefore only by the scriptures do we know which is the true church. To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer; The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devours all, &c. So that, as it is used, it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer.—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore, it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed; another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days (that

is dead) who was the church of England? The king and his favourers, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the favourers of his proceedings, why are not we now the church abiding in the same proceedings? If mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, though contrary to the queen's proceedings? Not all that are covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul; from whom? The context answers the question: 'If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. he is proud, knowing nothing,' &c. Weigh the whole text, that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,

'Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene seis, satis est, si cætera nescis.'

That is, 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, &c. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Objection.

"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, "Tell it unto the church." For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which it is."

Answer.

Ridley.—"The church which I have described is visible; it has members who may be seen; and also I have before declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan has brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

Objection.

"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world, this church is the great house of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathers all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ has promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel: But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c."

Answer.

Ridley.—"I grant the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of which they are also named christians. But as St. Paul saith of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c.; neither yet all that are of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a christian outwardly is a christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only in living stones, and true christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But forsomuch as this church (which is the second meaning of the church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church (which St. Augustine calls the mingled church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of which, although there be seldomer mention in the scriptures, in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest sway. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm, that universal doth so pertain to the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, at such time as the people would have stoned him; of Elijah, of Jeremiah; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra writes upon St. Matthew: 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consisteth in those persons in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss of the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed. And St. Augustine saith: 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it: which church the scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness. All my notes which I have writen and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am forced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knows whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as me thought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with St. Paul, Christ, and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, weal nor woe, &c., will make me ever to forget that. Amen, Amen."

Latimer.—"I have no more to say in this matter, for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' &c. was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified by Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect—the church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time those who lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency. In which, after the bare sound

of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same; but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, who think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first, Christ ruleth, in the latter the devil beareth the swing; and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our six articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or not? St. Paul saith, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his.' What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text: 'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.' Now how many are there of the whole popish church of England, who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men, or merchants, how many of the queen's councillors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own well grounded, as they say, when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

Objection.

"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used: Therefore, &c."

Answer.

Ridley.—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whenever they who are chief in it, who rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guidance of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such an one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in spirit and in truth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there will be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer—if there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

Latimer.—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterward, the more part did repel the same, our good Josiah willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! another great, but worse part, hath restored. Oh! what an uncertainty is this? But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us! Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician, unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

Objection.

"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude (I mean of them who ought to give voices) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Answer.

Ridley.—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary unto salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he directs his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his written word; so that hereafter if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, &c. Christ sends them who are desirous to know the truth, unto the scriptures, saying, 'Search the scriptures.' I remember a like thing well spoken by Jerome: 'Ignorance of the scriptures, is the mother and cause of all errors.' And in another place, as I remember in the same author: 'The knowledge of the scriptures, is the food of everlasting life.' But now, methinks, I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this it is, that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father, written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burthen upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. 'Whatsoever things are written,' saith St. Paul, 'are written for our learning.' And it is true that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we all come to the unity of the faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

Latimer.—"There is diversity between things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they are well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, who have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they who have this saying oft in their mouths; 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And it is the property of a wise man, saith one, 'To dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they are devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are forced of necessity to suffer many things out of order, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, 'I speak after the manner of men.' 'You walk after the manner of men.' 'All men are liars.' And that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'"

Objection.

"If you say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

Answer.

Ridley.—"From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument; but from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the world, who condemned the Nicene council? and all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) Homousians. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much dislike? But here, peradventure one man will say unto me; 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment,) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the holy scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils, and that the councils themselves, who are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid, is known?' Thus much out of St. Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian, upon matter confessed. Here with us when as papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the bishops' book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it, I say, sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But methinks I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, these which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies, and conventicles of heretics. I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? Because, saith he, they decree things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion. The cause is weighty, for which they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness; forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God, therefore it must follow of necessity, that all such councils as have approved such masses, ought of right to be avoided and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth. Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, without which, neither can the councils, saith he, be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth *de utraque potestate* (that is, of both the powers) doth clearly shew. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year 417, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevia, in which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

Objection.

"St. Augustine saith, the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. Ye will not say, I trow, that in our congregations all be evil."

Answer.

Ridley.—"I speak nothing of the goodness or wickedness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife, shall be broken down. Now as to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressed in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Objection.

"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary? But unto this your act, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are clean contrary: Therefore, &c. the first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions, and Christ himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. St. Peter and St. John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; St. Paul after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea, further, no man can shew, that either the prophets,

or Christ, or his apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' laws."

Answer.

Ridley.—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being frequented by Christ and his apostles; yet notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved. For you ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be shewed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews, (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*) although he grants they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number, and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumption of men, which, notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or not, let him judge who is spiritual, who feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my act lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobias: of whom it is said, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? Which plagues King Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, what concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For you are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said; "I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people." Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, who truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise, saith St. Augustine, the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the law of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c.? But the supper of the Lord, such a one, (I mean), as Christ commands us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer.—"Who am I, that I should add any thing to this which you have so spoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, who rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need."

Objection.

"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ? I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholickly of baptism also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or not? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how were you baptized. Or whether will you, as the Anabaptists do, that all who were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

Answer.

Ridley.—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake who are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's Supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are of age. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points, as a man would say, which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's Supper; of which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Latimer.—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, it is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

Objection.

"Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remains that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether you will or not, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he betrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? it is better that you should bear your own sin, than that, through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet

should be disturbed. How can you say you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Answer.

Ridley.—"O, Heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he who by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to what is right and good, should be bridled by the straight correction of the laws; that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true, what is commonly said, he that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But these things ought to take place against him, who refuseth to do what is right and just according to true godliness, not against him, who cannot quietly bear superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which you say, a transgressor of the common laws betrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they are which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, that is to say, in God, they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be contrary the one to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to that country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight, as it were, against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies, and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.

"But this is the readiest way, you say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time, by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so hath he by his minister always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elijah: 'Art thou he that troubleth Israel?' The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremiah, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the scribes and pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at the last cry: 'If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar's friend?' The orator Tertullus: how doth he accuse St. Paul before Felix, the high deputy? 'We have found this man,' saith he, 'a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer up of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world,' &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons, Christ, St. Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore, I pray you, but because they reproved before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation, doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, who professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an impartial judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer, therefore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, who giveth not to the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian, the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: 'Set him,' saith he, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we, as man, do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c. he answered with a mild spirit: 'We are taught,' saith he, 'to give honour unto princes; and those powers which are of God; but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion.'

"Hitherto you see, good father, how I have in words only made, as it were, a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be used to the armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tindal, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day, in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hand (you call them northern-gads), especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like brave men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were beloved by all the country the better for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith and christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed, ever looking when our adversary, who, like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour, shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake, therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come, he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake, therefore, I say. Let us not suffer our house to be broken up. 'Resist the devil,' saith St. James, 'and he will flee from you.' Let us, therefore, resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and alluretb us, that after these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold in the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinks, I see you suddenly lifting up

your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you), trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not consider aforehand, what and how you will speak; for it shall be given you even in that same hour, what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith, say with David: 'I will not trust in my bow, neither shall my sword save me.' (Psalm xlv. 6.) 'He delighteth not in the strength of the horse; he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy.' (Psalm cxlvii. 10, 11.) I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not overcome through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God, that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper; I give you good leave."

Latimer.—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer you shall not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in my memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and whereas occasion were given, and matter came to mind; for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, now when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the roast, but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelly they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto: stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them, it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you, else you know in a wicked place of judgment, a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies; you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that are most true. Therefore St. Paul giveth us a watch-word: 'Let no man deceive you with beguiling words.' Neither is it requisite that with the contentious you should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death most persuades a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, as many men thought, after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled; if we be congregated thereunto, happy are we. That is the greatest promotion that God gives in this world, to be like the Philippians, 'To whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer,' &c. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I trust shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say peace, all things are safe, then Christ shall come to keep his great parliament to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the papists imagine him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves one another with these words.

"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appears in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you steadfast and unmoveable in the Lord. St. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him: 'Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel:' and again: 'Harden thyself to suffer afflictions.' 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life,' saith the Lord."

A Letter of Nicholas Ridley to John Bradford.

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now suffer with you in divers prisons, bearing patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sir, concerning this state of chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we are set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our spiritual enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methinks I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's truth, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintains and upholds this satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are, in my judgment, first, his false doctrine and idolatrous use of the Lord's supper; and secondly, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two Satan seems to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he drives down mightily (alas! I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisoned rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the

elect of God. Wherefore St. John saith, not without great cause, 'If any man know not the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put upon him none other burden.'

"Sir, because these are his principal and main posts, whereupon stands all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list, know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

"Your brother in Christ,
"Nich. Ridley."

Another Letter of Doctor Ridley to John Bradford.

"Oh, dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleases the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling, 'Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' (Mat. xxvi. 23.)

"Oh, dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his Fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plentifully poured abroad amongst his servants, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives. Oh, what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and the confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withall. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, who would render his life again in His cause of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace, I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant who are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

"We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I suppose I am the weakest, many ways, of our company; and yet, I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Roger's departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced at it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. Oh, good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

"Yours, in Christ,
"Nich. Ridley."

To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

"Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren, namely, for the great consolation which, through you, we have received in the Lord, who notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; you remain yet still unmoveable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, although that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily, (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, while he driveth into some men the fear of death and loss of all their goods, and sheweth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the harlot of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet, blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought; who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they ever so terrible or plausible, will you suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed, and testified with the effusion of their blood.

"In this faith stand you fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For you know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his disciples beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the meanwhile abide you, and endure with patience as you have begun: endure, I say, and reserve yourselves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the pure faith of the gospel.

"'For ye have need of patience; that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul.' (Heb. x. 36—39.) Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them who kill the body—the rest you know. For I write not unto you, as to men who are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to contemn our life, or shed our blood for; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance

of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, or can we receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and a lively image of the substance, of the Father, in whom only dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. 'This is life eternal,' says St. John, 'that we may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' If any, therefore, would force upon us any other god, besides him whom St. Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

"Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play you the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies, and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be you not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your captain, Christ, trust unto the Spirit of Truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which though it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, yet can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God therefore) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers who have written, until of late years past.

"Let us be hearty and of good courage, therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in nowise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only you should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember, that by the voice of St. Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, you are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what else can they do unto you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? and, therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that whiles for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray, therefore, unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth shine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindness, may, with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confess him to be the only true God, who is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and truth. Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ. Amen.

"Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you."

"To the brethren who constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him, and for his sake;

"Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you. Amen.

"Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby you might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but you have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, you have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to establish and confirm that thing, which when you were at liberty in the world, you laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine: that is to say, holding fast the word of life, you shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much now Satan cruelly more rageth, and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

"And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness by the godly, and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, who hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

"Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath engrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another, whereby also being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us, whereby, moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them who are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body, hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies; those (I say) were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language; so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

"Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together; but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth than a brute beast?

"Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. Oh devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed, Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the

world. He saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks, that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now, therefore, he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, who serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: 'But woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' (Matt. xxiii. 13.)

"And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit. Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

"You, therefore, my brethren, who pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads, that is, who are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he who is in the world; and you know that all that is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret; let it rage never so much; be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be you sure that no man can take us out of our Father's hands, for he is greater than all. 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' (Rom. viii. 32—35.) The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you, and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will not cease to pray for us. Farewell, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen."

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, in answer to a Letter of one Mr. West, sometime his Chaplain.

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, you know this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this world is but transitory; and, as St. John says, 'The world passeth away, and the lust thereof.' (1 John ii. 17.) I am persuaded Christ's words are true, 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.' (Matt. x. 32.) And I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, nor things to come, high or low, life nor death, shall be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity should prevent my maintaining God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed, sir, it is now time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? (With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we may never swerve from thy laws.) You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long, indeed; in which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to dislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes, without substantial and necessary cause, and the obstinate setting forth of extremities, I never did love. Confession unto the minister, who is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed, I ever thought, might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so, I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and, after your judgment, have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament; which thing, although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest (as you say), yet in the main you write warily, and in this world wisely; and yet, methought, all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else, at this your saying, I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I esteemed for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

"To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire for my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methink I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the uncorrupt judge, and be accountable to him for all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience, therefore, moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them who were within my house, which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power, (but, alas! now when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a portion it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away,) this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God, who hath given me grace to see this my default,

and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

"This conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my friend Doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them by me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other, (I exhort you as my friends,) but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name; fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. 'When his wrath is kindled but a little, blessed are all they that put their trust in him!' And the saying of St. John is true, 'For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.' If this gift of grace, (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation,) were truly and unfeignedly engrafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For although man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth the same for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

"When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth written in God's word, that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you, I never found a man (so far as I do remember) either old or young, gospeller or papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If, then, it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once by us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for a sample; other things are in like case, which now particularly I need not mention. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave what he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or not. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, as long as I live. And because, I dare say, you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and what I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God,) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And I beseech you all true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

"From Oxford, the 8th of April, 1555."

An Account of the Life, Acts, and Doings of Master Hugh Latimer.

After the life of Bishop Ridley, we must now relate the life and doings of the worthy champion, and old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer; of whose acts, even from his first years and tender age, we are here to treat. He was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabouts. At which time, his parents, seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature: wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years, he was sent to the university of Cambridge; where he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

He was then zealous in the popish religion, and so scrupulous, as he himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar, with such superstitious fancies. And in this blind zeal he was a bitter enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as his oration delivered when he obtained his degree of bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, plainly declared. His popish zeal could in no case abide good Master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, most spitefully railing against him, and desiring the youth of Cambridge not to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that though by the way he thought to have ruined the professors of the gospel, and true church of Christ, he was himself caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Thomas Bilney (whose history has been before described,) being at that time a searcher out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Latimer to be full of zeal, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and thought by what means he might best win this zealous, though ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. After a short time, he came to Latimer, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which he willingly granted. He was, through the good Spirit of God, so touched by what he then heard, that he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself confesses. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Bilney and others, and came also to Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in the English language. However, as Satan never sleeps when he sees his kingdom beginning to decay, so now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker of it, he raised up his impious agents to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustinian friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, in the university of Cambridge to object against him, for Latimer in the sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time.

The handling of this matter was so proper for the time, and so pleasantly applied, that it wrought in the

hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of pure religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas-day; on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled for a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel read in the church that day, "Who art thou?" &c. In delivering the cards, he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best court card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and truth, wherein consisteth true christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering shew of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c., so that all these either were needless, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

First came out the prior of the Blackfriars' called Buckenham, and afterwards a Dr. Venetus.

But why should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching against him? Amongst whom was Dr. Watson, Master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been. Dr. Notories, Master of Clare Hall; Dr. Philo, Master of Michael House, Dr. Metcalf, Master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe, of the King's Hall; Dr. Bullock, Master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe, of Clement House; Dr. Donnes, of Jesus' College; Dr. Psalms, of St. Nicholas Hostel; Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, Bachelors of Divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, Bachelor of Divinity, of the same house, and scholar sometimes to the said Latimer. Briefly, there were almost as many as there were heads of houses, so many impugners did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Latimer, at Barvel Abbey, forbade him to preach any more within the churches of that university. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, licensed Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas-eve, on a Sunday.

Latimer being thus baited by the friars, Doctors, and Masters of that university, about the year 1529, notwithstanding these malignant adversaries, he continued in Cambridge, preaching for the space of three years with applause of the godly; also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing him, wished himself to be equal to him.

After this, Latimer and Bilney continued in Cambridge some time, where he, with Bilney, used much to confer together, so that the place where they most used to walk in the fields was called long after, the Heretic's Hill.

The society of these two, as it was much remarked by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry.

After Latimer had thus laboured in preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge about the space of three years, he was at length called up before the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of some of the university, where he was content to subscribe, and agree to such articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

After that he returned to the university again, where shortly after, by means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular poor man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of those who laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then he went to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. Buts' chambers, preaching in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered him by the king, at the suit of Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, he was glad of it, seeking by that means to be rid of the court, and so having a grant of the benefice, he departed, and resided on it.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum; the name of the town was called West Kingston where this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence to instruct his flock, and not only them, but also all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that he could not escape without enemies. So true it is what St. Paul foretells us, "Whosoever will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." It so happened, that as he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, had declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being offended, sought trouble against him, drawing out articles which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed to him, that he preached against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain priests, who held opinions respecting that blessed Virgin, as if she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ, the only Saviour of the whole world. Also, that he said that saints were not to be worshipped; that Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer; that there was no material fire in hell; that there was no purgatory, in saying that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's Tower.

The chief molesters of him, besides the country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury; Dr. Wilson, of Cambridge; Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached against him, some also wrote against him; so that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warrham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January 29, A.D. 1531.

Against this citation, although Master Latimer appealed to his own ordinary, he was taken to London before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure. There he being called thrice every week before the bishops, to make answer for his preaching, and certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, to which they required him to subscribe. At length he writes to the archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, by which he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for troubling and detaining him from his duty for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion.

In this epistle he also alludes to certain articles, whether he subscribed to them or not, is uncertain. It appears by the epistle, that he durst not consent to them. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to assent, through the cruel handling of the bishops, is doubtful; whether he so did or not is no great marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs do so, or else abide the bishop's cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed,) was loath to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for necessary articles of belief. I conjecture that he did subscribe, although it was long before he could be brought to do so. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he shews himself in a sermon preached at Stamford, October 9, A.D. 1550: "I was once," said he, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much vexation; every week I came thrice to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to entangle me. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the laws, but that God gave me answer and

wisdom what I should speak; it was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last, I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hung with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the end of the table. Then, amongst all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, such, indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should have made answer, 'I pray you, Master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to suspect, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers; for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it."

In these hard and dangerous straits and snares of the bishops, it had been impossible to have escaped, had not the Almighty, as he stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. At length, through the procurement, partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of a bishop, making him bishop of Worcester, and so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation. It were long to dwell, particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be. As (for example) in this and in other things, it appeared, that when it could not be avoided, but that holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet he so prepared and instructed those of his diocese, that superstition should be excluded, as far as possible, in them.

He was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread, not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man acted in his diocese. But both in the university, and at his benefice, he was harassed by wicked and evil-disposed persons; and so in his bishoprick also he was not clear of some that sought his trouble. He continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles.

Seeing that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishoprick, he of his own free accord resigned his see. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise. And so these two remained a long time unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of King Edward, of blessed memory.

Then coming up to London, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner, till the time of King Edward, by means of whom the golden mouth of this preacher, so long shut up before, was now opened again. And so beginning afresh to speed his plough, he continued all the time of that king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully.

In this labour of love he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to the no small shame of other loitering and unpreaching prelates, and so much the more to their shame, because, having been hurt by the fall of a tree, and above sixty-seven years of age, he yet took so little ease and care of himself, to do the people good, preaching every morning, usually, winter and summer.

Not long after the death of King Edward, Latimer was arrested and brought to London, by command of Queen Mary, and cast into the Tower, where he suffered much. Thence he was transported to Oxford, with Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as before mentioned, as also, how and by whom Latimer, with his other fellow-prisoners were condemned after the disputations, and committed again to the prison, there continuing from April to October; where they were occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Although Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied: And amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for. First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. Secondly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is (Elizabeth), whom in his prayer he was wont customarily to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things desired in vain, for the Lord most graciously granted all his requests.

Concerning his constancy, even in the utmost extremity, the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake, at Oxford, and the tormentors were about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Bishop Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, who doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength;" and so by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again to this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considers either her own past misery, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us! Amen.

Concerning his third request, it seems likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false visored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful christians released, which so long was wished for in

the prayers of so many good men, especially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Bishop Latimer.

May the same God, who, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! Now after these things pertaining to the events of Bishop Latimer's life, let us come to his letters; and first concerning the articles for which he was troubled by the priests about his benefice at West Kingston, of which he writes to Master Morice.

The following are extracts, for the whole were too long to insert here, and the reader will perceive that even then Latimer had not seen the full extent of the errors of popery.

They objected that he had taught that our Lady was a sinner. He says in his letter on this point as follows:—

"I was led by some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men, who gave to our Lady so much of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved: I reasoned after this manner; that either she was a sinner, or no sinner; there is no mean: if she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners were: If she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or not. Now certain authors (said I) as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain scriptures stand something to the same, unless they are the more warily understood and taken, (as in Rom. iii. 10. 20). 'All have sinned, every mouth must be stopped, and all the world brought in guilty before God.' And 'All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.' And in the fifth chapter, 'Death passed upon all, forasmuch as all have sinned.'

"They asked 'What need you to speak of this?' I answered, 'A great need, when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved.'

"And for the Ave Maria, they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in holy scripture of St. Luke. But yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater-noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and shew the good will of God towards her, and therefore, it is called the annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her properly: Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now that it was then?"

It was also objected that he taught that saints are not to be honoured. He answers thus:—

"I said this word 'Saints,' is differently understood of the vulgar people. Images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints; so saints are not to be honoured, that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear with, nor tongue to speak with, nor heart to think with, &c.

"They can neither help me, nor mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor work any miracle for me, one more than another: and yet I shewed the good use of them to the laymen's books, as they are called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

"And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilt and decked, that the living image [*i. e.* the believer] of God, (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ imputeth it done to himself) lack necessaries, and be unprovided for, by that occasion, for then the layman doth abuse his book.

"As touching the saints in heaven, I said,—they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both: so that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

"But by way of intercession, saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they are charitable, and need no urging, and we have no open bidding of God in scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet may we call upon them without distrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all; so that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father, in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us. Scripture doth set saints that are departed before our eyes for examples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

"God biddeth us come to him with prayer, and to do his bidding is no presuming; it is rather presuming to leave it undone, than to do that he biddeth us not to do, &c. We must have saints in reverend memory, and learn from God's goodness towards them, to trust in God, and mark well their faith towards God and his word, their charity towards their neighbour, their patience in all adversity, and pray to God who gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like success; they are well honoured, when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in him that made them saints: and as they were saints, so may we be saints, yea, there are many saints who never prayed to saints."

It was objected to him that he held there is no fire in hell; and no purgatory after life. He answers:—

"I speak of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at least a spiritual pain in the corporeal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm: now because they think not that it is a corporeal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporeal and natural fire; some have thought differently before the resurrection without body, and after with body; some that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they are spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporeal quality; so that Athanasius, a Greek author, calleth their pain a heaviness or an anguish; and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they are always in pain, yet they are not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat: but when their bodies are there, whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain; their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

"I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of

the world, no man can tell but he that is of God's privy council. I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostom saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell: there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarrieth and abideth for all liars and hinderers of the truth."

"I had rather be in purgatory than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat: in that I could not. In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain or lack of good counsel: in that I could not. In this I might be in extreme necessity: in that I could not, if extreme necessity be peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth; if we be not bounden to help but only them that be in extreme necessity, we see not who needeth in purgatory, but we see who needeth in this world. And St. John saith,—'Whoso seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' Here either we are, or we may be, in extreme necessity, both in body and soul: in purgatory, neither one nor other. Here we are bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves under pain of damnation. I am sure the souls in purgatory are so charitable, and of charity so loath to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

"Therefore, howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pounds to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me by God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that which may be done, and that which ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, and my devotion moveth me another way, which way should I go? I may by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven make foundations for myself with other men's goods; goods wrongfully gotten must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid, creditors satisfied and content, God's ordinance towards my neighbour here in this world discharged, all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings."

A Public Instrument of the Bishops, for the abolishing and prohibiting of the Scriptures, and divers other Books in English, in the time of King Henry VIII. A.D. 1531

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular, true and faithful people, to whom these present letters testimonial, or this present, public, and authentic instrument shall come, or shall see, read, hear, or understand the same, and whom this underwritten shall or may teach, or appertain in any manner of wise in time to come. William, by the sufferance of Almighty God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well, wit, and know, by these presents, that whereas the king our sovereign lord, hearing that many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in parts beyond the seas, are brought into divers towns, and sundry parts, of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith Catholic, and the perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also to be kept pure and clean of all contagion and wrong opinions in Christ's religion. Considering, also, that he, being defender of the faith, would be full loath to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so take root, that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine, before sprung up in the souls of his subjects; for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness, and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men of them, proposed such of the books, as his grace had ready therefore unto them to be read, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such a sort that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great errors, and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to shew for what cause they reputed the said books damnable, of which hereafter out of each book gathered, many do ensue. Albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies, and detestable opinions.

Heresies and Errors contained in the Book, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon."

"Faith only doth justify us.

"The law doth make us to hate God, because we be born under the power of the devil.

"It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God.

"The law requireth impossible things of us.

"The Spirit of God turneth us and nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit.

"Works do only declare unto thee that thou art justified.

"Christ in all his deeds did not deserve heaven.

"Labouring in good works to come to heaven, thou dost shame to Christ's blood.

"Saints in heaven cannot help us thither.

"To build a church in honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends.

"All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot avoid to sin continually."

[This instrument proceeds, at great length, to cite sentences from the various books then circulated by the reformers in the English language. It would be too tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate them here. The instrument thus concludes.]

"All which great errors and pestilent heresies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the translation also of the scriptures, corrupted by William Tindal, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such error, the king's highness present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the universities, as of all others assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects. And his highness willeth further, that his pleasure and determination should be notified, by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all such books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain preachers the form of a writing, to be published in effect unto the people in their sermons, whereof the form here followeth, commanding them in all his realm to publish the same."

[Here followeth the bill in English to be published by the preacher.]

"It is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to shew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify unto them such things as are dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eschewed; and also, as near as they can judge, who are teachers and authors of the same. This example we have of our Saviour Christ, where he says, 'Beware of false prophets,' &c. St. Paul likewise many times giveth warning to such as he wrote unto, that they should beware of the false apostles, that in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine which he had taught them being present. Wherefore considering that it hath pleased the king's highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his subjects, for his and their worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls and their due order towards God, thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory, to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such books as are now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue, concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conscience to make relation unto his highness, whether the same books are expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conscience and soul, or else contagious and pestiferous for the same: and whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's word and doctrine, or not; forasmuch as the said congregation and assembly had free liberty and licence granted unto every man to say as his conscience and learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed for any thing to be spoken there, whose person soever it touched, or any necessity to agree to the more part, but only to say what his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify: after mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there by whole consent, no man repugning or gainsaying, determined and agreed that the books, now being abroad in the English tongue, contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far discrepant from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of scripture, only persuading pernicious heresies to the destruction of the souls of good christian men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinions read, declared, and examined, and by the true sense and meaning of God's word reproved and rejected; I think, therefore, my duty is, taking upon me the office of a preacher, following the example of our Master Christ, and St. Paul, as is aforesaid, to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ, as I spake before: 'Beware of false prophets,' &c. And take heed of yourself, that you be not infected by the contagion and infection of such false apostles as have, in our English tongue, set forth books to seduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their false interpretations of scripture into the detestable and abominable heresies to the destruction of our souls. Wherefore you that have the books, called 'The Obedience of a Christian man;' The Sum of Scripture; The Revelation of Antichrist;' 'The Supplication of Beggars;' 'The Mammon of Iniquity;' 'The Matrimony of Tindal;' 'The New Testament in English;' of the translation which is now printed, and such other books in English, the authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, are pernicious books; detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the superiors, such as call for them; and if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breasts of that teaching, either forget it, or, by information of the truth, expel it and purge it, to the intent that you being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is your duty to do.

"The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your souls, ought to compel you, and your prince to punish and correct you not doing of the same; unto whom, as St. Paul saith, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose; you shall also further understand, that the king's highness, forasmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered an opinion in many of his subjects, that it is his grace's duty to cause the scriptures of God to be translated into the English tongue to be communicated unto the people, and that the prelates, and also his highness do wrong in hindering of the same, his highness therefore directed every man there present in the said assembly, freely and frankly to shew and open unto him what might be proved, and confirmed by scripture, and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highness, as he there openly protested, might conform himself thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they should do their duty towards him. In which matter, after the scripture declared, holy doctors and authors alleged, and read, and all things said, which might be on both sides, and for both parts spoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole scripture in English is not necessary to christian men, but that without having any such scripture, endeavouring themselves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teacheth them, and so learned by his mouth, may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same scriptures in English. And like as the having of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been thought by holy fathers of the church heretofore sometimes to be meet and convenient, so at another time, it hath been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicated amongst them, wherein, forasmuch as the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conscience, that the divulging of the scripture at this time in the English tongue, to be committed to the people, considering such pestilent books, and so evil opinions as are now spread amongst them, should rather be to their further confusion and destruction, than the edification of their souls, and that as holy doctors testify, upon such like considerations, the same hath been done in times past, it was thought there, in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that the king's highness, and the prelates in so doing and not suffering the scriptures to be divulged and communicated in the English tongue unto the people, at this time doth well. And also I think and judge the same, exhorting, and moving you, that in consideration of what his highness did there openly say and protest, that he would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue, to the intent he might have it in his hands, ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same, that ye will so detest these pernicious books, so abhor these heresies, and new opinions, so decline from arrogancy of knowledge and understanding of scripture after your fantasies, and show yourself in cunning and reasoning so sober, quiet, meet, and temperate, as all fear of misusing the gift of scripture taken away, you may appear such in your prince's eyes, and in the eyes of your prelates, as they shall have no just cause to fear any such danger; persuading unto yourself in the meantime without grudging or murmuring, the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretion of the superiors, so as whensoever they think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you; and whensoever it shall be seen otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it. Of and upon the which decree, order and determination above recited, his gracious highness being in per-

son in the chapel, called the old chapel, which sometime was called St. Edward's chamber, sate on the east side of the parliament chamber, within his grace's palace at Westminster, on the 24th day of May, in the year 1530, and in the two-and-twentieth year of his reign, called before his grace the three notaries here under written, and then and there in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, directed and required the said three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and us to set thereunto our seal accordingly, in and for witness and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's desire, order and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present, to testify the same, and bear record and testimony thereupon. In witness of all, and singular the premises, we, William, archbishop, primate, and legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public, or authentic instrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscribed, and signed by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be sealed with our own seal. All which premises have been done in manner and form above specified, then and there being present the noble personage of Thomas Moore, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Christ, Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, Master Stephen Gardiner, secretary," &c. &c.

Here follows a letter of Latimer's written to King Henry VIII. upon this occasion. You heard before of two proclamations, set out by the bishops in the name of King Henry, the one in the year 1531, and the other set out A.D. 1546. In which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were prohibited all English books, either containing or tending to any matter of the scriptures. Now Latimer, growing in some favour with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion by reason of these proclamations, and touched with zeal of conscience, directs to King Henry this letter, endeavouring to persuade the king to set open again the freedom of God's holy word amongst his subjects.

A Letter of Latimer's to King Henry VIII.

"To the most Mighty Prince, King of England, Henry VIII., grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalanus, saith, 'That he who for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him; for he feareth men more than God.' And according to the same, the holy man, St. John Chrysostom, saith, 'That he is not only a traitor to the truth, who openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also who doth not freely pronounce and shew the truth that he knoweth.' These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid; troubled, and grievously vexed me in my conscience, and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must shew forth such things as I have read and learned in scripture, or else belong to those who provoke the wrath of God upon them, and are traitors unto the truth; which thing, rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

"For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, who is the very truth, and cause of all truth? and who saith, that 'Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels.' The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, and promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But, alas! how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men; and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God, and especially they who boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy scripture, yet will neither shew the truth themselves, as they are bound, neither suffer them that would. So that unto them it may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees, (Matt. xxiii. 13.): 'But woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' And they will, as much as in them lies, debar not only the word of God, which David calleth a light to direct and shew every man how to order his affections and lusts,' according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief; and especially in this your realm they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions, (corrections, I would say,) and now at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the scriptures in English.

"Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man; for you are here to me and to all your subjects in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right, and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you are a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which we all are both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which are all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul teacheth, 'Those members that are taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, are as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting forth of the gospel, and to note also the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel, and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ: 'The tree is known by the fruit.' For by the diligent marking of these, your grace shall clearly know and perceive who are the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who are not. And concerning the first, all scripture sheweth plainly that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

"Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, were they treated in the inns and lodgings by the way; and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight; was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes, truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might, by his godly

power, have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

"But this he did to shew us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and value the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: 'If riches increase, set not your heart upon them.' So that it is not against the poverty in spirit which Christ preacheth in the gospel of St. Matthew, (v. 3) to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts are not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men: but they are enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also are privy enemies (and so much the worse), which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches; yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm; yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth; unto whom the holy apostle, St. Paul, teacheth every christian man to obey. Yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lies, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

"Your grace may see what means and craft the spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace's last parliament, against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unthirsty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there are some good of them. Neither will I that your grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

"I name nor appoint no person nor persons, but refer your grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as mentioned in St. Matthew, vii. 20, 'By their fruits you shall know them.' As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples, when he sent them to preach his gospel, we read in the fifteenth of St. Matthew, where he showeth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all worldly men, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said of them, for his name's sake; but he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, It becometh not the servant to be above the master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your grace shall see that he promised to the true preachers no worldly promotions or diguity, but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In St. John, xvi. 33. also, he saith, 'These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer: I have overcome the world.' And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel our Saviour Christ saith also, 'Lo! I send you forth as sheep among wolves.' So that the true preachers go like harmless sheep, and are persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but commit all to God, so far is it off from them to persecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among those worldly wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

"And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer much persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle, St. Paul, saith, 'That every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.' And also he saith further in Philippians, i. 29, 'Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake,'

"Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers as of the teachers: and whereas there is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor bear with.

"Therefore pleaseth it your grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour, Jesus Christ, which is this, 'By their fruits you shall know them.' For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which, as our Saviour Jesus Christ teacheth in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works. And they whose works are evil dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, hindering as much as they can, that the holy scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying, that it would cause heresy and insurrection, and so they persuade, at least they would fain persuade your grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, who are not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of thistles, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife: but such is their belly-wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred scripture, though they talk never so much of it.

"But as concerning this matter, other men have shewed your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the scripture in English. The which thing also your grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun, the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, 'That they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land, so that after they had brought David word how everything stood, David might come and conquer it.' And they caused the young king to shave their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards: Oh, wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all those that took their parts.

"Therefore, good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine

of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them who have obstinately withstood and gainsayed his word. But, peradventure, they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your grace's commandment, neither value your proclamation, and that was well proved by those persons who of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation; and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteem other your grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion. For your grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he should be hindered of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors (as men say, and of likelihood it should be) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed: and howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs, set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and would have done more, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to a knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about; and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it that they being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell ere they send one to God, and yet the New Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

"Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which have been in this realm heretofore. And whence is it that there are so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not only break your grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons which causeth many a man to sin in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both against these books, and also against them that have them, yea, and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon fagots to burn both the books, and them that have them.

"And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only excepted; if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there are some that have these books, that are evil, unruly, and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books are not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own froward mind and carnal heart, which should be amended by the virtuous example of their curates, and by the true exposition of the scriptures. If the lay people had such curates that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself could hurt them to go out of frame, so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things, because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true that is written in these books, which I have not all read, but to shew that there cannot such inconvenience follow them, and specially of the scriptures, as they would make men believe should follow.

"And though it be so that your grace may by other books, and, namely, by the scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And this I do (God judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor because I think the word of God should go forth without persecutions, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it is preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ shewed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your grace had once commanded that the scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to put it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

"And take heed whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter; for there are some that for fear of losing their worldly worship and honour, will not leave their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal, by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed should be now put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called; he thought no shame to suffer punishment, and great persecutions for that which before he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

"Wherefore they are sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your grace may observe, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God, that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church, and according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the histories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your rest, sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, who also prayeth to his Father for grace for

us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever. Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your grace, 1st December A.D. 1530."

In this letter of Latimer to the king, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God; his good will to the king; the duty of a right pastor to truth; his tender care to the commonwealth, and especially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of prince's courts, how kings many times are abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them, and especially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see, moreover, and rather marvel at, the great boldness and divine strength of this man, who as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish that, which no counsellor durst once speak to him in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example, if the bishops and prelates of this realm for their parts likewise, in like cases of necessity would follow (as indeed they should), so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they are.

Finally it is to be noted how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet notwithstanding God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather the thanks and good will of the prince, for not long after he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester.

During the time that Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he wrote, besides his conference with Doctor Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, we find very few letters that he wrote to his friends.

Concerning the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to King Henry a present, in the following manner: There was then, and remains still an old custom received from the Romans, that upon New-year's day, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another: but Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented A NEW TESTAMENT for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this sentence on it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of bishops Ridley and Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful labours, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constancy in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, to this present time and month of the reign of Queen Mary, being the month of October, A.D. 1555. In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now we shall couple them both together, as they were joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, and we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remains concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering.

The Examination of Ridley and Latimer, on the 30th day of September, 1555.

First, after the appearing of Cranmer, before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commissioners in St. Mary's church, at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said when we come to the death of the archbishop. On the 28th of September, there was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Doctor Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Doctor Holyman, bishop of Bristol, that they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to cite, examine, and judge Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they held and maintained in open disputations, in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554. Which opinions, if these persons would now recant, yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by St. Peter, in the blessed see of Rome, that then the judges should have power to receive the penitent persons, and minister to them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope; but if Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, would defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions, that then the lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive the punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore on the last of September, Ridley and Latimer were cited to appear before the lords, in the Divinity School at Oxford. The lords placed themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet: and after the lords were seated, Latimer and Ridley were sent for: and first appeared Ridley, and then Latimer. But because it seemed good to examine them separately, Latimer was kept back until Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Ridley into the school, the commission was openly read. But Ridley standing bareheaded, as soon as he heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. After the commission was read, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *à latere* to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially as he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you, at his name, to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self put your hand to your head, and at the name, as well of the cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover your head, lest your contumacy should be prejudicial to these most reverend persons, we shall cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

Ridley.—"As touching what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require them, in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I beg you to understand, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, nor for any derogation of honour toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, as he came of the most regal blood, and as he is a man indued with many graces of learning and virtue, and as touching these virtues and points, I with all humility (therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) will reverence and honour his grace; but as he is legate to the bishop of Rome, (and therewith he put on his cap) "whose usurped supremacy I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour to him, lest my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and in derogation of the truth of God's word."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of

that, with which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, neither for any contempt of this audience: neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent, and excellent qualities; for although in all these honour is due, yet we require no honour from you on this account, but only because my lord cardinal's grace is here, in England, deputy of the pope's holiness," (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Ridley put on his,) "and therefore we say to you the second time, that except you put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain of causing some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause."

Ridley.—"I spoke only that it might appear to your lordships, and to this audience, why I used such behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I have been this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner.

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission, considering how authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, which first was founded by St. Peter at Rome, immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession has been brought to this our time; if you will renounce your errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, consent to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught by the catholic and apostolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics' and Christ's church, from which you have so long strayed, without which no man can be saved; which thing I and my lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm most heartily desire, and I for my part" (wherewith he put off his cap) "most earnestly exhort you to do. Remember, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and to be short, it is not so long ago since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For when the council, to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him, and after you had talked with my lord, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion, and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend in it to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the truth of the sacrament.' Also in a sermon of yours at St. Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholicly spoke of that blessed sacrament as any man might have done, whereby it appears that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came: that is together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which lineally takes his descent from St. Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge. According to St. Augustine, who writes in this manner, 'all the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome.' Here you see, that all christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should prevent you, therefore, to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Ridley requested permission to speak somewhat, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having obtained permission, he said:—"My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points, which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially, which moveth me most, contrary to the expressed word of God.

"The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking his beginning from St. Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath built his Church, hath in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop been brought to this time.

"Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathers the foundation of the church upon St. Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter answered, thou art Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;' that is to say, upon this rock, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brittle a foundation of his staple and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all christianity, with word, heart, and mind to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ imprinted in his forehead, who confesses not that Christ is the Son of God.

"Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare that without this faith no man can come to Christ; so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God is the foundation of our christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the staple and infallible word of God.

"Now as to the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory, in which, above all other countries and regions, there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake: so after the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the

bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most reverenced and spoken of for its great power and strength. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishoprick," (and therewith the people smiled). "Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it, and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

"I cannot and dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after, the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome, confess that the bishop of that place is the very antichrist, whereof St. John speaks by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with St. Gregory, 'he that makes himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.'

"Now where you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection: I am sure that your lordship knows, that in St. Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome; which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knows right well, that when St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lies the sea called the Mediterranean, so that all the countries in Europe to him who is in Africa may be called transmarine countries, or beyond the sea. Of this it is St. Augustine saith, 'All the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the see of Rome.' If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, all the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome; declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what subjection I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York.

"For this pre-eminence also the other doctors (as you resited) say that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one, and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the northern bishoprics; and yet no man will say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York are supreme heads to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now where you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But when you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, desired him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent from the council to my Lord of Winchester to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you you so great a matter herein? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them;' for at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"As to the sermon which I made at St. Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at St. Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the box, the sacrament of the halter, round Robin, with such like unseemly terms; for which causes, in order to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, I preached as reverendly of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling of it, affirming that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln somewhat interrupting him, said:—"Well, if I should stay upon this place of St. Augustine, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, and used this in the way of disputation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return again.

"You must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is catholic; so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in a prescribed locality, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

"Wherefore for God's love be not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth; it shall not be, as you allege, prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken by their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to St. Peter, and by him left to all his successors. As to our goods, possessions and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why, therefore, should you stick at that matter, which their majesties have forsaken and yielded.

"Wherefore, you shall not only not do injury to the crown, or be prejudicial to their majesty's honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church, here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight. Thus if you will revoke all your errors, acknowledging with the rest of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do what all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul; then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member: but if you shall still be singular, if you shall still obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrify and corrupt the whole body; then must we

confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's highness, you must receive the punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics. Wherefore, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood; do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church: we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), for that is the temporal judge's office; we only declare you to be none of the church, and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you."

Then Master Ridley, with frequent interruptions, at length spake:

Ridley.—"My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I confine or bind it to any one place, as you said, but confess it to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel duly preached and followed, there does Christ's church shine as a city upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint it to Rome, that there and no where else is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And where the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be known amid all schisms and heresies, writes in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greater part be infected, then prefer antiquity.'

"So now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as that the priest receives alone, what it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like: Wherefore it requires, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome with, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know, also, that Christ after his resurrection, when he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declares that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no new thing for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles that St. Paul, writing to certain of the gentiles who had received the gospel, bidding them to abstain from things strangled, and from blood, so that this seems to be an express commandment; yet, who will say but that it is lawful to eat blood? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

Ridley.—"My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which he did, in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay proceeded in this oration.

"So that the church seems to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation: but we came not, as I said before, to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered to us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, to which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without further disputation or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, as we have done: the articles you shall hear now, and to-morrow we will require your answers, and then proceed: and if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they are to be got in the university."

The Articles.

"1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; First, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one, or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. That in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

"3. That in the said year and months, thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4. That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these the aforesaid assertions solemnly had been condemned, by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

"5. That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near at hand, as also to them in distant places far off."

Examination upon the Articles.

All these articles are here placed together, that as often as reference shall be necessary to any of them, the reader may have recourse here, and peruse them, and not to distract the history with several repetitions of them.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said, "These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you to the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley.—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that upon good advice I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add,

diminish, alter, and change any part of these answers to-morrow, as you will."

Ridley.—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy of them, and license to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had from the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so in like sort the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all means that he might."

Doctor Weston.—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley.—"No, Master Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with those of Caiaphas and the high priests, who would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln.—"We intend that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean time we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley.—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand: first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in what you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, nor do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and if your lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes which move me to this."

Lincoln.—"No; we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley.—"I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln.—"Well, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

Ridley.—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not yield to your authority, as legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take 'really' for 'vere,' for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *'vere et realiter*, indeed and really;' but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism." Because this answer was not understood, the notaries did not know how to note it; wherefore the bishop of Lincoln desired him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley.—"My lord, both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, we differ only in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I being fully by God's word persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, because that whoever receives worthily that bread and wine, receives effectually Christ's body, and drinks his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receives the very true body of Christ: but if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense Christ's body is not in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer, being taken and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley.—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that the bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Ridley.—"Notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of the which I speak, and all the doctors confess, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remains; with which the body is nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceases not to be water, but keeps the nature of water still. In like sort, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper the bread ceases not to be bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holy Ghost," as he did by the bread, "This is my body."

Then Ridley cited St. Austin, who compared both sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Ridley.—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that by it sins are taken away, which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of which the communion is only a memorial, that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of it. For otherwise this sacrament takes upon it the office of Christ's passion, by which it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

"As you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross: yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by which sins are forgiven; which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the fourth article, to which Ridley answered, "That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned by the university, for the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act."

This answer being penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To which he answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also was written by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln then said:

"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church, and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require; but if you write anything except your answers to these articles, we will not receive it. So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Ridley, and sent for Latimer, who being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

Latimer's Appearance before the Commissioners.

Now after Ridley was committed to the mayor, the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, as soon as he was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer.—"My lords, if I appear again I pray you not to send for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Latimer.—"Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended."

Then Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin), wearing an old threadbare Bristol frize gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hung by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without a case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner:

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole's grace, legate *à latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend Father in God, the pope's holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year 1554, as at other times, did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In which commission are especially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and together with all this realm, yea, and all the world, confess the truth, we, upon your due repentance, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but join you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new matter to which I exhort you; I desire you to return thither from whence you went.—Consider, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore, what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesses, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted? it was a common error, and it is now by all confessed, it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church an head, and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God may be proved."

Here Latimer, who before had leaned his head on his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears.

The bishop proceeded, saying, "For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep, and rule my lambs,' which not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includes also a certain pre-eminence and government; so that in saying 'rule,' Christ declared a power given to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter delivered to Clement, and so in all ages has it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authority given to us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation; yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as a legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that, the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do), but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a son of perdition, a lost child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws."

After the bishop had paused, then Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had concluded; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer.—"Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer.—"I beseech your Lordship, give me leave to sit down."

Lincoln.—"At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Latimer.—"Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be saved; but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your lordship brought a place out of the scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him 'rule,' or govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid to rule: but since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of ruling. Indeed they ought to rule; but how my lord? not as they will themselves, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule 'according to the word of God,' into the rule 'according to their own pleasures:' as there is a book set forth which has several points in it, and amongst others, this point is one, which your lordship went about to prove by this word 'rule,' and the argument which he brings for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, if there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests, of the order of Levi, shall decide the matter according to the law of God. This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, takes occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and the other

clergy of the new law: but in proving this matter, 'according to God's law' is left out: my lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing; but as I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing therein."

Latimer.—"Yes, my lord, the book is open to be read, and is written by one who is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission. Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said it was his book.

Latimer.—"Was it yours, my lord? indeed I knew not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me."

Then the audience laughed again; and Latimer spake to them, saying, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death: 'Woe unto ye that laugh now, for ye shall weep.'"

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:

"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done."

After this the bishop of Gloucester spoke in excuse of his book.

Gloucester.—"Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have."

Latimer.—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink! and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you that to run this man through with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:—"I went not about to recite any places of scripture in that place of my book; for then if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal of, 'according to the law of God?'"

Latimer.—"Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spiritualty to decide matters of religion, and as my Lord said even now, to rule, but they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantasies."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing the articles in form, as was declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Ridley, and required Latimer's answer to the first. Then Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying, that he was the king and queen's subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should now renounce one of them; he required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he thereby agreed to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome. The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively, or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again: and Latimer answered as follows:—

"I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament, by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ, because every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receives the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion: but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is so in the sacrament, as you would have it."

Lincoln.—"Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively?"

Latimer.—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article?"

Latimer.—"There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because that now which was common bread has the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word."

Lincoln.—"Lo, Master Latimer, see what stedfastness is in your doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Latimer.—"A rush for holy bread! I say the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said:—"Oh! ye make a difference betwixt holy bread and holy bread. Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remains after the words of consecration?"

Latimer.—"Yes, verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calls it bread, St. Paul calls it bread, the doctors confess the same; the nature of a sacrament confirms the same, and I call it holy bread, not because I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it bears, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the third question?"

Latimer.—"No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St. Paul saith, upon the cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer?" After the recital, which Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or not?

Latimer.—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean by it."

Lincoln.—"Only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Doctor Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer.—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article?"

Latimer.—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer, I would you would propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln.—"As we proceed according to the laws, we must use their terms also. The meaning is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people."

Latimer.—"I cannot tell how much, nor what men

talk of them. I come not so much among them, for I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said :—

"Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to-morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer.—"Now, my lord, I pray you give me license to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

Lincoln.—"Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have license to speak."

Latimer.—"Nay, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your lordships; I pray you let me not be troubled to-morrow again."

Lincoln.—"Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer.—"Truly, my lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

Lincoln.—"Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy, you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church."

The next day, which was the 1st of October, the lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it; the place was compassed about with framed seats, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, and the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons. After Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following :—

"Master Ridley, yesterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that of which no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of those whose persons we bear; neither, you said, for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although it justly may, yet in this case requires no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's holiness," (with that the bishop with all then present, put off their caps, but Ridley moved not his,) "you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but forasmuch as this is the point as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley.—"I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday, that is, only that it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, as concerning those points which your lordship spake of, that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln.—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then;" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner :—

"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be got; we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure: therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday, (which we would not wish,) or on the other hand, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church, and I, for my part, most earnestly exhort you, not because my conscience pricks me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterday I brought forth amongst others, St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to his meaning, in that you would have 'the whole world' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world."

But Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying, "I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in geography, in which you shall understand that there is a sea called the Mediterranean between Europe and Africa. He was then in Africa, and he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, I would thereby be excepting England in which I stand:" and here many words were spent upon the interpretation of St. Augustine.

Then he came to St. Cyril, who, as he said, made against Ridley in the sacrament, even by Melancthon's own alleging, and he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before, wherefore he passed it over. The bishop of Lincoln continued :—

"St. Cyril also in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, uses this reason: altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries. Therefore Christ is come. But we may use the contrary of that reason; altars are plucked down in Britain: therefore Christ is not come. A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. You see what a good argument this your doctrine makes for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Ridley (smiling).—"Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altar' in the scriptures signifies, as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. St. Cyril means there by this word 'altar,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (altars are erected in Christ's name, therefore Christ is come) he means that the communion is ministered in his remembrance, therefore Christ is come: for the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past: then all countries could not celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage. Neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usages of the primitive church."

Lincoln.—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive! and yet when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way,

now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley.—"Your lordship's irreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men come more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln.—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Now, what say you to the first article? if you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying, that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley.—"Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure: therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy: therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience with it, although Ridley desired very urgently to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the sayings of the ancient doctors for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said: "In the first part, Master Ridley, there is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley.—"No, my lord, I pray you read it out, that the audience may hear it." But the bishop of Lincoln would in nowise: "Because," he said, "there were contained in it words of blasphemy."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Ridley's answer to it. Then Ridley said that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published; but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing, and also before at the time of disputation, Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like manner the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation; and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers being rehearsed, taken, and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Ridley to recant.

Gloucester.—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying: Woe be to them which are wise in their own conceits. But you will say here, it is true what the prophet saith; but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers in like manner, you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another; how will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit, then you cannot avoid the woe which the prophet speaks of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain: if the prophet most truly saith, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit; then for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church, how, I pray you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves then be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of. It remains, therefore, that we submit ourselves to the determination of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move the affections, to persuade Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit, but that he acknowledged no such singularity in him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself.

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded, the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to shew his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Doctor Weston, who sat by, and said, "Why, my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already."

Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither on that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his leave: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers, and Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as follows:

"Now, I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired. For indeed I, for my part, I take God to witness, am sorry for you." Whereupon Ridley answered:

"I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burthensome to your soul."

Lincoln.—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth: but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I shall say," and forthwith he read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. The effect was, that as Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar: secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of consecration: thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore, the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol, did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley, as an heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word, and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical orders; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore, committed him to the secular power, to receive due punishment according to the temporal laws: and, further, excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Latimer was sent for; but in the meantime the carpet or cloth, which lay upon the table where Ridley stood was removed, because Latimer had never received the degree of a doctor, as Ridley had. But as soon as Latimer appeared, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying:—

"My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better arrangement here at the entrance; for I am an old man, and have a very weak back, so that the press of the multitude does me much harm."

Lincoln.—"I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low courtsey. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner:—

"Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially as you required it, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred farther process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly exhort you."

It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, but that Latimer interrupted him, saying:—

"Your lordship often repeats the 'catholic church,' as if I denied it. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call 'catholic,' which ought sooner to be termed 'diabolic.' And where you join together the *Roman* and the *Catholic* church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say 'Roman church,' and another thing to say 'Catholic church.' I must use here the advice of St. Cyprian, who, when he was cited before some bishops, that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most likely to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshewed, that he who follows him, must take up his cross and follow him.' Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you, then, my lords, is it likely that the see of Rome, which has been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock, which has continually been persecuted by it, even to death?"

Lincoln.—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel's; but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church."

Latimer (interrupting him).—"Yes, verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

Lincoln.—"Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually there were very few who truly served God; but after his coming began the time of grace, then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came to this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny resisted: there is a different consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had license to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors: we thinking that from that time you would, with good advice, consider your state, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time, and now have called you again here in this place, to learn whether you are the same man you were then or not? Therefore we will propose to you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning."

Latimer.—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I condescended and agreed to your lordship's authority, in that you are delegated by the authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction. To the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy partaker receives the very body of Christ, and drinks his blood, by the spirit and grace. But after a corporeal substance, which the Romish church prescribes, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer.—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needs there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative.

In like manner he answered to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant, as

he did Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, Latimer answered, that he neither could, nor would deny his Master, Christ, and his truth, the bishop desired Latimer to hearken to him; and then, Latimer hearkening for some new matter, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of which the three bishops broke up their sessions, and dismissed the audience.

But Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise, in saying the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare the cause why he refused the pope's authority; but the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him. Then Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," said Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that appeal the bishop was content; but he said it would be a long time before such a convocation, as he meant, would be called.

Then the bishop committed Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." And so Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer continued in prison till the sixteenth of October.

A Communication between Doctor Brooks and Doctor Ridley, in the house of Master Irish, the fifteenth of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the meantime, on the fifteenth of October, in the morning, the bishop of Gloucester (Doctor Brooks), and the vice-chancellor of Oxford (Doctor Marshall), with several others of the chief and heads of the university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Master Irish, then mayor of Oxford, where Doctor Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Ridley lay, he told him the purpose of their coming, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive the same, and come back again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad, to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant, and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they were very loath to do. "But," says he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion; therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered to you at this time."

"My lord," answered Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assures me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken), which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is within my body; and in confirmation of which, seal the same with my blood."

Brooks.—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved; therefore, I say, once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us, the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley.—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk, I do no obedience at all to the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

And here Ridley would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester about the bishop of Rome's authority, but was not suffered; and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," said he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered to you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed, according to our commission, to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and, therefore, we will the sooner have done with you: so, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley.—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide it with all my heart."

Brooks.—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley.—"Truly, I will not."

Brooks.—"But you must."

Ridley.—"I will not."

Brooks.—"You must, therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley.—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Brooks.—"Will you not put it upon you?"

Ridley.—"No, that I will not."

Brooks.—"It shall be put upon you by one or the other."

Ridley.—"Do therein as it shall please you, I am well content with that; and more than that, the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the scripture makes mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more does it become us his servants!"

On saying these words, they put upon him the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting it on, Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Roman bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, so that Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bid him hold his peace. Ridley answered him again, saying, "So long as my tongue and breath will suffer me, I will speak against these abominable doings, whatever happens unto me for so doing."—"Well," said Brooks, "you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Doctor Brooks, "Sir, the law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which words Ridley, looking earnestly upon him, shook his head at him, and made no answer, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well." So they proceeded in their doings, yet, nevertheless, Doctor Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or the other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be made so to do against his will.

When they came to that place where Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake (called the singing-bread) they bade him hold it in his hands; but Ridley said, "They shall not come into my hands: for if they do, they shall fall to the ground." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain paper in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope's law.

Afterwards they put a book in his hand, and read as follows, which was, "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness."

And as they put upon him the mass-robes, they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a paper in Latin, according to the order contained in the book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, save only the surplice left on his back as they were reading and taking it away, Ridley said to them, "What power have you, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had!"

So when all this their ridiculous degradation was

ended, Ridley said very solemnly to Doctor Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered, "We may not talk with you, you are out of the church; and our law is, that we may not talk with any that are out of the church." Then Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, I have no remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that are amiss, when it shall please him."

At which words they would have departed, but Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's writing concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning in it, if you will read it with an unprejudiced judgment." Doctor Brooks made no answer to this, but would have gone away. Then Ridley said, "Oh, I perceive that you cannot bear with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband who stands there. They had a poor living granted to them by me, while I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him who now occupies the same place, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. You shall hear the same read, so you shall perceive the matter the better." Then he read it, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, he wept, so that for a little time he could not speak for weeping. After he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that moves me. But I have now done;" and with that read out the rest, and delivered it to his brother, commanding him to send it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Doctor Bonner. Brooks said, "Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them."

Ridley.—"I pray you for God's sake do so."

Brooks.—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing prevents it, and that is, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand them, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley.—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience, and God's will be done."

Brooks.—"I will do what lies in me."

The degradation being over, and all things finished, Doctor Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Ridley with this charge; to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Ridley praised God, and burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would surely be laid against me, I see very well." Brooks said, he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed; and, in going away, a warden of a college bade Ridley repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God, if it be his blessed will, to have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a rage, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, nor yet to be in that place whither you shall go. You are the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

The night before Ridley suffered, his beard and his legs were washed, and as he sate at supper, in the house of Master Irish, (who was his keeper) he invited his hostess, and the rest of the board to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and shewed himself to be as cheerful as ever he was before. And wishing his sister to be at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or not: and he answered, 'Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:' at which he said, he was glad to hear so much of her. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mistress Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for as you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, neither are content with it. Indeed you are not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

The behaviour of Ridley and Latimer, at the time of their death, October 16th, A.D. 1555.

The place appointed for the execution was on the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol College: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to prevent their burning, the Lord Williams, and the householders of the city, were commanded by the queen's letters to be assistant, sufficiently armed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Ridley had a furred black gown, faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear as a bishop, and a tippet of velvet, furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap over it. He went in a pair of slippers to the stake, between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock, all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a handkerchief on his head, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to mourn; beholding on one hand the honour they once had, and on the other, the calamity to which they were fallen.

Ridley, as he passed by the prison, looked up where Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the window, and to have spoken to him. But then Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto, and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him. Then Ridley, looking back, saw Latimer coming after. To whom he said, "Oh, are ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "as fast as I can follow." At length they came to the stake, the one after the other. Ridley first entered the place, and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortly after seeing Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and prayed; and behind him Latimer kneeled, earnestly calling upon God. After they arose one talked with the other a little while, till they who were appointed to see the executions, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I cannot learn of any man.

Then Doctor Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time you heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in Corinthians, "Though I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, I am nothing." He alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of the death, makes the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of

Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that had lately hanged herself, for that they and such like, might then be adjudged righteous, who desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their varieties in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At this statement the two martyrs lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, as if calling God to witness of their truth. Which they did in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls.

Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Latimer said, "begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Ridley.

Then Ridley and Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form near them. Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words:" and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Ridley. "No," replied Doctor Marshall; "therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall impartially judge all."

Latimer added his own verse, "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be made manifest:" and he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. Immediately they were commanded to make ready, which they obeyed with all meekness: Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; the bailiffs took other parts: besides he gave away some other small things to gentlemen standing by, several of whom pitifully wept; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to some of my Lord Williams gentlemen; some napkins, some nutmegs, and ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some even plucked the points off his hose, and happy was he that could get any rag of him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other apparel, which was very simple: and now being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them who were present, as one could desire to see; and though in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked old man, he now stood quite upright.

Then Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," said his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God," and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the stone, and held up his hand and said, "Oh, heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and fastened it about both Ridley's and Latimer's middles: and as he was knocking in a staple, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook it, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother brought him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck, but Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "gunpowder." Then said he, "I will take it to be sent of God, therefore, I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother," meaning Latimer? "Yea, sir, that I have," said his brother: "Then give it to him," said he, "lest you come too late." So his brother went, and carried the gunpowder to Latimer.

In the mean time Ridley spake to my Lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in the behalf of several poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mediator to her grace for them. My brother here has the supplication; and will resort to your lordship to certify you of it. There is nothing in all the world that troubles my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. While I was in the see of London, some poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for them. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupies the same place, will not allow my grants to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, has taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy them. I beseech you, my lord, be a mediator for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid it down at Ridley's feet. To whom Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE BY GOD'S GRACE IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."

And so the fire being kindled, when Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit," and repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" he received the flame as if embracing it. After he had stroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appears, with very little pain. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Bishop Latimer, for whose laborious services, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm has cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Ridley lingered longer by reason of the badness of the fire, which only burned beneath, being kept down by the wood, which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him, which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him of his pain, but not well advised what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath; so that it burned all his lower parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which was apparent: for after his legs were consumed, he shewed his other side toward us, shirt and all untouched with flame! Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." In which pain he suffered, till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the fagots above, and where Ridley saw the fire flame up, he leaned himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet.

Some said that before he fell from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. For I think there was none, that

had not clean banished all humanity and mercy, who did not lament to behold the fury of the fire rage upon their bodies. There were signs of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to witness their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need of pity. His brother moved the compassion of many men, seeing his miserable case. But who that considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes and the learning they had, could refrain from sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, put into the fire, and consumed in one moment! Well, they are gone, and the reward of this world they have had already. What reward remains for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he comes with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

A Letter by Doctor Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his True and Faithful Friends in God.

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

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

"Farewell my dear brother, George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all others, to me most friendly and steadfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

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

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

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

"Farewell, my well beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley, of Willimountswicke, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness,) to be, as it were, the bell-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace both heavenly and worldly above others: so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

"Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss, but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

"Farewell all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ all together. The Lord, who is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto I was chosen among you, named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court, by his privy council.

"I warn you all, my well beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonished at the manner of my departure and dissolution: for I assure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know you that I doubt no more, but that the cause wherefore I am put to death is God's cause, and the cause of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which St. John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that St. Paul's epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I assure thee, oh man! it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle, and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebuke's sake suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that holy apostle, blessed and happy: how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me, I say, unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

"You who are my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, where, alas! the true man suffers oftentimes much wrong at the thieves' hands, you know if it chance a man to be slain by a thief, as it often doth there, that he who went out with his neighbour to help him to reserve his goods again, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that are true, as long as the memory of this fact and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that are my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs,)

both know ye, I say, that before God, and all them that are godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoice of me your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven: and I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations: the Lord is so full of mercy to them, I say, and theirs who do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love than to give his life for his friends.

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

"The church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance, and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated to all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that everything might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true meaning of holy scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues, which are commended in scripture; and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that used, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in a short time if they had been universally received, they would have been able to have set in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone.

"But, alas! of late into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, thieves are entered in, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain of these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, 'O Lord God, the gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: They have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones;' that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves are of Samaria, these Sabans, and Chaldeans, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, as of baptism, and others, they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much solemn disguising a thing which they call their mass, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood: and for his holy use, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood: which understanding Christ declares to be his true meaning, when he says, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew' (he meaneth with the same) 'the Lord's death till he come.' And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

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

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonish beast, to this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, because I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ, our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood: Therefore, all you, my true lovers in God, my kinsfolks and countrymen, for this cause, I say, know you that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with

hearty thanks to God, in certain hope without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

"Although the cause of the true man slain by the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one, as I said before; yet know you that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far different. These thieves are worse, I say; for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, are called, and are indeed thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called sacrilegious; as you would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These are the goods and godly substance whereupon the christian must live before God, and without which he cannot live. These goods, I say, these thieves, these church robbers, go about to spoil us of, which goods, as to the man of God, they excel and far surpass all worldly treasure; so to withstand even unto the death such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

"These church-robbers are also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avow it, and therefore as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly in the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they are oft times hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avow it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor beheading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

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

"And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, 'we fight not against flesh and blood,' that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons, therefore, are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, beat, and batter, and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand master, duke, and captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle, without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain, Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered like so many sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death whereunto we be put; the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon (without all doubts) our martyrdom to be.

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

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

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

"Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge: what case thou art in now, God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever noted since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word; so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee, indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could speak would bear me witness), I learned without book almost all St. Paul's epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the book of Revelation. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life time ever after, and I ween of late (whether they abide now or not I cannot tell) there were them that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love towards that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy scriptures, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to be vicar of Herne, in East Kent. Wherefore, farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard from my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish manner, but after Christ's gospel: oh, that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God for all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Phines, the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitan see whereof I once was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God, and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name, Christ's Church, in deed and in truth.

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

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

"O London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas, all that loved God's word, and were the true setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burned and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

"Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed, almost, for the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God who is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

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

"Yet thou, O London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there are many privy mourners, who do daily mourn for that mischief, who never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities also, (whom to name now it shall not be necessary), in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill's year, unto Sir

George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as I thought: but, to say the truth, that I do esteem above all others for true christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee, and through thee were begun. For though, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor weak members, to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou callest together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou breakest the matter for the poor; thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty, in the poor man's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised, by a certain number of the most wise, and politic citizens, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of poor members of Christ, who else for extreme hunger and misery would have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but especially thee, O Dobs, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

"And thou, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a house of occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city, and also to have retired thither the poor children brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those who, in the hospitals aforesaid, had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainest, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely palace of Bridewell, and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

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

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the upper house of parliament; therefore, seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof, I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause, by God's grace, to take what I intend to say in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of what I have said before now already to the see of London. To you, therefore, my lords of the temporalty, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing would not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, can you hurt me, or harm me, for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken to what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul said to the Galatians; I wonder my lords what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist,—from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions,—from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop of Rome. I warn you of your peril; be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus;—we are laymen, this is a matter of religion, we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame.—My lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subjects, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led; yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also; that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but both shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the council of the Jews, think you, which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death. Forsooth no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither or both shall excuse either that synagogue, or council, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly draught. You are wise, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how you are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my lords, you may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or, to speak in plain terms, to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said unto Festus) be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your lordships, the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak, I do think many a good and holy man, many martyrs and saints of God have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel

truly, which therefore justly may be called apostolical; that is, they were true disciples of the apostles, and also that church and congregation of christians was a right apostolic church: yea, and that certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called St. Peter and St. Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof apostolic, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the rule of truth and true religion, which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel; hath set up another religion; hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules, than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing, alas, alas, for too long a time; since the time, I say, that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed, both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person, that that see and the bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true rule of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true rule of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic, so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

"The see is the see of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelations Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodom and Egypt, the mother of fornication, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore doth spiritually commit most abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them, to rehearse some for example's sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light), it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon, and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophesy), and finally, with all falsehood, death, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light, or light unto darkness; white to black, or black to white; or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto antichrist himself.

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

"My lords, if in times past you have been contented to hear me, sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said (when as else if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either from desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure,) how hath then your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me, being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the Eternal Judge, otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am persuaded assuredly by God's word shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say, even that I have said heretofore, both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you in the word of the Lord, except ye do repent betime, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your grief on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake, forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you, moreover, as I know I must be accountable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, who will judge nothing amiss, so shall you be accountable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth. Alas! my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that you could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the overthrow of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherein the prince must be obeyed; how is it now made a matter wherein, as your clergy saith now, and so saith the pope's laws indeed, standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry VIII. and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation; how then chanced it that ye were all, O my lords! so light and so little fixed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, without which no man can be saved, as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith; that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spiritualty and temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law as it is indeed, and such

instructions as are given to the diocese of York, be indeed a setting forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as by truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they are), then, my lords, never think otherwise, but the day shall come when you shall be charged with this your undoing of that which once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her dispensations and promises of pardon, that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be you assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, then all her abominations shall appear what they are, then my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent ye if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health; repent, I say, or else without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banquetted with the harlot in the fornication of her dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their abominations, must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen."

A lamentation of Bishop Ridley for the change of religion in England.

"Alas, what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yea, and almost in every honest man's house, alas, now it is banished out of the whole realm. Of late, who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance towards it, but such as are content in Christ's cause, and for his word's sake to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

Of late there was to be found, many of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer: the babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, who had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things, which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing the children and servants repeating the same: but now, alas, and alas again, the false prophets of Antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

"Of late in every congregation throughout all England prayer and petition was made unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; and now, alas, Satan hath persuaded England by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own head.

"Of late by straight laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon; with laws, I say, and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas, all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, doth no more hold than a bond of rushes or of barley straw; nor public perjury no more feareth them than a shadow upon the wall.

"Of late it was agreed in England on all hands, according to St. Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment, as St. Paul saith plainly, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation can understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacrament, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word: but, alas, all is turned upside down, St. Paul's doctrine is put apart, Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church but a strange tongue, that the people doth not understand.

"Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with their heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas, the unlearned people is brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts is nothing mindful at all, for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

"Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians with thanksgiving and setting forth of the Lord's death and passion until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas, the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people is able to understand.

"Of late all that were endued with the light of grace, of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God who had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas, such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man: but now, alas, England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit, and is in a worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known; and now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of Parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everlasting God: yea, they say they can, and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation, O wicked men, and Satan's own brood.

"Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed according to his own commandment, by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be shewed unto this day; but now, alas, not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the living and of the dead, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect

of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

"Of late the commandment of God, 'Thou shalt not make thee any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them:' (Deut. v. 8, 9.) This commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, and learned of every body both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man saith, were taken out of the churches, and straightly forbidden that any should any where either bow down to them or worship them; but now, alas, God's holy word is blotted and rased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow down or worship them; but now, alas, that which God commandeth is not looked upon, and that which he forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

"Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine, necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire; but now, at one brunt, they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withall, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief, is Antichrist and his brood, the same is he which is the Babylonish beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith St. John, in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abomination in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth; and of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk, yea, and kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandise, have been made rich.

"Now, what city is there in all the whole world that, when St. John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth? or what city can be read of in any time that, of the city itself, challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand St. Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abomination thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that wicked woman for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas) the madness of man the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not St. Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (of whom this vile harlot beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause) did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles, after this manner in his latter epistle? 'But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you:' (2 Pet. ii. 1—3.) And doth not St. John likewise in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a long catalogue of this mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all his plain words, without any mystery at all, setting out the whore's merchandise), reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, 'and the souls of men too?' Whereupon, I pray you else rose this true proverb in Latin, 'all things for money are set to sale at Rome.' Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a Bishop of Rome, in Latin?

"'Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum:
Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius.'

"These two verses in Latin I have read thus translated into English rhyme:—

"'Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom:
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick,
To set to sale, ready money for to get.
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold,
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore?
For what doth he sell but that he bought before.'

"I grant these verses to be light gear; and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see; but now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes are grounded upon laws, are established by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's, or a few men's personal crimes, but are now by laws, custom, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked see, and maketh indeed the body of the beast whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

"But you would know which are those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they are not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow; as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with trentals and *Scala Cœli*, dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *toties quoties*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars, and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money), canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution *a pœna et culpa*, for thousands of years, yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the whole household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish manner, for all these things they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and such like things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power, they say, not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man, once at least every day, of a wafer cake.

"After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which, the Lord knoweth, grieveth me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled

law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes, I mean that milk that is without all guile, as St. Peter doth call it; that good word of God, that word of truth which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith; (he meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him) that holy scripture which hath not been devised by the wisdom of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work: when, I say, I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given us his own only dearly beloved Son to die for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word directeth us both to believe, and also to do, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which, as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation); and likewise when I consider, that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word; and, furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law, what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all holy scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour, which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all, which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God, which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law, what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that St. Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know, what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day, how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow, which shall be the judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wisdom shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke: when, I say, I consider all these things, and refer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion (whereof I spake before), it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days are as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy scriptures which refer to these things, and whereupon this is grounded, and by God's grace he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which St. Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night, he said unto them that would not believe, 'Well spake the Holy Ghost, by Esaias the prophet, unto our fathers, saying, go unto this people, and say, hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them,' (Acts xxviii. 26, 27.)

"Alas! England, alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts. Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou baredst that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young christian prince excepted) evermore behaved unkindly and ungently to those that went about most busily, and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself, and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face."

There was much other matter in this treatise of Doctor Ridley, which for its length we omit.

The Death of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

The month after the burning of bishops Ridley and Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of this man, so as somewhat has been declared before in the history of King Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to write about it. He came from the town of Bury, in Suffolk, and was brought up in Cambridge; his understanding, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; for through this promptness, he profited not a little in studies; at first in the civil law, then in languages, and in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment. Besides other helps of nature, memory rather than diligence of study was useful to him.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again his great or greater vices, which not so much burdened him, as made him burdensome to the whole realm. He was of a proud spirit, and high-minded in his own opinion and conceit, flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; toward his superiors flattering and fair spoken, to his inferiors fierce; against his equals stout and envious, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him. Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his calling, whose profession was to be crucified to the world, which made him so obstinate in maintaining whatever he had once begun.

As to divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time and circumstances, that no one could tell what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then he was a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and foreswear as he

did. For first, in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor, as chief agent in the behalf of the Lady Anne? Again, at the abolishing of the Pope, who so ready to swear, or so vehement to write against the Pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book "De Obedientia" may appear? He so uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the Pope, that coming to Lovaine afterward, he was there accounted a person excommunicated, and a schismatic, so that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and, moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him.

And thus he long continued firm and forward, so that Winchester was a favourite during all the reign of Queen Anne. After her decease, time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially for his so much favouring Bonner (whom Winchester at that time could not bear), made him an enemy both against him and his religion: till again, in King Edward's days, he began a little to abate from certain points of popery, and to turn somewhat to the gospel, as both by his sermon before King Edward, and also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear: and this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel; and no doubt he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset turned him away from true divinity to plain popery; in which he continued a cruel persecutor to his death.

But whatever he was, he is now gone, and I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, I would they who were present would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England has cause to give thanks to the Lord: not so much for the great injury he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c. but also and especially, because he had thought to have brought to pass the death of our noble queen that now is, Elizabeth. For whatever danger of death she was in, it no doubt proceeded from this bishop, who was the cause of it. And if it be certain what we have heard, that when her highness was in the Tower, a writ came down from some of the council, for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only framer of that instrument, who in that one day had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious council, through one Bridges, the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented his bloody devices. For which, thanks be to our Lord and Saviour in the congregations of all English churches. Amen.

Of things uncertain, I must speak uncertainly, for want of fuller information. But as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death, so this bishop for his part bent all his devises, and had spent all his power in assailing the root, and in casting up such a platform to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he shewed, &c., all this I leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Having thus given the reader an account of Gardiner's history, we will leave him to his great Judge, and return again to the history of the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order follows:

The Burning of John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury.

After the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, followed the martyrdom of three other stout and bold soldiers, John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover, on the 16th of September, and had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner; and being commanded to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next appearance, he made answer, that he would no otherwise say, by God's grace, than he had already said, which was this: "As to the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," said he, "it to be left to his church, in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and not by the words of consecration made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary: I utterly deny that."

After this, besides other times, on the third day of October, John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the judges; who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics, and about the end of the same month, or in the latter end of November, they were taken together and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom. By the way going to the stake, they said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a young man, of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, took a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, he put out both his arms from his body like a cross, and so stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these martyrs of Christ being brought to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire, at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

William Wiseman.

On the 13th of December, in the Lollard's Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God. How he died is not fully certain.

After William was departed, as is said, in the Tower, the holy Roman churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, according as their manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds.

James Gore.

In the same month, about the 7th of December, deceased also James Gore, in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

The History of John Philpot.

Next follows the martyrdom of John Philpot, of whom partly you heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in the disputation in the convocation-house. He was of an honourable house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the new college in Oxford, where he studied the civil law, besides other liberal arts, especially the languages, as the Hebrew, &c. In knowledge he was eminent and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in it; of nature and condition plain and open, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations, penned by his own hand, can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where, coming from Venice to Padua, he was in danger, through a Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who,

coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, as the time gave more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had some conflicts with Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester.

After that, he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Doctor Poinet, who succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus, during the time of King Edward, he continued to the no small profit of those parts. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in, whose study was wholly to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to accomplish her desire.

In which convocation, Master Philpot being present, he according to his degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversaries; for which, notwithstanding the liberty of the house had been promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, being his ordinary. From thence he was removed to Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had many conflicts, as may appear in his examinations, written by himself.

The First Examination of John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Doctor Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, October 2, 1555.

"Doctor Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me, among others that were there; and passing by me, said, 'Ha, Master Philpot;' and, in returning immediately again, staid opposite to me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

"Philpot.—'If I be fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been shut up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me.'

"Story.—'We hear that thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.'

"Philpot.—'I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of a disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report of it.'

"Story.—'If thou wilt revoke it, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well; or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or not?'

"Philpot.—'I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.'

"Story.—'If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds;' and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

"The Scribe.—'Sir, what is your name?'

"Philpot.—'My name is John Philpot.'

"Story.—'This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Doctor Poinet's presentment.'

"Philpot.—'I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor.'

"Story.—'You may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon.'

"Roper.—'Come hither to me, Master Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of it; out of which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into it, you shall be received, and find favour.'

"Philpot.—'I am come before your worshipful masterships, at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorised by the queen's majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have suffered this year and a half, without my being called to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law.'

"Roper.—'Though we have no particular matter to charge you with, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you; and besides this, we have statutes to charge you with.'

"Philpot.—'If I have offended against any statute, charge me therewith, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly.'

"Story.—'I perceive whereabout this man goes. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the self same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass; how sayest thou to that?'

"Philpot.—'I am no heretic.'

"Story.—'I will prove thee a heretic. Whoever hath held against the blessed mass is a heretic: but thou hast held against it, therefore thou art a heretic.'

"Philpot.—'That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me with, was in the convocation, where by the queen's majesty's will, and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor, for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same.'

"Story.—'Thou shalt go to the Lollard's Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.'

"Roper.—'You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house.'

"Story.—'Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?'

"Philpot.—'I cannot deny what I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatever I shall be judged to.'

"Cholmley.—'Act the wise man and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.'

"Philpot.—'I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law charges me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, an old acquaintance in Oxford, I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity.'

"Story.—'I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Philpot.—'Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mastership.'

"Story.—'Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be sent to the Lollard's Tower.'

"Cholmley.—'Let him go from whence he came.'

"Story.—'No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollard's Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also of these heretics, they shall not have that resort, as they have had, to scatter their heresies.'

"Philpot.—'You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I care not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber.'

"Story.—'Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your hands of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.'

"Philpot.—'God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.'

"Roper.—'Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor, and show yourself a catholic man.'

"Philpot.—'If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.'

"Story.—'Have we scripture, scripture?' and with that he rose up, saying, 'Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, who the other day would have nothing else but scripture.'"

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The Second Examination of John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners.

"At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said to me, 'God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Doctor Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to get you away.' After a little consultation had between them, Master Cholmley called me, saying:—

"'Master Philpot, shew yourself a wise man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.'

"Philpot.—'I shall do as it becomes a christian man.'

"Story.—'This man is the rankest heretic that has been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and has done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law proceed against him, and I have spoken with my lord, and he desires him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or be burned. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou, wilt thou recant?'

"Philpot.—'I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.'

"Story.—'Well, then, I pray you, let us commit him to the Lollard's Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's Bench, and he has too much favour there.'

"Cooke.—'This man has most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained.'

"Philpot.—'I have maintained no heresies.'

"Cooke.—'No, have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?'

"Philpot.—'It was the queen's majesty's pleasure that we should reason upon it, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council.'

"Cooke.—'Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you; my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.'

"Philpot.—'My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered to mine ordinary in this matter.'

"Story.—'Take this man with you to the Lollard's Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house.'

"Philpot.—'Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place; but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you.'

"Story.—'Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? have him hence!'

"Philpot.—'God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need; what thou doest do quickly.'

"Story.—'Do you not hear how he makes us Judases?'

"Philpot.—'That is after your own interpretation.'

"After this, I with four others were brought to the keeper's house, in Paternoster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. I gave him thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin, said I, as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. Then we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; to which is joined a little dark house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but thanks be to God we have not been put into them yet, although some, before us, had tried them; there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for, through extremity of imprisonment, he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again, which, as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces.'

"The bishop sent to me his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my lord had no knowledge of my being here, for which he was sorry. I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners.

"Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

"Bonner.—'Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.'

"With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand and gave it to him.

"Bonner.—'I am right sorry for your trouble, and before these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your being sent hither.'

"I shewed him the sum of the matter; that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house for which I was against all right molested.

"Bonner.—'I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was none other cause.'

"Philpot.—'If it shall please your lordship, I am burthened none otherwise than I have told you.'

"Bonner.—'I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account of it to every man privately, unless it be to edify.'

"Bonner.—'I perceive you are learned; I would have such as you are about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church.'

"Philpot.—'God forbid I should be out of the church; I am sure I am within it, for I know as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.'

"Bonner.—'How chances it then, that you go out of it, and walk not with us?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is built, which is the word of God.'

"After some further converse I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows did sleep together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down."

The Fourth Examination of Master Philpot in the Archdeacon's house of London, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

"Bonner.—'It has pleased my lords to dine with my archdeacon, and in dinner time it chanced us to have

communication about you, and you were pitied here by many that knew you in the new college, in Oxford; and therefore I have sent for you to come before them. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied.'

"Bath.—'My lords here have not sent for you to flatter you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church.'

"Worcester.—'Before he begins to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.'

"With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight), the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the content of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing.'

"Bonner.—'Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny makes mention, that did daily sing 'Praises to God before dawning of the day.''

"Philpot.—'My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns; for they were right christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.'

"Bonner.—'Say on, Master Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.'

"Philpot.—'I have, my lords, been this twelve month and a half in prison, without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought, contrary to right, from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.'

"Bonner.—'I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar; and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.'

"Philpot.—'I have not offended in your diocese. For that which I spake of the sacraments was in St. Paul's church in the convocation-house, which is a peculiar jurisdiction, belonging to the dean of St. Paul's.'

"Bonner.—'Is not St. Paul's church in my diocese? Well, I know it costs me a good deal of money by the year, the leading of it.'

"Philpot.—'That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction. And although I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary.'

"Bonner.—'You cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed with by my lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.'

"Philpot.—'My lords, I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than that you should report me obstinate or self-willed, I will open to you somewhat of my mind, desiring your lordships, who seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in it; and I will refer all other points in which I dissent from you, to one or two articles, or rather to one, which includes them both; in which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.'

"Bonner.—'These heretics come always with their *if*s, as this man does now, saying, *If* he can be satisfied by the scriptures; so that he will always have this exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter is ever so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?'

"Philpot.—'I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the scriptures. And I protest here before God, and his eternal Son Jesus Christ, my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present are judges of what I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion through wilfulness, but only upon my conscience, informed by God's word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation; and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf.'

"Bonner.—'I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.'

"Philpot.—'My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we are not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say, we are of the true church. You say, that whoever is out of your church, is damned; and we think on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by her under pain of damnation, as you say, and that that church, as you pretend, has authority to interpret the scriptures, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only, I shall be as conformable to that church as you may desire me; therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this.'

"Cole.—'What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius' time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.'

"Philpot.—'If you can shew me this granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken. But I think you are not able to shew any such thing; for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.'

"Cole.—'Though it were not then, it might be at another time.'

"Philpot.—'I desire to see the proof.'

"Upon this Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

"I took the book, and read the place, after I had read it, I said, 'It makes nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of Europe was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and not like these heretics, &c. Whereby he concludes against them, that they were not to be heard, which if you, my lords, are able to prove now of the church of Rome, then you have as good authority against me as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome has swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus's time; wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the church of Rome, which is now so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.'

"Worcester.—'It can be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome has always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced it.'

"Philpot.—'Let that be proved, and I have done.'

"Worcester.—'Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved.'

"Philpot.—'My lords, is it now time, think you, for

me to follow singularity or vain glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? and I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me, and many thousands more: yet I had rather perish at your hands, than perish eternally.'

"Cole.—'Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? certain it is, by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and that St. Peter was bishop of Rome twenty-five years.'

"Philpot.—'I know well that Eusebius so writes: but if we compare that which St. Paul writes to the Galatians (chap. i.), the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not more than thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle: and St. Paul makes mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years.'

"Cole.—'What, did St. Peter write to the Galatians?'

"Philpot.—'No; I say St. Paul makes mention of St. Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historians, that the church of Rome has manifestly erred, and at this present time errs, because she agrees not with that which they wrote. The primitive church was according to the gospel, and there needs no other proof but to compare one with the other.'

"Bonner.—'I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, who fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Master Doctor, go on with him.'

"Cole.—'My lord, there are, on every side, those that are better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disreputation: for now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy among the people. I had rather shew my mind in writing.'

"Philpot.—'And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, and I beseech you so to do. But you shall not be able to shew what you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius' time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa, under pain of excommunication, should appeal to Rome: which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by an universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.'

"Cole.—'But I can shew that they revoked that error again.'

"Philpot.—'So you say, but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you but bare words without any authority.'

"Worcester.—'Do you think the universal church may be deceived?'

"Philpot.—'St. Paul, in writing to the Thessalonians, prophesies that there should come a departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a falling away first.'

"Cole.—'How take you the departing there in St. Paul? it is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire.'

"Philpot.—'Apostassa' is properly a departing from the faith, and thence comes 'apostate,' which properly signifies one that departs from his faith.'

"Worcester.—'I am sorry that you should be against the christian world.'

"Philpot.—'The world commonly, and such as are called christians, have hated the truth.'

"Gloucester.—'Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church has erred, and you only to be in the truth?'

"Philpot.—'The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do they follow his decrees.'

"Gloucester.—'Yes, in the Florentine council they agreed.'

"Philpot.—'It was said so, by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel proves.'

"Gloucester.—'I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?'

"Philpot.—'By the word of God. For Christ saith, in St. John, The word that he spake, the same shall be judge in the latter day.'

"Gloucester.—'What if you take the word one way, and I another way: who shall be judge then?'

"Philpot.—'The primitive church.'

"Gloucester.—'What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?'

"Philpot.—'Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.'

"Worcester.—'It is wonder you see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude.'

"Philpot.—'We have almost as many as you. For we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospellers increases: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in which I stand, and for which I am likely to die, a great multitude daily comes out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany are scarce able to receive them: and therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.'

"Bonner.—'My lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour in the mean while as I can shew you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error.'

"Worcester.—'God send you more grace.'

"Philpot.—'And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may maintain his truth, and his true church.'

"Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood was bought and sold by them, and to it they put their hands, and after this I was carried to my coal-house again."

The Fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and others.

"Bonner.—'Come hither, Master Philpot, I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, to do you good. Therefore act the wise man, and be ruled by these learned men.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to require it.'

"Bonner.—'Lo, what a wilful man is this? By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, or with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shew extremity against you.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, you need not shew extremity against me unless you wish; nor by the law have you any thing to do with me, for you are not mine ordinary, although I am, contrary to all right, in your prison.'

"Bonner.—'You maintained open heresy in my diocese; wherefore the commissioners sent you to me that I should proceed against you.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were a great heresy, as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled for it, in respect of the privilege of the parliament house, whereof the covocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may freely speak their minds, and here is present a gentleman of the queen's majesty that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy,

were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required in the queen's majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house.'

"After much dispute about the laws of the realm, Philpot at last said, 'My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for I have been a student in the law six or seven years; but to answer to the articles of faith, with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.'

"Bonner.—'Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged with.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I have declared my mind to you, and to others of the bishops, desiring you to satisfy me but of one thing, to which I have referred all other controversies; which if your lordships now, or other learned men can resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things as you shall require, which is to prove that the church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Coventry.—'Why do you not believe your creed,—'I believe in the holy catholic church?'

"Philpot.—'Yes, that I do; but I cannot understand Rome to be the same, or like it.'

"St. Asaph.—'It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.' Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, which is a manifest proof of the catholic church.'

"Philpot.—'What you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and where you allege Christ saying unto St. Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, you prove nothing. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from St. Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of St. Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present there to remain.'

"Bonner.—'Are there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray tell me into what faith were you baptised?'

"Philpot.—'I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member, I praise God, and am of that catholic faith of Christ whereinto I was baptised.'

"Coventry.—'I pray you, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify? shew if you can.'

"Philpot.—'Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people are taught, that which is most universal, or received by most men, by which you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so; but I esteem the catholic church to be, as St. Augustine defines it: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church has been taught from the beginning, and is, and shall be: then may you count yourselves catholic, or otherwise not.'

"Coventry.—'Let the book be seen.'

"Bonner.—'I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church, until these few years, has erred?'

"Philpot.—'I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.'

"Curtop.—'I can prove that Irenæus, who was within an hundred years after Christ, came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which he would not have done if he had not taken him to be supreme head.'

"Coventry.—'Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can.'

"Philpot.—'It is soon answered, my lord, for it is of no force: this act of Irenæus makes no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine has done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had pleased; and yet I wish none in England favoured his supremacy more than I.'

"St. Asaph.—'You are the more to blame, since all the catholic church, until these few years, have taken him to be the supreme head of the church.'

"Philpot.—'That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church; for I am able to shew seven general councils after Irenæus' time, wherein he was never so taken, which may be a sufficient proof, that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head.'

"Coventry.—'Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?'

"Philpot.—'Because it follows not the primitive catholic church, nor agrees with it, no more than an apple is like a nut.'

"Coventry.—'Wherein doth it dissent?'

"Philpot.—'It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation.'

"Curtop.—'As for transubstantiation, although it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church.'

"Bonner.—'Yea, that it was. Very well said of you, Master Curtop.'

"Philpot.—'Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to shew by any ancient writer, that the primitive church believed any such thing.'

"Coventry.—'Can you disprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?'

"Philpot.—'Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof of it. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, then the church of Rome is not now the catholic church, which dissents so far from it, both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.'

"Coventry.—'How prove you that the church of Rome now dissents in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?'

"Philpot.—'Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.'

"Coventry.—'What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?'

"Philpot.—'Because it is not universal, nor ever was, although you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world having been divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe; two parts, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, never consented to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.'

"Coventry.—'How prove you that?'

"Philpot.—'All the historians who write of the proceedings of the church, do testify it. Besides, this present time declares that to be true which I say. For at this present time the churches of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe does not agree to, or allow the church of Rome; as Germany, Denmark, Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest proof that your church is not universal.'

"After this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me some gentlemen, and some of his chaplains, as Doctor Saverson, who began with me in this manner:

"Saverson.—'I remember you, Master Philpot, beyond sea, since the time you reasoned with a friar, a notable learned man, coming from Venice to Padua, in a barge.'

"Philpot.—'I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, because I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar.'

"Saverson.—'Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you, this day having

communed with so many notable learned men, are not more conformable to them than you are.'

"Philpot.—'I will be conformable to all that are conformable to Christ in his word.'

"Saverson.—'I have heard your arguments, and methinks that a great many of the old ancient writers are against you in that you do not allow the church of Rome, nor the supremacy; for St. Cyprian, who is an ancient writer, allows the bishop of Rome to be the supreme head of the church.'

"Philpot.—'I am sure he does not. For he, writing to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calls him only his companion and his fellow-bishop, neither attributed to him the name of pope, or of any usurped terms which now are ascribed to the bishop of Rome to set forth his dignity.'

"Saverson.—'You cannot shew that St. Cyprian calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop.'

"Philpot.—'I will wager that I can shew it in Cyprian.'

"Saverson.—'I will lay no wager with you, but book for book that it is not so.'

"Philpot.—'I agree thereto, and I pray you let one of my lord's chaplains bring us Cyprian here.'

"One of them went to my lord's study and brought Cyprian, and he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle, and there would seem to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith; 'It goes not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, who supplies the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, and the agreement of the people.'

"Saverson.—'How can you avoid this place, which makes so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?'

"Philpot.—'It makes not so plain for your side, as you suppose, as I will give you to understand. But, first, I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here, you may see, that he calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he does also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you misconstrue it in taking the high priest for the bishop of Rome alone. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome, of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to shew. Therefore, St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calls his fellow-bishop), finds himself offended, that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), fled from his diocese, who was their chief bishop, refusing to be obedient to him, and to be reformed to the bishop of Rome and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms.'

"A chaplain.—'Did not Christ build his church upon St. Peter? Cyprian saith so.'

"Philpot.—'St. Cyprian, De simplicitate Prælatorum, declares in what respect he so said, 'God gave in the person of one the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all.' And also, St. Augustine saith in the tenth treatise on St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said to him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church has them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.' And also Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches lean to their own pastors.' And Evagrius, he saith, 'That wheresoever a bishop is, whether he be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.'

"Saverson.—'I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error, to your own destruction.'

"Philpot.—'I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for neither by reasoning, nor by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all is able to answer Calvin's Institutes?'

"Saverson.—'A godly minister, indeed, of cutpurses, and runagate traitors! I can tell you, there is such contention between him and his own sects about predestination, that he was glad to flee the town. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither.'

"Philpot.—'I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church are, agreeing to the scriptures.'

"After this Doctor Story came in. To whom I said, 'you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.'

"Story.—'I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics are worse than brute beasts: for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being, indeed, very fools and asses, not able to maintain that which out of an arrogant obstinacy they stand in.'

"Philpot.—'I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God, otherwise than a christian man ought.'

"Story.—'The word of God! forsooth the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee; whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word?'

"Philpot.—'The word itself.'

"Story.—'Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He wills the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?'

"Philpot.—'If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted an heretic, and an ignorant person, and further, what you please.'

"Story.—'Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in.'

"Philpot.—'It is the saying of Christ in St. John, The word which I have spoken, saith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. However, now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.'

"Story.—'What! you purpose to be a martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel!'

"Philpot.—'Yes, sir, I doubt it not, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute me for.'

"Story.—'I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies.'

"Philpot.—'I have brought you, for what I said, good authority out of God's book, to which you answer nothing, but give railing judgment against me without any cause.'

"Story.—'Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the scriptures?'

"Philpot.—'Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said here-

tofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto as you may desire me.'

"Story.—'What a fellow is this? he will believe nothing but what he chooses himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church? And if we had no other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.'

"Philpot.—'You do well to allege prescription of many years, for it is all you have to show for yourselves.'

"Story.—'Well, you are like to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear by which a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there has been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his death.'

"Philpot.—'You have the more to answer for, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you now triumph in your proceedings.'

The Sixth Examination of John Philpot before the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, Lord Rich, Lord St. John, Lord Windsor, Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two more, with the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedsey, on the 6th of November, 1555.

"Before I was called before the lords, and while they were sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, to act before the lords of the queen's majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said. After the lords and others were seated, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me, and began to speak.

"Bonner.—'I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more than once caused you to be talked with to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords to hear you, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not: and I dare be bold to say, that if you shew yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour as you can wish.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I thank God this day, that I have such an honourable audience; and I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agrees with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others, his fellow bishops, and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: where after the judgment of God's word, and with the assent of our bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned for an heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now I have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy; God grant I may have at last the judgment of God's word concerning the same!'

"Bonner.—'I pray you, ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.'

"Philpot.—'If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterwards.'

"Rich.—'Answer, first of all, to my lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my lord or not? can you find any fault with his cruel using of you?'

"Philpot.—'I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly, but rather for my part I may say that I have found more gentleness at his lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's; for the time I have been within his prison, he has called me three or four times to my answer, to which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.'

"Rich.—'Well, now go to your matter.'

"Philpot.—'The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house, and that house, being a part of the parliament house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore, I think myself to have sustained great injury, for being imprisoned for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordship's judgment, who are of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living, as I have done, and moreover of my life, as it is sought?'

"Rich.—'The convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I.'

"Bonner.—'My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, (and with that Bonner put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did,) and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in it.'

"Rich.—'How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

"Philpot.—'My lord, I acknowledge, in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, such a presence, as the word of God allows and teaches me.'

"Bonner.—'A sacrament is a sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign which is the accident (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread,) and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare to my lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or not.'

"Philpot.—'I do confess that in the Lord's supper there is both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ.'

"Bonner.—'You may see how he goes about the bush, and dare not utter his mind plainly.'

"Philpot.—'If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein.'

"Chandos.—'I pray you, my lord, let him speak his mind.'

"Philpot.—'My lords, that I have not plainly declared my judgment to you the reason is this, I cannot speak of it without the danger of my life.'

"Rich.—'There is none of us here that seeks thy life, or means to take any advantage of what thou shalt speak.'

"Philpot.—'Although I distrust not your honourable lordships that are here of the laity, yet here is one that sitteth against me, (pointing to my lord of London,) that will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honours require me to declare my mind, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, nor maintain any opinion without sufficient authority of the scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatever shall

ensue to me. That which I do intend to speak to you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not in vain glory, nor in singularity, nor in wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against which I dare not act, for fear of damnation. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, because I love not the queen, (whom I love from the bottom of my heart,) but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as I call God to witness.

"'There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm; they are, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: both which they usurp. As to their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now, as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in it is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, were to my utter damnation. And where they take on them the name of the catholic church, (whereby they blind many folks' eyes,) they are not so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, to vain superstition. And this I will say, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, as they shall never be able to do, I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial upon this. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove other than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.'

"In the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in brief, the bishop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the temper he was in.

"Bonner.—'It has been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.'

"Rich.—'All heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself.'

"Bonner.—'I pray you, how will you explain these two scriptures: *Pater major me est; et pater et ego unum sumus.* I must interpret the same, because my lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, 'The Father is greater than I,' and 'I and the Father are one.' But I beg pardon, my lords, I have mis-spoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos, and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin scholars. Now shew your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word if you can.'

"Philpot.—'Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there are two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, 'The Father is greater than I.' But in respect of his deity he said again, 'The Father and I are one.'

"Bonner.—'What say you, then, to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?'

"Philpot.—'The text itself declares, that notwithstanding Christ abased himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews more at large sets forth. And as I have by the scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them.'

"Bonner.—'How can that be, seeing St. Paul says, that the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.'

"Philpot.—'St. Paul means not the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world, and therefore St. Paul said, that the gospel is to some a savour of life unto life, and to others a savour of death unto death. Also an example of this we have in the sixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, the flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth.'

"Bonner.—'What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?'

"Philpot.—'It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, 'The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man judgeth all things.'

"Bonner.—'You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him.'

"Philpot.—'The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord, of London can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me to, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear it by you or by any other in this realm.'

"After further conference with the lords, and with Doctor Chedsey in their presence, the bishop of London said, 'My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now:' and with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word to me, half amazed: may God work it to good!"

The Seventh Examination of John Philpot, on the nineteenth of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, and Doctor Chedsey.

"Bonner.—'Sirrah, come hither! How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make master chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors are shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.'

"Bonner.—'We sent for thee that thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or not, if the doors had sooner been opened?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, that is another manner of question.'

"Bonner.—'Lo, master chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to mass or not, if thou hadst come in time?'

"Philpot.—'Mine answer shall be thus: that if your lordship can prove your mass, to which you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, to which a christian ought to come, I will come with a good will.'

"Bonner.—'Look, I pray you; the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.'

"Philpot.—'If to lie in a dark coal-house may be counted good handling, without fire and candle, then may it be said I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to treat my body as you please.'

"Bonner.—'Now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more: yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes.'

"Chancellor.—'Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.'

"Philpot.—'My conscience bears me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causes me to do as I do; and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if, for mine own will only, I lose all the comforts I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast to damnation. But, I am sure, it is not my will, but God's will, who will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure.'

"Bonner.—'Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them.'

"And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done he bade me answer.

"Philpot.—'Your libel, my lord, contains two special points: the first pretends that I am of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon suspicion of heresy against me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office; which is not true, for I am not of your lordship's diocese: and the second is, that I being baptised in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptised into.'

"Bonner.—'What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are you now, I pray you?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is your diocese; yet I am not of your diocese.'

"Bonner.—'You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese; wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary.'

"Philpot.—'I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my being present now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither makes it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it comes by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do.'

"Bonner.—'What sayest thou to the second article, and to the others?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved.'

"Bonner.—'Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second, that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptised in?'

"Philpot.—'I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church which is of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth.'

"Bonner.—'Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you are now.'

"Philpot.—'I was not baptised either into my godfather's faith or my godmother's, but into the faith and into the church of Christ.'

"Bonner.—'How know you that?'

"Philpot.—'By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church.'

"Bonner.—'How long has your church stood, I pray you?'

"Philpot.—'Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors.'

"Chancellor.—'He will prove his church to be before Christ!'

"Philpot.—'If I did so I go not amiss; for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which makes one catholic church.'

"Chancellor.—'It is so indeed.'

"Philpot.—'I will desire no better rule than that which is often brought in by your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity.'

"Bonner.—'Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is! He would pretend to be very well versed in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.'

"Bonner.—'No, that thou shalt not have. St. Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high-priest, to which the rest must obey;' and they will allow no head, nor vicar-general.'

"Philpot.—'St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For, in his book 'De Simplicitate Prælatorum,' he saith the contrary: 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.''

"Bonner.—'Bring the book, thou shalt see the place against thee.'

"Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited the words, 'That it went not well with the church, where the high-priest was not obeyed;' and so he concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

"Philpot.—'You misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian; for he means not, by the high-priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing to Cornelius he means by the high-priest, himself, who was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Of which he complains to Cornelius, and saith, the church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order after the judgment of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'

"Bonner.—'Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth, even from St. Peter?'

"Philpot.—'No, that he was not. For by the word of God he has no more authority, than the bishop of London has.'

"Bonner.—'Was not St. Peter head of the church, and has not the bishop of Rome, who is his successor, the same authority?'

"Philpot.—'I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of St. Peter, has the same authority as St. Peter had: but St. Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had.'

"Chancellor.—'Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;' which he spake to no other of his disciples, but to him.'

"Philpot.—'St. Augustine answers otherwise to the objection, and saith, 'That if in St. Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Which if St. Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then St. Peter hath them not.''

"A Doctor.—'What will you say, if I can prove that Christ built his church upon St. Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?'

"Philpot.—'I know what St. Cyprian writes in that behalf; but he means nothing as you take it.'

"Bonner.—'I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Dr. Chedsey, about his examination, for I must go to the parliament house. And I will desire you to dine with me.'

"Chancellor.—'St. Peter and his successors, from the beginning have been allowed to be the supreme head of the church, and that by the scriptures, for Christ said to him, as mentioned by St. John thrice, 'Feed my sheep.''

"Philpot.—'That is no otherwise to be taken, than, 'Go ye and preach,' which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto St. Peter. And that Christ

said thrice, 'Feed my sheep,' it signifies nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the scripture, to take the words, 'Feed my sheep,' to mean to be Lord of the whole world?'

"In the meanwhile came in the Bachelor of Divinity, who is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor.

"Scholar.—'What will you say if I can shew you a Greek author called Theophylact to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?'

"Philpot.—'Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome; and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils.'

"Scholar.—'In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?'

"Philpot.—'In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome.'

"Scholar.—'Nay that is not so.'

"Philpot.—'Then I perceive you are better seen in words than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so, as you may see in the epitome of the councils.'

"Scholar.—'I will fetch Eusebius and shew the contrary, and the book of general councils.'

"He went into my lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the general councils he brought not, saying, that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to shew the same, and so shrank away confounded.

"Chancellor.—'The church of Rome has been always taken for the catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm condemn you. And why will you be so singular?'

"Philpot.—'I have said, and still do say, that if you are able to prove it to me, then I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you, with the learned men of the realm, do persecute the true church.'

"Chancellor.—'Do you hear what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil?'

"Chedsey.—'I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can shew you out of St. Augustine, in his epistle written to pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all others?'

"Philpot.—'I am sure you can shew no such thing.'

"And with that he brought the book of St. Augustine, and turned to the epistle, but he could not prove his assertion clearly, only by conjectures.

"Chedsey.—'Here you may see, that the council of Carthage, writing to Innocent, the bishop, calls the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this they write to him, certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the donatists, requiring his approval in the same, which they would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Augustine doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days: therefore, by the same reason of St. Augustine we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Philpot.—'I have considered how you weigh St. Augustine; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not sufficient to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant now that it is the apostolic see, in respect that St. Paul and St. Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the same apostolical see of true religion and sincerity as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; which if you could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see; otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ. And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write to Pope Innocent, certifying him of what was done in the general council, and desiring him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proves not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send it to some bishop, who from some impediment is not present, asking him to agree, and to set them forth in his diocese. Which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required. And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it makes nothing to prove it the catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine does. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops tends to this only, to prove the donatists to be heretics, because they began as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, besides that which was grounded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and by their successors, who all taught no such doctrine, nor such a church as the donatists. And if you are able to prove by the bishops of Rome, that such doctrine has not been taught by any of the successors of St. Peter's see, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force.'

"Chancellor.—'Well, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord left us. How say you, Master Philpot, to these articles?'

"Philpot.—'You have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles, because I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer than I have already given to the bishop.'

"Chancellor.—'Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.'"

Two days afterwards the bishop of London sent for Philpot, and after some conference, said:

"'I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I shall demand of thee.'

"Philpot.—'I will first know your lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein.'

"Bonner.—'What! we shall have an anabaptist of thee, who thinks it not lawful to swear before a judge?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I am no anabaptist, I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.'

"Bonner.—'I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese: (and here he bade call in more to bear him witness.) And I make thee (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles,' to which (when he had read them) he admonished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, 'Bring me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him.'

"In the meanwhile came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, 'Master Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain,' and so he read a number of feigned articles. That I denied baptism to be necessary to them

that were born of christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds, and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation whatever a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

"Philpot.—'Ha! my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me with, but you must be obliged to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your father. The scripture says, 'That God will destroy all men that speak lies.' And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an heretic, and to be burned an hundred times, if it were possible.'

"Bonner.—'I do object them to thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them.'

"Philpot.—'Then it was not justly said of your lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since I hold scarcely one of these articles you have read, in form as they are written.'

"Bonner.—'How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or not?'

"Philpot.—'I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things, and then afterwards, being lawfully called in judgment, I will shew my mind fully thereof, and not otherwise.'

"Bonner.—'Well, then, I will make thy companions be witnesses against thee? where are they? come!'

"Keeper.—'They are here, my lord.'

"Bonner.—'Come hither, sirs: hold them a book, you shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengthens you in your errors.'

"Prisoners.—'My lord, we will not swear, except we know to what: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.'

"Philpot.—'I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses; for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law an heretic cannot be a witness.'

"Bonner.—'Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And, Master Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another.'

"Philpot.—'You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you will.'

"Prisoners.—'No, my lord.'

"Bonner.—'No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or not. I ween they are anabaptists, Master Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear before a judge.'

"Philpot.—'We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, but not as we are now, in a blind corner.'

Bonner.—'Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves, and I do here, in the presence of Master Sheriff, object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when you shall be examined, as you shall be by and by examined by my register, and some of my chaplains.'

"Prisoners.—'My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burthen us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.'

"Bonner.—'Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men.'

"And so he rose up and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff. And after this we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning till night: and the keeper at night, upon favour, let me out. On the Sunday after I was separated from the other prisoners, and sent to the Lollard's Tower."

The eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the Bishop's chapel.

"The next day I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, one of the queen's council, Master archdeacon of London, and many more, and the bishop spake unto me as follows:

"'Sir, here I object and lay to you in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, the articles here in this libel contained,' and he openly read them.

"When I would have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I wished when he had spoken. He then added, 'I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my lord of St. David's, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, on your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and irreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Now, sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid to you, directly, yea or nay.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words: besides this, you promise me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?'

"Bonner.—'Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time.'

"The cause of this was, as I guess, that he saw so many persons there gathered to hear the examination.

"Philpot.—'Then the two words which you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge.'

"Bonner.—'Indeed, Master Mordant, he has appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands.'

"Philpot.—'You will do what you please, my lord, you have the law in your hands.'

"Bonner.—'Wilt thou answer or not?'

"Philpot.—'I will not answer otherwise than I have said.'

"Bonner.—'Register, note his answer that he makes.'

"Philpot.—'Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law; you may as well do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law: such tyranny was never seen as you use now adays; God, of his mercy, destroy your cruel kingdom!' And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

"After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house."

The Ninth Examination of John Philpot before Bishop Bonner and his Chaplains.

"In the morning of the next day I was brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the bishop had heard his mass, and afterwards he sent up for me into his parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, desiring me to draw near him, and said:

"'I am this day to tarry at home from the parliament house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege

the law gives me, which is liberty not to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave to, until I am compelled otherwise.'

"Bonner.—'Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appeal when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the meanwhile to these articles.'

"Philpot.—'No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal is tried.'

"Bonner.—'Well, thou shalt hear them,' and he began to read them.

"I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book, and after he had read them over, he said to me:

"'I have read them over, although it has not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing that thou mayest do well enough if thou choose.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your lordship can shew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow it.'

"He then urged me to return to his church, and perceiving that he flattered me, I thought it good to give him some shew of relenting, that I might give him and his hypocritical generation a public foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as are unlearned, and are not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, 'My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of my opinions, and offered to defend them; therefore, my lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning, or else what will they say, but either for fear, or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? and if I hear any kind of learning openly shewed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me.'

"Bonner.—'Yea, marry, now you speak somewhat like a reasonable man. You might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house; call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.'

"Bonner.—'What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?'

"Philpot.—'No, my lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution; and first it must be proved a sacrament before there can be any presence granted.'

"Bonner.—'Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Augustine defines it?'

"Philpot.—'Yes, verily, that it is.'

"Bonner.—'Then I make this argument; a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: the mass is a sign of a holy thing, therefore it is a sacrament.'

"Philpot.—'You must add this to your proposition, as St. Augustine means, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing *instituted of God, and commanded*; for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament.'

"Bonner.—'I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution.'

"Philpot.—'I deny that, my lord.'

"Bonner.—'I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will shew you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without, there? Call me Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains here!'

"'Here, my lord, Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and the archdeacon was here even now.'

"Bonner.—'Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write the answers he makes to every one of them. I will go and examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.'

"Cosins.—'I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies; I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?'

"Philpot.—'Master Cosins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me; but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.'

"Cosins.—'No, will you? Why, what is that then that is in question between my lord and you.'

"Philpot.—'Whether your mass be a sacrament or not?'

"Cosins.—'What, the mass to be a sacrament? Whoever doubted it?'

"Philpot.—'If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it, for I doubt it much.'

"Cosins.—'Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; therefore it is a sacrament.'

"Philpot.—'I deny that.'

"Cosins.—'What! then there is no reasoning with you.'

"Thus Master Cosins gave over for want of further proof. And then the mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and Master Harpsfield came out from my lord, with St. Augustine's epistles, saying:

"'My lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writes; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproves them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holidays.'

"Philpot.—'I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing against me, neither any thing that makes for the proof of your sacrament of the mass.'

"Harpsfield.—'No; does he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration of it? what can be spoken more plain?'

"Philpot.—'St. Augustine means the celebration of the *communion*, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private *mass*, which you of late years have erected instead of it; for this word mass has been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *Missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell.'

"Cosins.—'No! cannot? that is marvellous.'

"Philpot.—'Then tell me if you can.'

"But Master Cosins and my mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Master Harpsfield for help, and at length he spake.'

"Harpsfield.—'You think it comes of the Hebrew word *Massah*, as if none were versed in the Hebrew but you.'

"Philpot.—'I have not gone so long to school, as to derive the signification of *Missa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew! but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the communion to be called *Missa, à mittendo*, of such things as the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the minister in the celebration of the communion to pray to God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they sent for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *Missa*. At which celebration, all that were present communicated under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can shew that your mass is used as it was then, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion), prove your private mass to be a sacrament.'

"Harpsfield.—'What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame! speak it not.'

"Philpot.—'I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.'

"Cosins.—'You are such a fellow as I have never heard of, you will not have the mass to be a sacrament! you are no man for me to reason with. Come, let us go.'

"Harpsfield.—'Master Philpot, you and I have been old acquaintance a long time; we were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford, many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well as myself, and I pray you to think so of me.'

"Philpot.—'I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, as I am sure you are, I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you. For before God I tell you plainly, you are deceived, and maintain false religion; and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time, I give you warning, for else in the day of judgment I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together. You know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth.'

"Harpsfield.—'What! will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?'

"Philpot.—'My faith depends not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned in God's word.'

"Harpsfield.—'Well, I will talk with you no more at present, but pray to God to open your heart.'

"Philpot.—'I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past.'

"Harpsfield.—'Ho! Keeper, take him away with you.'"

The Tenth Examination of John Philpot before Bishop Bonner, his Register, and Others.

"The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his register, and before Doctor Chedsey, in the presence of two gentlemen and a priest. The bishop said,

"'I here lay to this man in your presence, requiring you to be a witness against him, these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward's days; also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; also, I lay to him that he has despised the censures of the church, and has stood accursed more than a year, and never sought absolution. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my lord chancellor?'

"Philpot.—'I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law, being never personally cited.'

"Bonner.—'Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?'

"Philpot.—'More than a twelvemonth and a half.'

"Bonner.—'Lo! you may hear what he saith; write it.'

"Philpot.—'Also let him write that I did require of my lord chancellor, who excommunicated me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was excommunicated because I was an heretic, as it pleased him to call me.'

"Gentleman.—'Why do you not require absolution at my lord's hands here, now?'

"Philpot.—'Because he is not mine ordinary, neither has by the law any thing to do with me.'

"Bonner.—'What an obstinate fool is this? I tell thee I will be thine ordinary whether thou wilt or not.'

"Philpot.—'And because of this your unrighteous force towards me I have appealed from you, and require you, Master Register, that my appeal may be entered in writing.'

"Bonner.—'Have you ever heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocese.'

"Philpot.—'I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese.'

"Bonner.—'I pray you, may not a man be of two dioceses at once?'

"Philpot.—'No, he cannot.'

"Bonner.—'Lo! will you see what an ignorant fool this is? I tell thee, a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, thou shouldst be of my diocese; or if thou wert not born, but hadst a dignity here, then thou art to be counted of my diocese, or else by thy habitation in my diocese.'

"Philpot.—'In none of these respects I am of your lordship's diocese.'

"Bonner.—'What wager wilt thou lay? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?'

"Philpot.—'But what shall I win if you do not?'

"Bonner.—'I will give thee my bishopric if I prove it not.'

"Philpot.—'Yea, but who shall deliver it to me if I win?'

"Bonner.—'Thou art an arrogant fool; enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must begone to the parliament house.'

"After this, a priest standing by spake to me, asking whether I was kin to my Lord Rich.

"Philpot.—'He said so himself to me the other day, but how I know not.'

"Chedsey.—'I heard him say he was his near kinsman.'

"Priest.—'Why, then, you and I must be of kin, for he is my near kinsman. How chance it that you and I be of contrary judgments?'

"Philpot.—'It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, 'I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law,' for my truth's sake.'

"Priest.—'You hold against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass.'

"Philpot.—'If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you.'

"Priest.—'What! prove it a sacrament! Does not St. Paul say, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him?'"

"Philpot.—'That concerns not your sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that are prepared for all faithful believers.'

"Priest.—'Why, then, I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived.'

"Philpot.—'You ought not to swear; I understand St. Paul as well as you.' Then I showed him a Greek Testament, with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted with.'

"Priest.—'I knew Greek once as well as you, I care not which you read.'

"Philpot.—'You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other.' With this he departed in a fury."

The Eleventh Examination of John Philpot, on St. Andrew's day, before the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Master Christopherson; and Doctor Chedsey; Master Morgan, of Oxford; Master Hussey, of the Arches; Doctor Weston; Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon; Master Cosins; and Master Johnson, Register to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.

"The bishop of London met me in his hall, and brought me before the lords, saying,

"'My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man; he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well, but he will wilfully cast away himself.'

"Durham.—'Will you conform yourself to the ca-

tholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and heresies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now does.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in it. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I, with others, these twenty years, have been taught another manner of faith than you now endeavour to compel us to; wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh it, and to hear how it agrees with God's word. For St. Paul says, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.''

"Chichester.—'And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will show him how he takes the saying of St. Paul amiss, that they ought not to be compelled to believe. St. Paul speaks of *infidels*, and not of the *faithful*; and so St. Augustine, writing against the donatists, saith 'That the faithful may be compelled to believe.''

"Philpot.—'St. Bernard takes the same sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that 'Faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined.''

"Durham.—'Will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us which you were baptised in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do, and then you may be out of trouble? I perceive you are learned, and it is a pity but you should do well.'

"Philpot.—'I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptised into, and in that I will live and die.'

"Durham.—'That is well said; if you hold there you cannot but do well.'

"Chichester.—'Yea, my lord, but he means otherwise than you do; are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or not?'

"Philpot.—'I cannot tell, certainly, what faith they were of, but I am of the faith I was baptised into, which is the faith of Christ; for I was not baptised in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.'

"Durham.—'How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or not, and be of one church with us?'

"Philpot.—'My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there has been always two churches.'

"Chichester.—'Nay, that is not so; there is but one catholic church.'

"Philpot.—'I shall desire your lordships to hear my meaning. For I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there has been joined to the same true church, a false church; and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, for Cain persecuted and slew his brother, in which (as St. Augustine witnesses) is represented the false and true church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed to them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, then rose the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themselves an altar at Bethel, and set up golden calves, and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding, God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them.'

"Chichester.—'I will grant you before the coming of Christ, there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot shew it to be so by the scriptures.'

"Philpot.—'Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false church?'

Chichester.—'Yea, but I mean after the gospel was written, where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?'

"Philpot.—'I remember in the New Testament mention is made of two churches, as it appears in the Revelations, and also St. Paul to the Thessalonians makes mention that Antichrist, with his false generation, shall sit in the temple of God.'

"Durham.—'It is almost night, my lord of London; I must be gone.'

"Bonner.—'Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while. I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man with, whereof I would your lordships to be made privy, and I have them written here in a libel, I pray you sit down again. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, 'The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar on earth.' Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine, that the Spirit is Christ's vicar on earth?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, it is not my saying, it is a better man's than mine: for I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers. And as I remember, it is the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not be ashamed of, nor you offended at.'

"Bonner.—'Also I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy father, and was accursed of thy mother in her deathbed, as I can bring witness thereof.'

"Philpot.—'O Lord! what blasphemy is this! Hath your lordship nothing of truth to charge me with, but such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at St. Paul's Cross, whatever you will have me. My lords, I pray you consider how my lord of London has proceeded against me.'

"Chichester.—'They are beside the purpose.'

"Durham.—'My lord, I must needs bid you farewell.'

"Bonner.—'Nay, my lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your lordship to hear before you go. This man has taken upon him to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called Master Green, in my house, and has made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He tore the letter when he saw my man went to search him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a copy to be written.'

"He read the torn letter: the letter was the examination of Master Green, before the bishop of London, in the presence of Master Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, whose ready answers in the scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himself, and many others.'

"Philpot.—'Your lordship mistakes: this letter, as your lordship may perceive, was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how Master Green fared at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need fear.'

"Bonner.—'Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.'

"Philpot.—'No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend; and especially seeing you will take all things at the worst. Neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write to me upon the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.'

"Bonner.—'I would like to see any man so hardy as to put up thine appeal.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I cannot tell what God will work. I have written it, fare it as it may.'

"Bonner.—'My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou, have I not?'

"Philpot.—'If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman, and an archdeacon) and in a coal-house, for the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are in these days.'

"Bonner.—'Lo! what a varlet is this! Besides this, yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose.'

"Philpot.—'Your lordship needs not mistrust the matter; it is nothing but to make ink.'

"Bonner.—'More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife be put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose judge you? How sayest thou, didst thou not so?'

"Philpot.—'I cannot deny but that there was half a pig sent me, and under the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know; your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife since I came to prison. Therefore all these are but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal.'

"Bonner.—'I have here to lay to his charge, chiefest of all, his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, Doctor Weston? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or not?'

"Weston.—'Yea, my lord, that he did.'

"Durham.—'My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Master Philpot, methinks you have said well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church; I pray you do so, and you shall do right well.'

"Philpot.—'I have purposed so to do, however I fared, by God's grace.'

"Christopherson.—'Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember, and talked somewhat with you of these matters, and I find you now the same man that you were then, I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that are better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit.'

"Philpot.—'Where you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And where you would have me follow better learned men than myself: indeed, I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you; but faith and the wisdom of God consists not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul desires that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can shew by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatever he be.'

"Christopherson.—'Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can shew out of him, 'That the church of Rome is such that unbelief cannot approach it?''

"Philpot.—'I am sure you cannot shew any such saying out of St. Cyprian.'

"Christopherson.—'What will you lay thereon?'

"Philpot.—'I will lay as much as I am able to make.

"Morgan.—'Will you promise to recant, if I shew his saying.'

"Philpot.—'My faith shall not hang upon any doctor's saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by God's word.'

"Christopherson then pointed out these words in one of the epistles of St. Cyprian, 'But unto the Romans, whose faith by the testimony of the apostle is praised, unbelief can have no access.'

"Bonner (returning).—'Where is the place? let me see. By my faith here is a place. Come hither, sir, what say you to this? Nay, I will help this place with St. Paul's own testimony, where he saith, 'That their faith is spoken of throughout the world; how can you answer this?'

"Philpot.—'Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider all the words of Cyprian; for he speaks of such as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With such as are praised by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, unbelief can have no place. And if you can shew, that the faith which the church of Rome holds now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then I will say that St. Cyprian then said, that infidelity can have no place there; but otherwise it makes not absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you take it.'

"Morgan.—'All the doctors are on our side, and against you, altogether.'

"Philpot.—'Yea, so you say when you are in your pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me, I will venture with you a recantation, that I will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my side than you shall be able for yours, and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are ye content?'

"Christopherson.—'It is but folly to reason with you, you will believe no man but yourself.'

"Philpot.—'I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith.'

"Morgan.—'What say you, do we not believe well of the sacrament?'

"Philpot.—'It is the thing which, among all others, you most abuse.'

"Morgan.—'Wherein, I pray you?'

"Philpot.—'I have told you before, in the convocation-house.'

"Morgan.—'Yes, marry; indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping.'

"Philpot.—'I did weep indeed, and so did Christ over Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed, if you consider the cause of my weeping.'

"Morgan.—'What! do you make yourself Christ?'

"Philpot.—'No, sir, I make not myself Christ; but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foresaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare.'

"Christopherson.—'Wherein do we abuse the sacrament?'

"Philpot.—'As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds as you ought, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution.'

"Christopherson.—'Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?'

"Philpot.—'I believe not so; for if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only; for he instituted nothing superfluous, and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, since the scripture teaches otherwise.'

"Christopherson.—'What if I can prove it by scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles, in one or two places, where it is written that the apostles continued 'In prayer and in breaking of bread,' which is meant of the sacrament.'

"Philpot.—'Do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, means the whole use of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, *synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?'

"Morgan.—'I would ask you how old your religion is?'

"Philpot.—'It is older than yours by a thousand years and more.'

"Morgan.—'I pray you where was it fifty years ago?'

"Philpot.—'It was in Germany, as appears by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliff, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more, did burn for preaching the truth; and before their time and since has been, although by persecution it has been put to silence.'

"Morgan.—'That is a marvellous strange religion, no man can tell certainly where to find it.'

"Philpot.—'It ought to be no marvel to you to see God's truth through violence oppressed; for it has been so from the beginning from time to time, as it appears by history, and as Christ's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy has by violence the upper hand. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions.'

"Morgan.—'I tell thee, Philpot, thou art an heretic,

and shalt be burned for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell-fire.'

"Philpot.—'I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I pass not this for thy fire and fagots, neither, I thank God, my lord, do I stand in fear of them: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire which thou threatenest me is thy portion, and is prepared for thee, unless thou speedily repent, and for such hypocrites as thou art.'

"Morgan.—'What! thou speakest upon wine, thou hast tippled well to-day, by likelihood?'

"Philpot.—'So, when the apostles were full of the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God, the Jews said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say.'

"Morgan.—'Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we.'

"Philpot.—'Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But you call upon the secular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, *De hæreticis comburendis*, to burn heretics?'

"Harpsfield,—'I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, Master Philpot.'

"Cosins.—'Neither I, in all my life.'

"Philpot.—'You are not able to prove me a heretic, by one jot of God's word.'

"They then ordered me back to my prison, and as I was passing them I spoke to the bishop.

"Philpot.—'My lord, I pray you, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine.'

"Bonner.—'Your bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good.'

"Philpot.—'I pray your lordship, then, that you would let me have candle-light.'

"Bonner.—'To what purpose, I pray you?'

"Philpot.—'The nights are long, and I would fain occupy myself about somewhat, and not spend my time idly.'

"Bonner.—'You may pray, then.'

"Philpot.—'I cannot well say my prayers without light.'

"Bonner.—'Can you not say your paternoster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you get none.'

"Philpot.—'I had rather have a candle than your meat and drink, but seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light.'

The Twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday, the 4th of December, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.

"In the morning I was brought down to the wardrobe adjoining the chapel, and a while after in came three of the bishops' chaplains, saying:—

"Chaplains.—'Master Philpot, my lord hath sent us unto you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a notable learned man, called Doctor Chedsey, going to mass: therefore we also pray you, good Master Philpot, be content to come.'

"Philpot.—'I wonder my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing he knows I am a man (by your law) that cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicated.'

"Chaplains.—'Your excommunication is but upon a contumacy, and my lord will give dispensation if you will come.'

"Philpot.—'My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands.'

"And after mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his register, recited the articles.

"Bonner.—'Sir, what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against thee as an heretic?'

"Philpot.—'Why my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses are examined? that is against your own law.'

"Bonner.—'See, what a fool thou art in the law. I need only recite the depositions of the witnesses, if I choose.'

"Philpot.—'It appears, indeed, you may do what you choose.'

"Bonner.—'Thou art a naughty fellow, and hast done much hurt, and hast seduced other poor fellows here in prison with thee, by thy comforting of them in their errors, and hast made them rejoice and sing with thee.'

"Philpot.—'Yea, my lord, we shall sing, when you, and such others as you, shall cry, woe! woe! except you repent.'

"Bonner.—'What an arrogant fool is this! I will handle thee like a heretic and that shortly.'

"Philpot.—'I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me.'

"Bonner.—'Have him away; this is a knave indeed!'

"I was had into the wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.'

"Bonner.—'Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to be talked with by many learned men, yea, and honourable, both temporal and spiritual, and it avails nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee before so many: for they say, thou gloriest to have many to talk with. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyself; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past shall be forgiven, and you received to favour.'

"Worcester.—'We are sent (as you here have heard by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it; and of the good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, whilst it is offered, and be not a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, who now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. There have many very learned men talked with you: why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Be not of such arrogancy, but have humility, and remember there is no salvation but in the church.'

"Bangor.—'I think my lord hath said wonderfully well unto you, that you should not think yourself so well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of so good wit, but others are as wise as you, neither of so good memory, but others have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come home to us again. I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion. And I was the same manner of man then that I am now, and a great many more. For fear we held our peace, and bore with the time. Wherefore, Master Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome.'

"Philpot.—'Where, my lord, you say, that religion is to be disliked, which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you give men not occasion to think the same by yours at this day, which had none other argument to stand by, but violence. If you can shew me any good sufficient ground, whereby to satisfy my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, I will gladly be of it; otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years.'

"Worcester.—'I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with any yet in my diocese, but after once communication had with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good, as you may if you will. For as I understand you were archdeacon of Winchester, you may do much good in that part of the country if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church.'

"After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spake before dinner, and would not go from it?'

"Worcester.—'Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?'

"Philpot.—'If you can prove that church to be the catholic church, I will.'

"Worcester.—'Did not Christ say to Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?' Which signifies that he gave him more authority than the rest.'

"Philpot.—'That saying pertains not to the authority of Peter, above others, but declares what Christ requires of his beloved apostles, that they should, with all diligence, preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation. But the bishop of Rome little regards the spiritual feeding, and does not feed Christ's flock as Peter did.'

"Worcester.—'How can you tell that?'

"Philpot.—'I have been there, and I could not learn of all his countrymen, that he ever preaches.'

"Worcester.—'Though he preaches not one way, he preaches another, by procuring good order for the church.'

"Philpot.—'I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaves what he is commanded by Christ, and sets forth his own decrees to deface the gospel.'

"Worcester.—'It is the wickedness that you have seen at Rome, that causes you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further.'

"Thus they departed, and after them came Doctor Chedsey, and Doctor Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more.'

"Chedsey.—'Here is the archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel; I pray you to hear him.'

"Philpot.—'I will refuse to hear none that will counsel me any good.'

"Wright.—'I would wish you, Master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit: you see a great many learned men against you.'

"Philpot.—'I am of the true catholic church, and will live and die in it: and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of it.'

"Chedsey.—'What proof would you have? I will prove to you our church to have its being and foundation in the scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors.'

"Philpot.—'Give me your hand, doctor, prove that, and I hold with you.'

"Chedsey.—'If I had my books here, I could soon prove it. I hear you do confess a real presence: but I will be hanged if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by.'

"Philpot.—'What I have said, I cannot deny, whatever you say.'

"Chedsey.—'If there be a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ, which you will not grant, I am sure.'

"Philpot.—'I deny the argument, for I do not grant by transubstantiation any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers.'

"Chedsey.—'I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by St. Augustine.'

"In the beginning of his text St. Augustine seems to approve his assertion; but I bade him read to the end, and there St. Augustine declares most evidently that it was (*quodammodo,*) after a certain manner, that evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really, or indeed, as the good does. 'And thus,' said I, 'all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, are quite against you, if you did rightly weigh them.'

"Chedsey.—'You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or not.'

"Philpot.—'Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence.'

The Thirteenth Examination of John Philpot, before the Archbishop of York, and several other Bishops.

"The Thursday after, I was called before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester began to talk with me.

"Chichester.—'I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can to come to the catholic church, and to learn to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that are better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them.'

"Philpot.—'We must all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that both by your years and great exercise, do excel: but faith consists not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which God's word teaches. Therefore I will be glad to hear both by your lordship, and by any other, the true doctrine, and to thank you, that it pleases you to take pains therein.'

"Chichester.—'How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?'

"Philpot.—'St. Paul saith, He learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Which is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel takes not its authority of man, but of God only.'

"Chichester.—'Doth not St. Augustine say, 'I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me thereto.''

"Philpot.—'I grant, that the authority of the church moves the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church gives not the Word his authority; for the Word has his authority only from God, and not of men. For first, the Word has his being before the church, and the Word is the foundation of the church, and the foundation is first sure, before the building can be steadfast.'

"Chichester.—'I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel.'

"Philpot.—'I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God now appoints an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that are taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation.'

"Here came in the archbishop of York and the bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed a while together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying:

"York.—'Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; charging you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and on the meek, and such as tremble at my word?'

"Philpot.—'I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatever truth you shall speak unto me.'

"York.—'What are the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?'

"Philpot.—'My lord, if it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church.'

"York.—'Indeed, that is the head we need to begin at, for the church being truly known we shall sooner agree.'

"Philpot.—'If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it shall do

much to persuade me to what you would have me incline to.'

"York.—'Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?'

"Philpot.—'It is a congregation of people dispersed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments, and all other things according to the same.'

"York.—'Your definition is of many words to no purpose.'

"Philpot.—I 'do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.'

"York.—'Is the church visible or invisible.'

"Philpot.—'It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word.'

"York.—'The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world, which this word catholic doth well express; for what is catholic else? doth it not signify universal?'

"Philpot.—'The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this wise, 'The church is called therefore catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.' '

"York.—'Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received by all christian nations, for the most part.'

"Philpot.—'The church was catholic in the apostles' time, yet was it not universally received of the world; but because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same, were counted the catholic church. And St. Augustine in another place writes, that the catholic church is that which believes aright.'

"York.—'If you will learn, I will shew you that St. Augustine, writing against the donatists, proves the catholic church by two principal points, which are universality and succession of bishops in one apostolical see from time to time.'

"Philpot.—'I deny that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.'

"York.—'I will prove it.'

"With that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places about the church, and recited one or two out of St. Augustine, and especially out of his epistle written against the donatists, where St. Augustine manifestly proves that the donatists were not the catholic church, because they have no succession of bishops in their opinion, nor universality.'

"Philpot.—'My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it makes nothing against me, neither comes it to your purpose; for I will stand to the trial of St. Augustine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For he speaks of universality joined with truth, and of faithful successors of St. Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the see of Rome now, as he might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force, otherwise not.'

"York.—'How answer you to this argument? that Rome hath known a succession of bishops; which your church hath not.'

"Philpot.—'I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by; for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops, succession of doctrine also, (as St. Augustine does) I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church; but a local succession only is not available.'

"York.—'You will have no church then, I see well.'

"Philpot.—'Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true.'

"Chichester.—'Why, are there two catholic churches then?'

"Philpot.—'No. I know there is but one catholic church, but there have been, and are at this present, those that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which are not so, as it is written, 'There be they that call themselves apostles, and are not, but the synagogue of Satan, and liars.' And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which were together, and the one lost her child, and afterwards went about to claim the true mother's child.'

"The same day, before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Doctor Chedsey, and other his chaplains, and his servants, he said:

"Bonner.—'I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you; tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man, or not, and whereupon you chiefly stand.'

"Philpot.—'I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, whereon I chiefly stand, requiring a sure proof of the church to which you call me.'

"Harpsfield.—'St. Augustine, writing against the donatists, declareth four special notes to know the church by; the consent of many nations; the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity; succession of bishops, and universality.'

"Philpot.—'I like St. Augustine's four points for the trial of the catholic church; for it can abide every point together, which your church of Rome cannot.'

"Harpsfield.—'Have not we the succession of bishops in the see and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?'

"Philpot.—'St. Augustine does not put succession of bishops only to be sufficient, but he adds the use of the sacraments according to antiquity, and doctrine universally taught and received by most nations from the beginning of the primitive church, which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours; therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, which you here bring, mine is the catholic church, and not yours.'

"Harpsfield.—'It is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him, for he is irrecoverable.'

"Philpot.—'That is a good shift for you to run to, when you are confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say.'

Thus have I at large set forth as many of John Philpot's examinations and conferences as are come to light, faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was examined several other times after this, both openly in the consistory at St. Paul's and also secretly in the bishop's house; yet what was there said is not sufficiently known, either because Philpot was not himself suffered to write, or else his writings are kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise than as the bishop's register has noted them, whose handling of such matters is very slender, so that little light can be gathered; however, such as it is, I thought it good to put it forth.

The Last Examinations of John Philpot in Open Judgment, with his Final Condemnation by Bishop Bonner, in the Consistory at St. Paul's.

"On the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at St. Paul's, Bishop Bonner caused him to be brought thither before him and others. The bishop, first speaking to Master Philpot, said:

"Bonner.—'Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected to you, these three things you were especially charged with: first, 'That you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled. Secondly, that you have blasphemously spoken against the

sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And thirdly, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod, you have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now to tell you truly, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if you so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can shew why I should not now give sentence against you?'

"Philpot.—'Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, to your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of it. And as to the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against it. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of King Henry VIII. as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable to you, otherwise not.'"

Then Bonner, not being able with all his learned doctors to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church.

"Philpot.—'You, and all your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.'"

Upon these words, the bishop dismissed him, commanding that on Monday, the sixteenth of the same month, he should again be brought there, to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him.

At which day and time, John Philpot being presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, after a Latin prayer and some conference as to his authority, began to recite the following exhortation:

"'Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same; and moreover, if you which heretofore, especially in the years 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if you, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, you shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be; if not, you shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic, as you are indeed. Now do you choose what you will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably.

"'*Ita est quod Edm. Bonner Episc. Lond.*'

"The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned to the lord mayor, and said:

"Philpot.—'To you my lord mayor bearing the sword, I now speak, I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word; but I am sorry to see, that that authority, which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and you,' speaking to the bishops, 'pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet are the very antichrists and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God has given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

"Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church, which you pretend to be the catholic church, is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonian, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.

"As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention; and that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and you shall never prove it by God's word; therefore, you have deceived the people with your sacrifice of the mass.

"Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone; and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

"And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove to me that it is the catholic church, which you shall never do, and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But you are idolaters, and daily commit idolatry. You are also traitors; for in your pulpits you rail upon good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward, who have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if you can shew me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield to you; but I pray God to turn the king and queen's hearts from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen.'

"Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to shew where the true church was, saying:

"Coventry.—'The true catholic church is set upon a high hill.'

"Philpot.—'Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonian church.'

"Coventry.—'No; in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.'

"Philpot.—'Will you know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you are.'

"Coventry.—'Your church of Geneva, which you call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of.'

"Philpot.—'I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, for it is one, catholic, and apostolic, and follows the doctrine that the apostles preached; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days, was also according to it. And are you not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, contrary to the true catholic church?'"

After further controversy, the bishops waxing weary, and being not able either by God's word, or by the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him,

endeavoured by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. When Bonner saw these words would take no effect, he demanded of Philpot whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic. In the end the bishop, seeing his immovable steadfastness in the truth, pronounced publicly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading of it, Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

While Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first, whether he will recant or not." Then Bonner said, "O, let him alone;" and so read the sentence. And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs, and then two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah, dear master!" Then Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again." The officers thrust him away, and took his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!" and so the officers delivered him to the keeper.

Then Alexander, the chief keeper, commanded him to be set upon the block, and to put as many irons upon his legs as he could bear.

On Tuesday, the 17th of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit to the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight o'clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah, dear master, farewell!" His master said to him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution. When he was entering into Smithfield he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?" and then with an obedient heart he said meekly the 106th, 107th, 108th psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every one of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to the fagots; so on the 18th of December, suffered this holy martyr, in the midst of the flames, yielding his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

Thus hast thou, an account of the life and acts of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison by his keeper; but yet so happily were these writings of his conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishop, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A Letter of John Philpot to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists, and to serve God after his Word.

"It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present, in England, the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which they have been so plentifully taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the truth thereof. If that earth be cursed of God, which often receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same? If the Lord will require, in the day of judgment, a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us, (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life,) if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession? God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men, to the honour of his name. It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul saith (Rom. x. 10.), 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to shew forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, 'Either make the tree good and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' So that the person who knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And not all they who say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doeth the will of the Father. And Christ says, 'Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders in the true church of God, building upon the rock, and not on the sand, and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weather the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, 'The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which are not overcome.'

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour, for example, did declare to St. Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

"Likewise, the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, 'Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou savourest not the things that be of

God.' 'Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me?' For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain, in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity; we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both the learned and unlearned.

"Now since the time is come that we must shew our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in which through knowledge we are ingrafted; from which if we fall, by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength; but they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, who with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now who so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions; for which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware of having any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

"God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith; which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore, wherever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, 'I have hated the congregations of evil-doers, and will not sit with the wicked.'

"In the book of Revelation the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not in deed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also we must consider that our bodies are the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teaches) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted whoredom by the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God than any other sin.

"Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, are said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which are not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery?

"Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul said to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul.

"Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary; whereby it appears to others who are weak, that we allow the same, and so contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea! Such are traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the only head, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God wills us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commands us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

"St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, 'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul.' St. John in the Revelation tells us plainly that none of those, who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or in their hands, that is, apparently or obediently.

"St. Paul, in writing to the Philippians affirms, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we ought not to touch any unclean thing, which signifieth that our outward conversation ought to be pure and undefiled, as well as the inward, so that with a clean spirit and purified body we might serve God in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life.

"Finally, in the 18th chapter of Revelation, God commands us plainly to depart from the Babylonian synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians exhorts us, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walks disorderly, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

"Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures, which are written for your instruction and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which are utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing; and if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ, and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil, and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites), where there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will say for their vain excuse, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the scripture teaches us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. True it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him; for it is written in the Psalms, 'The mercy of God is on them

that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him. Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil, and do what is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

"Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for their sins, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they are wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is due to God; and with St. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, although they are evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word, otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death therefore, as we have the apostles for our example, who answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.'

"Also, Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment, although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there are, that for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatever I do. But such are great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may come; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith. God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation according to God's word, and not set ourselves up, and charge it upon God to do wickedly as we will; for the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness, after that they are once called to the true knowledge of the truth. For saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, (i. 4,) 'According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.'

"Therefore, St. Peter exhorteth us through good works to make our calling and election sure to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel; and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.

"Let all vain excuses be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded! The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

"But what said I, conscience! many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *conscientia*, which agreeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

"And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, 'Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified.' And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments, a pure heart loves and fears God above all, and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, who hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

"John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench for the testimony of the truth. A.D. 1555."

A Letter to John Careless, profitable to be read by all them who mourn in Repentance for their Sins.

"The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil. Amen.

"That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any other, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: O, that I had the like contrite heart! God soften my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray to be a partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which are the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, who was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her sevenfold sins?

"Be of good comfort, therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow be joyful, for the Spirit of God is with thee: 'Blessed are they (saith Christ) that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' They who went forth and wept, saith the prophet, such shall come again having their hearts full of gladness. And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of our sins, is an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by over-much sorrow. St. Paul would not have the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men who have no hope, such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God to this end by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall much more abound, and bringeth them down unto hell that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, who with hope is sorry for his sins.

"But know, brother, that as often as we do go about,

by the help of God's Spirit, to do what is good, Satan layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mire with the detestable weed of desperation the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You are not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

"Be not discontented that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The spirit, which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lie wait at your heels, to give you a fall unawares; but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever: and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsakes. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you with. When this strong Goliah hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth: and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you to be unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the head: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, 'Resist the devil, and he will fly from you.' It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you, and not go away as yet, or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive a defeat at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory, for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults, which are occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repents him of his sins, they are forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? First, your calling to the gospel, and after your calling, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own child, who can hurt you? Be not cast down for these temptations; neither make your sincere friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

"Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be careless, why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right hand, that you should not be moved. Behold the goodness of God towards me! I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they charged me with, in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to this wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F—, and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty men! I would, for your sake, the unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop very plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and what I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written with pain. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

"Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ.

"JOHN PHILPOT."

A Letter of John Philpot to certain Godly Brethren.

"The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end, Amen.

"I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, although you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal you have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore, that you may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted with in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to desire you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves for temptations; and to beware that ye, who yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue in well doing is the peculiar property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved: for so saith our Saviour in his gospel, blessed are they that persevere to the end.

"Let not, therefore, this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for which the wise merchantman in the gospel doth sell all that he hath, and buys the same. God, in the third chapter of Revelations, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there, is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

"Therefore, God commands us there to hold it fast, that no man might deprive us of our crown of glory, and St. Peter tells us, 'Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations: that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.' St. Paul to the Hebrews shews us that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by which God giveth all them that are exercised in the same for his

sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle it is written, 'And ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you as unto children, My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou are rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth,' &c. Christ, in the gospel of St. John, cautions his disciples to look for afflictions, saying, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me ye shall have peace.' And, therefore, in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke he tells them to look up, and lift up their heads, for their redemption drew nigh. And, in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as are afflicted for him, 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'

"Oh how glorious are the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they are, and to judge uprightly. Then, doubtless, we should think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes.' Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life for the hope of a better reward: which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and are never ashamed thereof.

"Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof; but the reward of the righteous, after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, doth plainly affirm that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be shewed unto us.

"Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, which are sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in which we might set forth by true confession, his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, who so earnestly seek our spoil and death, but do as Christ did when Judas and that wicked company, came to apprehend him, saying, 'I am he whom ye seek.' It is commanded us in the gospel, not to fear them who kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. We are bound to observe this commandment as much as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will adhere. There is none worthy to be counted a christian, except he can find in his heart, for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth an hundredfold more in this life, (as our Saviour said to Peter,) and in the life hereafter eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth, who in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O, happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say; if I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all; but where is this hundredfold in this life to be found? yes, truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which are but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which are glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and, for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is said in the fourth chapter to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than an hundredfold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world have, through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), ten thousandfold more, than those things which are most highly esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in the conscience that never shall rest.

"O, that we would weigh this with impartial balances! Then should we not be dismayed at this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now likely to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, who love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which are invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory: for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy: 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he also will deny us.'

"O, that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then should we, as St. Paul says to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but dross, so that we may gain Christ. God who is the enlightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh, as Christ said, doth find faithful. Let us, therefore, watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown by these temptations. Stand, therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world, that doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies, and then death shall be as great a gain to us as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why, then, do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? he is never more present with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good-will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone, without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good-will of our eternal Father.

"Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the pricks, and provoke more and more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour, through faithful prayer.

"I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own desires. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which are his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more

willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, when sorely afflicted, cause us to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.' Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job.

"God tempts us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac, by interpretation, doth signify mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Likewise we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation; which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac; which doth signify that the pride and desires of our flesh intangled through sin, with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

"And to withstand these present temptations wherewith we are now encumbered, you cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his example? that if the devil himself, or any other by him desireth you to make stones bread, that is, to take such, a worldly wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods to live on still; you must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

"Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; you must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt the Lord his God.

"Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that you will worship idols in his synagogue, you must say, 'Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'

"Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, you must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, who do the will of God the Father. To which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

"Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity, JOHN PHILPOT, A.D. 1555."

The History of Seven Martyrs, who suffered together at London, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.

The prelates of the pope's band being as yet not satisfied with their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church (of whom there were now very few, who either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their popish rage, compelled to flee their country) continued still this next year also, which was A.D. 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness) having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in this history shall appear.

In the beginning of this year, about the 27th day of January, there were burned in Smithfield, at London, seven persons, namely, Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Browne, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so they were all upon one form of articles condemned in one day. However, as the gifts of God in them were diverse, some more abounding in knowledge than others, their dealings were also diverse, as will be perceived in their several processes. And therefore, for the better understanding hereof, I will first, (passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house) set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there administered unto them, with their answers to them, according as they all agreed after one manner together, as here by the words, both of the articles, and their answers underwritten will appear.

The Form and Words of Bonner's Articles administered to the seven Persons above-mentioned in his Consistory.

First, that thou N. hast firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here on earth a catholic church, in which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained of all faithful and true christian people.

2. That thou the said N. in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. That thou the said N. wast in times past baptised in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmothers the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works, and was, by the said sacrament of baptism, incorporated into the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

4. That thou the said N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession and faith, nor didst dislike any part of the same faith or doings; but didst, like a faithful christian person, abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. That thou the said N. notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, that is to say, within these two years last past, within the city and diocese of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion: and amongst other things thou hast disliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

6. That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

7. That thou the said N. disliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but hast affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that, in the sacrament of the altar, there is none other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in no wise in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. That thou the said N. being brought before certain judges or commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence therein.

9. That all and singular the premises have been, and are true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convented, and also by me to be punished and reformed.

Here follow likewise their Answers, in general, made to the Articles above rehearsed.

To the first article they altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: John Tudson and Thomas Brown, further adding, that the church of England, as it was at that time used, was no part of the true catholic church.

To the second article they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; John Went and Tudson affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.

To the third article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptised in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward during the time of king Edward VI. they hearing the gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

To this fourth article they granted also and agreed; John Went adding moreover, that about seven years past, he then being about twenty years of age, began to dislike certain things used in the church of England, as the administration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church, and did likewise at that present time dislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmothers promised for him the contrary.

John Tudson added also nearly in the same manner, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he did dislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, saving in King Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth: and further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaks of, &c.

Isabel Foster with others granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptised in, after she came to the years of discretion as other common people did; however, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward VI: at which time she hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth, &c.

To the fifth article, they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding, moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the old catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome.

Joan Lashford (alias Joan Warne) added, moreover, that she never went away from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion; but that from the time she was eleven years of age, she hath disliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they are against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

To the sixth article they answer and confess the same to be true, because, say they, the church and doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagrees from the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, &c.

Bartlet Green added, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not to the church of Rome.

To the seventh article they answer and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing, for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, is opposed to the word of God and the teaching of the people, &c.

John Went further said, as concerning the mass, that he believes no less but the mass, which he calls the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he sees it; howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

Isabel Foster also answering to the said articles, with the others confessed moreover, that since Queen Mary's reign she hath not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come into the place where it was administered; for she knoweth no such sacrament. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith, that there is but only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament; for so she hath been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of King Edward, whom she believes to have preached the truth in that behalf.

To the eighth article they grant the same and the contents to be true.

John Went said, that Doctor Story, Queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament, and because he denied the real presence, he presented him to the bishop.

To the ninth article they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same, and that they are of the jurisdiction of London.

And thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly, it remains furthermore fully to give the histories, and handling of all the seven aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with Thomas Whittle.

An Account of Thomas Whittle, who first recanted, but returned again, and with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defence of Christ's Doctrine against the Papists.

In the history of John Philpot, mention was made before of a married priest, whom he found in the coal-house at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle, of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex, where he served his cure, went abroad, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length he was brought as a prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who was lately fallen sick of a disease, of which not long after he died: then he was carried a prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was beaten and buffeted about the face, as appears from his own narration in a letter sent unto his friend.

"Upon the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night lying upon the earth upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me about many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not fit to be rehearsed. And amongst other things, he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me? I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass I have little affection. At which answer he was much displeased, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the mark of my beating for many days appeared. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

"Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my lord, and then he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so going to Fulham, he committed me to Doctor Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain articles, to which if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Doctor Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn from it. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but

he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous; for the effect of it was, to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come by it. Now when I had so done, I had little joy of it. For by and by my mind and conscience told me, by God's word, that I had done evil, to shake off the sweet cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God knows, but altogether came of them. Oh! the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ: for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, Psalm xxxvii. 23, 24, 'The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.' For I for my part have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present help and comfort in time of need, for which I thank him.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counsel had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Doctor Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said, that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me; and therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield, said I, let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be brought, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name: I was right glad when I had done so, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who tries his people, and suffers them to fall, but not to be lost; for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Christ's sheep, I trust, undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, who shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive, with others, his blessed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ, and I, by his grace, am very well willing and content to give over this body to death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

"By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister."

Concerning the words and answers of Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, on the 14th of January: Bonner, with others sitting in his consistory, first called Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as follows. "Because you are a priest," said he, "as I and other bishops here are, and did receive the order of priesthood, after the right and form of the catholic church, you shall not think but I will administer justice as well to you as to others." And then Bonner charged him, that where in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said, that he was then ignorant, &c. adding that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, gives occasion of idolatry to the ignorant and unlearned.

After this the bishop came to this article, "That thou wast in times past baptised in the faith of the catholic church."

To this Whittle answered, "I was baptised in the faith of the catholic church, although I forsake the church of Rome. And you, my lord, call these heresies, that are no heresies, and charge me therewith as heretic, and you ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," &c.

Then the victorious soldier and servant of our Saviour, constant in the truth, was again admonished, and with persuasions intreated by the bishop; and because he would not agree, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerkly habit. Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said to them, "St. Paul and Titus had not so much to do with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to the bishop, he said to him, "My lord, your religion stands with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed proceedings, tried him yet again with words rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion; but Whittle refusing to do so, said, "As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word."

The bishop then asked what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle said, "It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also it is administered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further, Christ never commanded it to be elevated nor adored: For the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by scripture."

"Well," said Bonner, "my lords here, and other learned men, have shewed great zeal for thy conversion; wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee, and not commit thee to the secular power," &c. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so in a few days after was brought to the fire, sealing the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

The History of Bartlet Green, Gentleman.

After the history of Thomas Whittle, next follows Bartlet Green, who, the day after, was likewise condemned. Bartlet Green was of a good family, whose parents both favoured learning, and were also desirous to bring up their child in the same. He was sent to the University of Oxford; where, through exercise and diligent study, he so profited, that in a short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry sciences, as also now in his last years to the godly understanding of divinity. He was at the first an utter enemy to the gospel, until such time as God in his mercy opened his eyes, by his often repairing to the lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity lecture in the University.

When he had once tasted of it, it became to him as the fountain of living water that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria, so that he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing up to everlasting life. So that when he was called by his friends from the University, and was placed in the Temple at

London, to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel. However, such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit, through the continual fellowship of such worldly young gentlemen as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a partner of their follies and youthful vanities, in his apparel, and also in banquetings, and other excesses; which he afterward sore lamented and bewailed, as appears by his own testimony, left in a book of a friend of his, a little before his death.

For the better maintenance of himself in his studies and his other affairs, he had a large exhibition from his grandfather, Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made to him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and forsake the truth, and gospel of Christ, and come again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those persuasions, the Lord be praised, took small effect on his faithful heart, as the sequel declared. He was a man beloved of all men, except of the papists, who love none that love the truth: for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and of a most gentle behaviour to all. He was injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith; as appears amongst other things, by his friendly dealing with Christopher Goodman, at that time a poor exile beyond the seas. With whom this Bartlet Green had often associated in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward.

The cause of all his troubles was a letter which Green wrote to Goodman, containing the report of certain questions, which were circulated in London, and also an answer to a question of Christopher Goodman, enquiring into the report which was generally spread amongst them, on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead.

These letters, with many others, written to several of the godly exiles by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the bearer, to the hands of the king and queen's council, who perused the whole of the letters, and amongst them saw this letter of Master Green's, written to his friend Christopher Goodman: in which, amongst other news and private matters, they found these words; "the queen is not yet dead." Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Master Goodman of the truth of his former demand. However, to the council, they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. So they examined him upon his faith in religion.

His answers little pleased them, and therefore, after they had detained him in prison in the Tower of London, and elsewhere, they sent him at last to Bonner, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law; as appears by their letters to the bishop.

Now that you may better understand his handling, after coming into Bonner's custody, I have thought it good to give his own letter, containing at large an account of it. Which letter he wrote to John Philpot, but was prevented sending it; for it came to the bishop's hands, and being delivered to his register, was found in one of his books of record.

After a conference between Master Green and Master Welch, the bishop perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such, as neither he, nor any of his doctors or chaplains could by the scriptures refute, began to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument, which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution; an argument, I assure you, which, without the special grace of our God, to flesh is insupportable. And therefore, using the law as a cloak to his tyranny, on the 28th of November, the bishop examined him upon certain points of christian religion.

Many other conferences and public examinations after this they brought him unto. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such, that neither their threatenings nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), on the 15th of January the bishop caused him to be brought into the consistory in St. Paul's; where, being set in his judgment seat, he called for Bartlet Green, and began as follows:

"Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me, that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him to me. The effect whereof is, that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him to me to be ordered according as the laws provide. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles." Then he read the articles above-mentioned, which were generally objected to by all the seven prisoners.

But when Master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with a promise that he should have time to answer, and therefore the bishop, proceeding, said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him.

Whereunto Green answered and said, that if the doctors were with unprejudiced judgment weighed, they made a great deal more with him, than they did with them.

After this a long conference began between Green and Fecknam, which ended thus:

Bonner.—"When St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish the bodies of the heretics."

Green.—"But he did not order them to be put to death."

Bonner.—"He bade punish them."

Green.—"Yea, but not put them to death."

Bonner.—"That they should be punished."

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother. Which, when he refused, the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, there met him two gentlemen, his especial friends, minding to comfort their persecuted brother; but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts, not able any longer to hide themselves, were manifested by the abundance of their tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words: "Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, on this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort administered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained, engaged either in prayer, or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, to the 27th of January, when he went most cheerfully to the place of suffering, often singing, as well by the way, as also at the stake, a Latin hymn.

So great and admirable was the gift of modesty grafted in his nature, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise, so neither did there appear in him any shew in those things wherein he might justly glory. When he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner, he greatly rejoiced in it, and yet his modesty was such, that never would he make any mention of it, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself.

Thomas Brown was born in the parish of Histon, in the diocese of Ely; he came to London, and dwelt in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street; he was a married man, about thirty-seven years of age; who, because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. He was required upon Thursday, the 26th of September, to come to the chapel to hear mass, which he refused to do. For this he was charged by the bishop, as for an heinous offence, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass, which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length, being brought to his last examination before the bishop, on the 15th of

January, there to hear sentence definitive against him, he was intreated with many fair words and promises to revoke his doctrine.

Bonner then proceeded to the articles, and after he had read them to him again, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions, as he called them, and return again to the unity of the catholic faith. He made answer, saying, "If they were heresies, he would forsake them."

"They are heresies," said the bishop.

"How will you prove it?" said Brown; "for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which you can never do. For that which you call heresy, is no heresy."

After this Bonner read the sentence against him. He was then committed to the sheriffs, and burned on the 27th of January, constantly abiding the torments for the true confession of his christian faith.

On the same day was also produced John Tudson to the like condemnation. John Tudson was born in Ipswich, and was an apprentice in London, dwelling in the parish of St. Mary Botolph.

After the articles and interrogatories were administered to him, he was brought to the consistory; where this blessed and true servant of the Lord was moved with many persuasions to go from his opinion, but he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in King Edward's time, refused, saying, there was no heresy in his answers. The bishop still used his accustomed persuasions to move him, and promised that all his offences and errors, as he called them, should be forgiven, if he would return, &c. "No," said Tudson, "I have not offended; and ye pretend charity, but it appears not in your works."

Thus, after a few words, the bishop promulgated against him sentence of condemnation; and the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life on the 27th of January.

John Went was born in Langham in Essex, in the diocese of London; he was of the age of 27 years, and first was examined by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Story sent him up to Bonner; who tempted him to recant. Went said, "He would not, but that, by the grace of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." And when the bishop urged him with words and fair promises to give himself to their opinions, he could get no other answer but this, "No, I say as I have said," &c. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop, he was committed to the sheriffs, and brought to his martyrdom, which he suffered with constancy to the end.

With the five persons above mentioned were also condemned at the same time two women, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a wife called Isabel Foster, the other a maiden, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

This Isabel was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and married to one John Foster, cutler, in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street. For not coming to the church she was sent to Bonner, and imprisoned: she was several times examined by the bishop, but never overcome, nor moved from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, when brought to her final examination before the bishop in the consistory, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. She gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not go from them, by God's grace." She was neither cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielded through his alluring enticements, who promised her both life and liberty if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. She said, "That she trusted she was never out of the catholic church," &c., and so continued constant till the sentence was pronounced, and then she was committed to the secular power, and brought a few days after to the stake, on the 27th of January; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth, ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

In a previous part of this history of martyrs, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who, with her husband John Warne, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow church-yard; and suffered, first the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter, in the month of January, followed her parents in the same martyrdom.

Joan Lashford was born in the parish of Little All-hallows, in Thames-street, and was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the aforesaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne. She was about the age of twenty years, and when ministering to her father and mother in prison, she was suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, so she was sent to Bonner, and committed to the Compter, where she remained five weeks, and from thence to Newgate, where she continued for the space of some months.

After that her confession was, that the whole twelve months before, and more, she came to no popish mass-service in the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, or confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her to do so; protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort was necessary; nor the mass to be good, or according to the scripture, but said that both the sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all others their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution. This godly damsel, feeble and of tender age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the bishops could turn her, but being moved and exhorted by Bonner to return to the catholic unity of the church, said boldly to him, "If ye will leave off your abominations I will return, but otherwise I will not."

The bishop again promised her pardon of all her errors, as he called them, if she would be conformed, but she answered, "Do as it pleases you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus, she constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom, on the 27th of January, she was brought to the stake, and there washed her robes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life and condemnation of these seven holy martyrs.

Five Martyrs in Canterbury, four Women and one Man burned together.

After these seven were martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, namely, on the 31st of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, viz.: John Lomas, Anne Allbright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, being presented for that religion which the papists call heresy, was cited to appear at Canterbury, and examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or not? he answered thus: "that he believed so much as is contained in God's book, and no more."

Then being assigned to appear again on the next Wednesday, which was the 17th of January, Lomas was examined whether he would be confessed to a priest or not, he answered: "that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused of sin." Again, when examined whether he believed the body of

Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration or not, he answered, "That he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament." Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a catholic church or not, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered, "that he believed so much as was written in God's book;" and other answer he refused to give, &c. Sentence was pronounced against him on the 18th of January, when he was committed to the secular power, and suffered with great constancy for the conscience of a true faith, in company with the four women above named.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, was likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion. When examined, she was compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be administered to her. First she refused to be confessed to a priest; but she refused not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as to the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other received the sacrament as Christ, and his apostles after him, delivered it, then she and they received it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation. Afterwards being examined concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it, and said that the popish manner of absolution was not consonant to the word of God. The sentence being read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered martyrdom, declaring herself a constant witness of Christ and of his truth.

Against Anne Albright, alias Champnes, it was also objected concerning the matter of confession. She answered, saying, "That she would not be confessed of a priest," and added, speaking to the priests, "You priests are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." And likewise, speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

As to the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same as a sacrament. Thus persisting in her opinion, she was condemned on the 18th of January, with the others above mentioned; with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for Christ's religion.

In like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the priests, for not allowing auricular confession, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar; who, after their sentence was promulgated, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit, mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hithe, wife of George Catmer, who was burned before. Being asked what she said to confession made to a priest, she refused to be confessed to any priest. And the judge, speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, That she believed not in that sacrament, as it was then used, for that it was made a very idol; for which, sentence of condemnation was passed upon her, and she suffered with the other fellow martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt together at Canterbury, at two stakes, but in one fire; who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms.

The Life, Acts, and History of the Reverend Pastor and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, burned at Oxford, for the Confession of Christ's true Doctrine, under Queen Mary. March 21, A.D. 1556.

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity; it is first to be observed, that Thomas Cranmer came of an ancient parentage, from the Conquest. He was born in a village called Arselacton, in Nottinghamshire; and, being from his infancy kept at school, and brought up, not without much civility, he came in process of time to the University of Cambridge, and there prospering in knowledge, amongst the better sort of students, he became Master of Arts, and was chosen Fellow of Jesus College, in Cambridge. Having married a gentleman's daughter, he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College.

Whilst Cranmer continued as reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in childbed. After whose death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous of again having their old companion, for his learning, chose him again fellow of the college. Where, he remaining at his study, became in a few years after, the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and was held in such estimation and reputation with the whole university, that being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either as Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whose approbation the whole university licenses them to proceed to their degree.

Now Cranmer much favoured the knowledge of the scripture, and would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the history of the Bible; by which certain friars, and other monkish persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, without regard to the authority of the scriptures, were rejected by him; so that for his severe examination he was much hated, and had in great indignation among the monks: and yet it came to pass in the end, that some of them, being thus compelled to study the scriptures, became afterwards well learned and well affected.

As he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so he was greatly solicited by Doctor Capon to become one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's College, in Oxford, which he utterly refused.

At this time Cardinal Campegio and Cardinal Wolsey, being in commission from the pope, to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between King Henry VIII. and the Queen, delayed hearing the cause all the summer, till August. When August was come, the cardinals, little desiring to proceed to the sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time: which sudden stoppage of the commission so much moved the king, that he, taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to dispatch forthwith Cardinal Campegio home again to Rome; and so in haste he removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich: by means of which it chanced that the harbingers, Doctor Stephens, secretary, and Doctor Foxe, almoner, lodged in the house of Master Cressey, where Cranmer also lodged. When supper time came, the three doctors met together; Doctor Stephens, and Doctor Foxe much marvelling at Doctor Cranmer's being there; who declared to them the cause of his lodging there, namely, that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almoner right well entertained Cranmer, minding to understand his opinion touching the great business they had in hand. So while they were at supper, they conferred with Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting his judgment and opinion, what he thought therein.

Cranmer answered, that he could say but little to the

matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. "It were better, as I suppose," said Cranmer, "that the question, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or not? were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, by which the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by delays, leaving the truth of the matter untouched by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the scripture will soon declare, being well handled by learned men, and that may be as well done in England, in the universities here, as at Rome; or elsewhere in any foreign nation, and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of the matter long since." When Doctor Cranmer had thus ended, the other two liked his advice, and wished that they had so proceeded before, and they resolved so to advise the king, who was then minded to send to Rome for a new commission.

On the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, he called to him his principal advisers in his cause, namely, Doctor Stephens and Doctor Foxe, saying to them, "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had thus spoken, Doctor Foxe said, "We trust that there shall be a better way devised for your majesty, than to travel so far as Rome any more in your highness' cause, which by chance was put into our heads, at Waltham." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then said Doctor Foxe, "It chanced us to lodge at Waltham, in Master Cressey's house, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Doctor Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highness's cause, he thought that the best way to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience was by trying your highness's question out by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence."

The king then said, "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" They answered, that they left him there. "Marry," said the king, "I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for. I perceive," continued the king, "that that man hath the sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness."

Cranmer was accordingly sent for, he being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottinghamshire, an express went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither, to be cumbered in a matter in which he had not studied; and therefore intreated them that they would make his excuse, so that he might not be required to come into the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon them, if by any means they might compass it; but all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Cranmer's absence, the more the king chid with them, so that no excuse serving, he was obliged to come to court to the king. When Cranmer was introduced, the prince demanded his name, and said to him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?" Cranmer assenting; the king said, "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce, after this sort?" repeating the manner and order of it. "That is true, if it please your highness," said Cranmer. "Well," said the king, "I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand, that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other, if we had so proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and because you are a subject, I charge and command you to take pains to see this my cause furthered, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand what I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife, than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble family, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God." And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an impartial eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Cranmer excused himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, and besought the king's highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, to the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. "You say well," said the king, "and I am content. But yet I will have you especially to write your mind therein." And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, said, "I pray you, my lord, let Doctor Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham-place for a time, that he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study." And thus after the king's departure, Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire to his house, and he wrote his mind concerning the king's question; adding, besides the authorities of the scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, also his opinion, which was this: "That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, as that he might dispense with the word of God and the scriptures." When Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him: "Will you abide by this that you have here written before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I do, by God's grace," answered Cranmer, "if your majesty do send me there." "Marry," said the king; "I will send you even to him in a sure embassage." And thus by means of Cranmer, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the same being by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, that no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Upon this a solemn embassage was prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome—viz. the earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Stokesley, Doctor Carne, Doctor Bennet, and other learned men.

When the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their embassage, he, sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offered his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors; the earl of Wiltshire (who stood first) disdaining to do so, stood still, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

They offered on the king's behalf to defend, that no man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Promises were made, and days appointed, in which the question should have been disputed, and when our embassage was ready to answer, no man appeared to dispute against them. So in the end, the pope, shewing to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship, dismissed them.

Upon this, the earl of Wiltshire, and the other commissioners, except Cranmer, returned into England. And forthwith Cranmer went to the emperor, to answer such learned men of the emperor's council, as would or could say any thing against the divorce. Amongst the rest, was Cornelius Agrippa, a high officer in the emperor's court, who having private conference with

Cranmer on the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that there was never disputation openly offered to Cranmer in that behalf.

This matter thus prospering, Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, by which that dignity being in the king's gift and disposal, was immediately given to Cranmer.

At the time of the Six Articles, mention was made before in the history of King Henry VIII. how adventurously Cranmer opposed himself, standing, as it were, alone, against the whole parliament, disputing and replying three days together against the said articles. Insomuch, that the king, when neither he could dislike his reasons, and yet would needs have these articles to pass, required him to absent himself for the time out of the chamber, while the act should pass.

After the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure on their side, it was so arranged amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the archbishop. For Lord Cromwell, being gone, they thought all things safe and sure for ever; but Cranmer stood alone against them all in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely, Bishop Heath, and Bishop Skip left him, and so turned against him, that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose; and taking him from the rest of the commissioners into his garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of persuasions they intreated him to incline to the king's intentions, who was fully determined to have it. When those two, with other friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he said to them—

"You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles enforced as you have devised them; and now that you perceive his highness to be bent that way, you think it convenient to apply to his highness' mind. You are my friends both. Beware what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his highness, by consenting to a contrary doctrine, and then in process of time, when the truth cannot be hid from him, his highness shall perceive how you have dealt with him, I know his grace's nature so well, that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I wish you to beware in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." All this would not serve, for they still persisted; but Cranmer discharged his conscience and declared the truth unto the king, and God so wrought with the king, that his highness joined with him against the rest, so that the book of articles passed on his side, contrary to all their expectations.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, endeavoured to prejudice the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise, and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions, and uproars, as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains, had filled the whole realm full of many pernicious heresies. The king desired to know his accusers. They answered that as he was a counsellor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his highness to commit him to the Tower, for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him, for otherwise just testimony and witness against him, would not appear, and therefore your highness, said they, must needs give us liberty and leave to commit him to prison.

The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop, (but yet not intending to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands,) granted to them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower to take his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, desiring him forthwith to resort to him at the court. The archbishop speedily attended at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked, and tarried for him, his highness said, "Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news! For weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow at nine of the clock shall be committed to the Tower, for you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared the whole realm being infected, no small contentions, and commotions will arise amongst my subjects, as of late has occurred in many parts of Germany; and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower."

When the king had spoken, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at the command of your highness, and I most humbly thank your majesty for an opportunity to come to my trial; for there are those that have slandered me, and now I hope to prove myself not worthy of such report."

The king, perceiving the man's righteousness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord! what manner of man are you? What simplicity is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such imprisonment. Do you not know, what state you are in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way than your master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding, to-morrow, when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort to them, and if in charging you with this matter, they commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsellor, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further imprisonment, and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no intreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver to them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop) and say to them, if there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this his token to you all; for," said the king then to the archbishop, "so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop perceiving the king's benignity towards him, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "Go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you." Cranmer then with thanks took his leave of the king's highness for that night.

On the morrow, the council sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who, when he came to the council chamber-door, could not be let in; but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lacques, and serving men all alone. Shortly, the archbishop was called into the council-chamber. The archbishop answered as the king had advised him, and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion could serve, he delivered the king's ring, referring his cause into the king's hands. The whole council, being somewhat amazed, immediately arose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the custom was, into his own hands.

When they were all come into the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said to them, "Ah, my lords, I thought I had had wiser men of my council

than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council chamber-door amongst serving men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things are done against him maliciously, and if some of you could have had your wish, you would have tried him to the utmost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden to his subject (and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his breast) said, by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden." Then one or two of the leaders of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his imprisonment, it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords," said the king, "take him and use him well, as he is worthy." With that every man caught him by the hand. But his enemies were determined to work his ruin with the king, if possible. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him; which in very deed was brought to pass, and the articles were delivered to the king in such a manner as that there must needs follow to the archbishop, both indignation of the prince, and condign punishment for his grievous offence committed by him and his chaplains, in preaching such erroneous doctrine within his diocese of Canterbury. This accusation was delivered to the king by some of the council. When the king had perused the document, he wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve, and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge, furnished with his musicians, along by Lambeth bridge. The noise of the musicians induced the archbishop to resort to the bridge to salute his prince. When the king perceived him standing at the bridge, he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge.

"Ah, my chaplain," said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his highness that he would take his own barge and wait upon his majesty. "No," said the king, "you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop were set together in the barge, the king said, "I have news out of Kent for you, my lord." The archbishop answered, "Good, I hope, if it please your highness." "Marry (said the king) they are so good, that I know now the greatest heretic in Kent," and with that he pulled out of his sleeve the articles against the archbishop and his preachers, and gave them to him, desiring him to peruse them. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled by his own church (I mean of the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and of such of his neighbours as he had many ways obliged, I mean the justices of the peace), it much grieved him. Notwithstanding, he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highness, to try the truth of this accusation. "In very deed," said the king, "I do so mean, and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, joined with two or three more, as you shall think good yourself." "Then it will be thought," said the archbishop to the king, "that it is not impartial, if it please your grace, that I should be mine own judge, and my chaplains also."

After three weeks, it was seen that nothing could be done, and that the whole was a popish confederacy against the archbishop, so the king appointed the archbishop to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had discretion, wisdom, and courage, to whom he gave commission, to search the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and the king.

These men thus appointed, proceeded immediately to the persons' houses and places, that they were appointed unto; and within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed, by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Doctor London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with others; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all others, two letters came into Cranmer's hands, one from the suffragan of Dover, and another from Doctor Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained with him in his household, as a counsellor in the law. These two men having been promoted by the archbishop, he had ever held them in such intimacy, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him and Barber at his own table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort.

When Cranmer had got their letters into his hands, one day, when the suffragan chanced to come to his house, he called him into his study, with Doctor Barber, saying, "Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter." When they were with him in his study, he said to them, "You are men in whom I have had much confidence, you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two to whom I have shewed all my secrets from time to time, and trusted them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I require, therefore, your good advice how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter?"

"Marry," quoth Doctor Barber, "such villains and knaves were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself."

At these words the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "Oh Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? It is most true which is said, "Cursed is man that trusteth in man." There was never man handled as I am: but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and given me one great friend and master (meaning the king), without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day; I praise thy holy name therefore." And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, "Know ye these letters, my masters?" With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a year before were tempted to do the same, and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," said the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands: but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly." And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words. This was the last attempt that was made against the archbishop in King Henry VIII.'s days: for never after durst any man move against him. Also, after the death of King Henry VIII. under the government of his son, King Edward VI., the estate of Cranmer (who was godfather to the young king) was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all the time of King Henry, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was scarcely

yet thoroughly persuaded in the right views of the sacrament, but shortly afterwards, being more confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, he so profited, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute first the corporeal presence; secondly, the fanciful transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men can eat the natural body of Christ; and, lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. In conclusion, he wrote five books for the public instruction of the church of England, which instruction yet stands to this day, and is received in this church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy of the gospel, attempted an answer.

The archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied to this, and published it abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men, in print.

Afterwards, King Edward falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, bequeathed the succession of this realm to the lady Jane Grey, a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to King Henry VIII. by his sister, with the consent of the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excused himself, saying, that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry, his father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as then the next heir, by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it. The council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had a conscience as well as he, and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger in it, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest.

To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own; and, therefore, as he would not prejudge others, so he would not commit his conscience to other men, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. And as to subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king, therefore, being asked by the archbishop concerning this matter, said, that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him to it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could not prevent but that this lady Jane might succeed him as heir, and the people acknowledge her as their queen. Then demanding leave of the king, that he might first talk with some lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by the law of the realm it might be so, he returned to the king, and subscribed the testament.

Not long after this, King Edward died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. After whose decease immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane, who was very unwilling, should be proclaimed queen. To this the common people were much opposed, not that they favoured Mary, but for the hatred they conceived against some of the lady Jane's supporters.

Besides this, other causes of discord happened between the nobles and the commons at the same time, for injuries of commons and enclosures, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants. In short, thus the matter fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, was so assisted by the commons, that she soon prevailed, and being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London, and caused the lady Jane, though tender in age, and innocent from this crime, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, to be beheaded, together with her husband, as is before narrated in this history.

The nobles, except the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, on paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted. Who, though he desired pardon could obtain none; insomuch that the queen would not vouchsafe to see him. For the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorce of her mother, still remained rankling in her breast. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion, all which was imputed to the archbishop as the cause.

While these things were doing, a rumour was extensively spread, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass for the funeral of King Edward. Neither wanted there some who reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury. To stop this rumour, Cranmer sent forth a writing, the tenor of which being before expressed, I need not here recite.

Some copies of this came into the hands of the bishops, who brought it to the council, and they having sent it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and Cranmer was commanded to appear.

The archbishop accordingly appeared before the commissioners, bringing an inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, being one of the commissioners, after the inventory was received, mentioned the writing: "My lord," said he, "there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad."

To whom the archbishop answered again, saying, "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so I must confess to you that I am sorry that it went from me as it did. For when I had written it, Master Story got the copy, and it is now come abroad, and as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry, that it so passed my hands: for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on St. Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined to it."

At which words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at present to say to him, but that shortly he should hear further. Not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially seeing he last, of all others, subscribed to King Edward's request, and that against his own will, released him from the charge of treason, and accused him only of heresy; which pleased the archbishop right well, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be removed from the Tower, where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And word was sent before to them of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some show of disputation the murder of the man might be covered.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, sufficient has been before declared. We now, therefore, proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was on the 12th of September, A.D. 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. The account here follows, faithfully corrected by the report and narration of one, who, being both present at it, and also a devout favourer of the see and faction of Rome, cannot but be credited by the members of that church.

After the disputations in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, you heard how sentence condemnatory was passed against them, by which they were judged to be heretics, and committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But as the sentence was void in law, for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land, therefore

a new commission was sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly men.

At the coming down of the commissioners, which was on Thursday, the 12th of September, A.D. 1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the church at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold for Bishop Brooks, representing the pope, ten feet high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar; and on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him, sat Doctor Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and Pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a number of such like officials.

And thus these bishops, being placed in their pontifical robes, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for. He came out of the prison to the church of St. Mary, surrounded with armed men, for fear he should escape; being clothed in a black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university use to wear. After he was come into the church, and saw them sitting in their pontifical robes, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called. Then one of the proctors for the pope called for Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to appear and make answer to what should be laid to his charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy.

Upon this, he was brought nearer to the scaffold, where the bishop, who represented the pope, sat; he then first viewed the place of judgment, and seeing where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and afterwards to the other.

That done, looking the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no token of obedience to him at all. The bishop being offended, said to him, that it might become him, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty to him. Doctor Cranmer answered, "That he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant, by God's grace, to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of it; and so he desired the bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs." This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person, which was greatly marked by the people that were there present.

When they perceived that the archbishop would not move his bonnet, the bishop proceeded as follows:—

"My lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort if you will yourself. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation to him that has power to judge you." And then this bishop proceeded to exhort Cranmer to return to the church of Rome, and revoke the opinions he had taught. After him, Dr. Martin also addressed Cranmer on the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical power.

When Doctor Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop began, as follows:—

Cranmer.—"Shall I then make my answer?"

Martin.—"As you think good, no man shall hinder you."

Here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's prayer, then rising up he recited the articles of the creed, which done, he commenced with his protestation in form as follows:

The Faith and Protestation of Doctor Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.

"This I do profess concerning my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm."

Story.—"Take a note of that."

Martin.—"Mark how you answer. You refuse him, by whose laws you remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason."

Cranmer.—"I protest, before God, I was no traitor, but at my arraignment I pleaded guilty to more than was true."

Martin.—"That is not to be reasoned about at present. You know you were condemned for a traitor; but proceed."

Cranmer.—"I will never consent to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king, by God's laws. By the scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his realm is above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject; I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once; as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king has both. Therefore, he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, is a perjured man; for the laws of the pope and the judges are contrary to each other. A priest breaking the laws of the realm, shall be sued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws the contrary is settled. The pope does the king injury, in that he hath his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm: but the pope claims all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the pope in every realm has a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the bishop; by the laws of the realm, the patron gives the benefice. Here the laws are as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *præmunire*, and thus the law of the realm is expelled, and the king stands accursed in maintaining his own laws.

"The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commands all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law; and therefore has appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for all people to come to church and hear the word of God expounded to them, and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope does the contrary; for he commands the service to be said in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it understood; the pope will not. When the priest gives thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God wills them to confess altogether; the pope will not.

"Now, as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor within a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really present, I will give over. My book was written seven years ago, and no man has brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is in them, a whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporeally which sitteth in heaven.

"Now, Christ commands all to drink of the cup; the pope takes it away from the laymen. Christ enjoins us to obey the king. The bishop of Rome directs us to obey him; therefore, unless he be antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him; for if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

"He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ; if thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even

so, the bishop of Rome gives princes their crowns, being none of his to give; for where princes, either by election, or by succession, or by inheritance, obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

"Christ saith, that antichrist shall appear. And who shall he be? He that advances himself above all other creatures. Now, if there be no one already that has advanced himself after such sort, besides the pope, then in the mean time let him be antichrist."

Story.—"Pleases it you to make an end?"

Cranmer.—"For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea, and with apostasy.

"Now I have declared why I cannot, with my conscience, obey the pope. I speak not this from any hatred I bear to him who now supplies his place; for I know him not. I pray God to give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence; but to declare my conscience for the zeal that I bear to God's word, trodden under foot by the bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake: 'fear not them,' saith he, 'which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' Also Christ saith, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.' Moreover, he tells us to 'confess him before men, and be not afraid; for if we do so, he will stand with us; if we shrink from him he will shrink from us.' This is a comfortable and terrible saying, this makes me to set all fear apart. I say, therefore, the bishop of Rome treads under foot God's laws and the king's.

"The pope would give bishoprics; so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand, and so are all bishops perjured; first to the pope, and then to the king.

"The crown has nothing to do with the clergy! If a clerk come before a judge, and the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws! If the judge should put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws! Therefore, I say, that he is neither true to God nor true to the king, that first received the pope. But I shall heartily pray for such counsellors as may inform the queen the truth; for the king and queen, if they be well informed, will do well."

Martin.—"As you understand, then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too."

Cranmer.—"I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory saith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can shew me that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he takes his horse, and kiss his feet, as kings do, then will I kiss his feet also. And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit as judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishoprick from the king. You have taken an oath to be an adversary to the realm; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Gloucester.—"You were the cause that I forsook the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry VIII.; this you made me to do."

Cranmer.—"To that I answer; you report me ill, and say not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII., and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would justify him. And men were sent to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would say concerning the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was given to it, as by your hand appears. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope; for it was your own act. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive: so that it was three quarters of a year before I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I could do any thing. So that here you have reported of me that which you cannot prove."

Gloucester.—"We come to examine you, and you, methink, examine us."

Story.—"Pleaseth it your lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen's majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the steadfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple: yet, because he saith he is not bound to answer your lordship sitting for the pope's holiness, because of a *præmunire*, and the word of God as he termeth it; I think good to say somewhat, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the king and queen's majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him; so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he allegeth divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have been heard. He hath alleged many matters against the supremacy of the pope, maliciously. You say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then, if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof; for you know Constantine the emperor was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul saith) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule over the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of souls: for, *à fortiori*, the head may do what the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

"Now as concerning that talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that you profess; and as yet for all your babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you ought not to answer the pope's holiness."

This Doctor Story said much more to the same effect, as did also Doctor Martin, after which certain interrogatories were administered by the commissioners.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers.

First it was objected, that he, the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the dolphin, in Cambridge.

Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

He received, he said, a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was made archbishop by him.

3. That he, being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

To this he acknowledged.

4. In the time of King Henry VIII. he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. In the time of King Edward VI., he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might do

the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

6. That he was not ashamed openly to glory that he had his wife in secret many years.

And though he so did, he said, there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterwards into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did compile, and cause to be set abroad several books.

Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied no such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and like the same. As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

8. That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.

He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none.

9. Forsomuch as he ceased not to perpetuate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. That in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convicted upon the same.

He defended, he said, there, the cause of the sacrament, but that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

11. When he persevered still in the same, he was by the public censure of the University pronounced a heretic, and his books to be heretical.

That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was a heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. That he was and is notoriously a promoter of schism, as one who not only himself receded from the Catholic church and the see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

As touching the receding, that he freely granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

13. That he had been twice sworn to the pope; and Doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had protested any thing else.

He answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. That he, the said archbishop of Canterbury, did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the said see, he consecrated bishops and priests.

He granted, that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at the time when it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only still persisted in his error.

That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true, but that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. That all and singular the premises are true.

That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

After he had thus answered to the objections, the judges and commissioners, as having now accomplished that for which they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim:

"Master Cranmer, (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy) I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed that this obstinacy of yours came not of a vain glory, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. You are so puffed up with vain glory, there is such a heresy crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition.

"Although I would of myself reason with you, to satisfy this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I find how I may do it by the Scriptures: for the apostle doth command that such a one should not only not be talked with, but also shunned and avoided.

"Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from God's favour, yet because you have uttered, to the annoyance of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among some who are rude and unlearned, I think meet to say somewhat; not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people which are here present, lest they, being seduced by your diabolical doctrine, may perish thereby."

He then endeavoured to vindicate his own proceeding, and when he ceased, Dr. Martin said:

"You, master Cranmer, have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the see apostolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it came to an end by his death, and so you are released from it; if you made it to his successors, the true successors have the empire, and they desire you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again, and it stands well with charity."

To this the archbishop answered, but the reporter, being a papist, has omitted the answer and returns to the words of Doctor Story, who imperiously turning to the archbishop said:

"Hold your peace, sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you license before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath."

They then proceeded with the form of examining witnesses, and the archbishop was commanded again to the place from whence he came. At his departing, as at his coming in, he made obeisance to Doctor Martin, and to Doctor Story, the queen's commissioners. Then Doctor Story pointing to him the bishop of Gloucester who represented the pope, said that he ought rather to give reverence to him. But the archbishop departing without giving any obeisance to the bishop, all the others rose up, and went every one to his own residence. And thus broke up the session for that day.

During the examination Doctor Martin had demanded of him, who was the supreme head of the church of England?

"Marry," said my lord of Canterbury, "Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church."

"Why," replied Dr. Martin, "you made king Henry VIII. supreme head of the church."

"Yea," said the Archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal."

"And not of the church?" said Martin.

"No," said he, "for Christ is only the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same: the king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church."

"What," said Martin, "you never durst tell the king so."

"Yes, that I durst," replied Cranmer, "and did in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the church, there was never other thing meant."

Doctor Thirleby, and Doctor Bonner, appointed as a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop, on the 14th day of February.

The letter or sentence definitive of the pope, was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the middle of February. Upon the receipt of which another session was appointed, and the archbishop summoned to appear on the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen; the chief of whom was the bishop of Ely, Doctor Thirleby. Concerning which Doctor Thirley it is here to be observed, that although he was not the archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced by him (not like a chaplain, but rather like a brother) that there was never any thing in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewel, horse, maps, books, or any thing else, but if Thirley did ever so little commend it, the archbishop by and by, either gave it to him, or else sent it after him to his house. So greatly was the archbishop attached to him, that whoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their suit first to Doctor Thirleby.

With the bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same commission, Bonner, bishop of London, who coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, commanded the archbishop to come before them, in the choir of Christ's-church, before the high altar, where they sat in their pontifical robes. They first began, as the custom was, to read their commission: wherein it was contained, how that in the court of Rome all things being examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made to them, and witnesses examined on both parts, and council heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, &c. as it was in reading: "Oh," said the archbishop, "what lies are these, that I being continually in prison, and never suffered to have council or advocate at home, should produce witness and appoint my council at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission, *Plenitudine protestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, without any appeal.

When the commission was read, they proceeded to his degradation; they first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplice, and then an albe; after that the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass.

When they had apparelled him so far; "What," said he, "I think I shall say mass."

"Yea," said Cousins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "My lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this."

"Do you so?" said he, "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then they invested him with all manner of robes used by a bishop and archbishop, at their installation, saving that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing on this occasion was canvas and old cloth, with a mitre and a pall of the same kind put on him in mockery, and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who by the space of many years had borne as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to use all his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner.

"This is the man that hath ever despised the pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself."

After all this mockery was finished, they began to degrade him, and first proceeded to take from him his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered to them, saying, I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the standers by, by name, to be witnesses.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, without any appeal, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," said he, "then you do me the more wrong: for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me, and none other: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," replied Ely, "if it may be admitted it shall," and so he received it from him. And then he began to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on. The archbishop gently replied, he was very well content, and so they proceeded to his degradation: the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies, was taken out of the pope's pontifical.

When they came to take off his pall (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop) Cranmer said, "Which of you has a pall, to take off my pall?" Which imported as much as that they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. One of them said, in that as they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges: but being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall, and so forthwith they took every thing from him. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was soft and gentle. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown to his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, both bare and slovenly made as one could see, and a towns-man's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Bonner, "Now are you no lord any more:" and so whenever he spake to the people of him he used this term, "This gentleman here, &c." Thus attired, Cranmer was conveyed to prison, exciting the compassion and pity of every beholder.

While the archbishop was in prison, (where he had been kept now for almost the space of three years) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves about him to induce him to recant, trying by all crafty practices and allurements how they might bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they invited him to the dean's house of Christ's-church, in the university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, they secretly subborned men, who when they could not refute him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means allure him to recant: perceiving otherwise what a great wound they would receive, if the archbishop stood steadfast in his profession: and, again, on the other side, how great profit they would get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason of which the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating, promising, and all other means.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul's health the same would be. They added, moreover, how the council and the noblemen

bore him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in retirement, in whatsoever place he desired, without any public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of pardon: for the queen was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him, for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years might yet remain to him in this life; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he might do it for his own sake, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself; saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues; which being joined with his life would be profitable both to himself and to many others; but being extinct by death, would be fruitful to no man: that he should take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough safely to restore all things, and nothing was wanting, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they exhorted him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he now refused it while offered, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous at all times, especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like persuasions these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side; whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last when they made no end of calling and enticing him, the archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length put his hand to his recantation; of which the following is a copy.

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments also (like as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the catholic church and church of Rome holds and teaches. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, chat of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by my example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of my own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the archbishop was no sooner written, than the doctors and prelates without delay caused it to be printed, and sent abroad in all mens' hands. The queen, having now got a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death she would not relent.

Cranmer was now in a miserable state, neither inwardly had he any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live. And where he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, so that neither with good men could he avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time, the queen taking secret counsel, how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the Lord Chandois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, who were commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Cole, charged by the queen's commandment, returned to Oxford, who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer; to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole departed for that time. On the next day he repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that he was prepared: and therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of March appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money. To whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and after exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, departed.

By this, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, a witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should only profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him to write the document with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which, when he had done, the friar desired him to write another copy which should remain with him, and that he did also. The archbishop, however, not being ignorant whereto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of

his faith, fearing lest if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after nine o'clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were sent by the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train. There was also a great concourse of people of both parties, filled with great expectation. For first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish their opinion: the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet believe, that he who by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his religion. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for that which he was gathered thither to hear and behold.

Cranmer at length, because it was a foul and rainy day, was brought from prison unto St. Mary's church, the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next to him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer, placed between two friars, who saying to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole was ready with his sermon.

The lamentable case of this man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own liability, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life; and also to descend from such shewy and costly ornaments, to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good while upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice, till at length Doctor Cole coming into the pulpit, began his sermon.

It were too long to detail this sermon, which concluded with a reference to Cranmer's recantation. He glorified God much in it, because it appeared to be only God's work, declaring what conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time, said he, he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life: and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

With what great grief of mind Cranmer stood all the time hearing this sermon, the outward motions of his body and countenance better expressed than any man can declare; at one time lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image of perfect sorrow lively expressed in him. More than twenty distinct times the tears flowed abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those who were present, do testify that they never saw in any child more tears, than burst out from him at that time, during all the sermon; but especially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart to prayers. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will," who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people.

"I desire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place;" and then putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, and added,

"Good christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which are without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins are, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down, he said:

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins are great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c."

And then he rising, said;

"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is a cause of much grief to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and are so careful for it, while they seem to care very little or nothing for the love of God, or the world to come. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: 'That you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceiving world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is, 'That next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them

only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they are God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

"The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and practise well this one lesson, 'To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister.' For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!'—(Luke, xviii. 24.) A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

"The second is from St. John, who says, 'But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' 1 John, iii. 17.

"The third is from St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich men after this manner, 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.' (James, v. 1—3.) Let them that are rich ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and old testament.

"And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it: for when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine shall be ashamed to shew her face."

Here the standers by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, and did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was a victory to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more strikingly or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph, by Cranmer's recantation.

As soon, therefore, as the popish party heard these things, they began to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. The most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet he could not be twice killed. And so when they could do nothing else, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object to him his falsehood and dissimulation.

To which accusation, he answered, "Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before the time of my recantation have I dissembled;" and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, and especially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," said they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently, saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he would get knowledge.

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, he kneeled down and prayed to God; but did not tarry long in his prayers, for he put off his garments to his shirt, and prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare; and his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then an iron chain was tied about Cranmer, and when they perceived him to be more steadfast than to be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set to him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable, that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated "this unworthy right hand;" so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name, and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying with it the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert, and Master Allen, or if there were any others, with whose burning and blood his hands had been polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst Christ's martyrs.

Archbishop Cranmer's Letter to the Queen's Highness.

"It may please your majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your highness. But very necessity constraineth me, that your majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing, than by other men's reports. So it is that upon Wednesday, being the 12th day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome on the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty; which matters, the Thursday following were objected against me by Doctor Martin and Doctor Story, your majesty's proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But, alas! it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject, to be accused by the king and queen of his own realm; and especially before a foreign judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms, against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hands in a strange land; the like whereof, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God, I do owe all obedience, to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and foreign power. But forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII. your grace's father, I was sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore, lest I should allow his authority, contrary to mine own oath, I refused to make answer to the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, lest I should run into perjury.

"Another cause why I refused the pope's authority, is this; that his authority, as he claimeth it, is repugnant to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same; which every true subject is bound to defend. First, because the pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his command and beck.

"But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and temporal jurisdiction of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws and customs of this realm the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws, and declareth accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs; as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the decrees, *Dist.* 10, is written thus, 'The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of none effect.' Also, 'We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their fathers, and preceptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we excommunicate the statute-makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, consuls, governors and counsellors of places, where such statutes and customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form the matter so adjudged.'

"Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority, which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws, and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, are naught, and as well your majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed amongst heretics, which God forbid! And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope have such power as he claimeth), until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) are taken away, and blotted out of the law books. And although there are many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks, by the pope's laws, are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where sued, but before their ordinary.

"Also the pope, by his laws, may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which, by the laws of this realm, can be given only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

"By the pope's laws, the rights of the patron shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but, by the laws of the realm, it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

"And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire*; so that if any man has hindered the execution of the laws of this realm, by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into *præmunire*.

"But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever hinders the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed. So that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they do give place unto his laws.

"But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do execute still the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without any interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the same we stand excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we are well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm stands accursed before God, if the pope have any such authority.

"These things, as I suppose, were not fully opened in the parliament house, when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself as it were a god. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desire to have their chief head, to the intent they might have as it were a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and so, being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, I suppose, some that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament; whereas, if they had done their duty to the crown and whole realm, they would have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and shewed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

"And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious highness, and also your realm should ever continue accursed, until you shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm; I could not think myself true, either to your highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Igno-

rance, I know, may excuse other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority, which the Pope challengeth every where, is to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in anywise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

"Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this; That by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whosoever are under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all christian people are bound diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holidays, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore, God's will and commandment is, that when the people are gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? for all the sound is in vain; so is it in vain, and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; 'for though he may edify himself, he edifieth not the people,' saith St. Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availeth nothing: but if preaching availeth nothing, being spoken in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appears plainly by his own words. For he speaks by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say Amen; which they use not in preaching, but in other divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request unto God for any thing; then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say Amen; that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet savour, odour, and incense before him, and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension. But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas, St. Paul saith; how can the people say Amen, to thy giving of thanks, seeing they understand not what thou sayest? And thus was St. Paul understood by all interpreters, both Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until about thirty years past. At which time one Eckius, with others of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.

"But when a good number of the best learned men reputed in this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts, were gathered together at Windsor, for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue: and that St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of Corinthians, was so to be understood. And so is St. Paul to be understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor in a synod, writes on this manner: 'We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayer used in holy baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithful people, so as the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For St. Paul teacheth also in the first epistle to the Corinthians, xiv. 16, 17, 'Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And not only the civil law, and all other writers for more then a thousand and five hundred years, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the church; but also reason testifies the same, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they know not what, and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

"And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received of all christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, 'Drink ye all of it:' the pope giveth quite a contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation; as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertained not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose work St. Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, 'That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them;' yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

"But I was answered hereunto (as commonly the papists do answer) that under the form of bread is contained the whole of Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receives the form of bread, receives as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so, yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drank, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And, moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keepeth from all lay persons, the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

"And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone: so that the lay people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented, as he commanded.

"Moreover, as the pope takes upon him to give the temporal sword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes: so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, absolving the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

"One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory writes, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, who were equal with him, that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and of Antioch: which three were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and were brethren

one to another. But, saith St. Gregory, if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth in pride. But now the bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down, as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him: in like manner the pope takes upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

"And moreover, his lawyers and followers so flatter him, that they pretend he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth from his horse, and to be his footmen: and that if any emperors or kings give him any thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the old and new testament, against St. Paul's epistles, and against the gospel. And furthermore, whatever he doth, although he draw innumerable people with him into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were a god, and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play antichrist's part, I cannot tell what is antichrist, which is to say, he is Christ's enemy and adversary, who shall sit in the temple of God, advancing himself above all others, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christ's religion shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of antichrist. Now, if any man lift himself higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be a greater adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find antichrist.

"Wherefore, seeing the pope thus overthrows both God's laws and man's laws, takes upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects to him, especially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same; I see no means how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

"This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the footsteps of his predecessors in these latter days.

"Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, but most especially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth, to God's glory; casting away all fear, by the comfort which I have in Christ, who saith, 'Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.' He that for fear to lose this life will forsake the truth, shall lose everlasting life: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, shall find everlasting life. And Christ promises to stand fast with them before his Father, who will stand fast with him here. Which comfort is so great, that whoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly value this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

"And as touching the sacrament, I said; forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ: 'This is my body, this is my blood,' I said that Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood; because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say in those two points contrary to me, that Christ called not bread his body, but an uncertain substance, nor spake figuratively: herein I said, I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand to. And forasmuch as I have alleged in my book many old authors, both Greek and Latin, who above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer still, that I will give place to them.

"But when I bring forth any author that saith in most plain terms as I do, yet saith the other part, that the author meant not so; as who should say, that the author spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author, that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the author meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yea, the old church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament, as the church of Rome hath done of late years.

"For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament, contrary to what Christ commanded, and the old church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But however they hold the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

"For by their doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies; one natural, having distinction of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distinction of members, nor form, fashion or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament they teach, and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting. So that when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men are as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

"It seems to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body: which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet the whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, for he cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and seemeth to me a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be shewed unto me, that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my docrine in the sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shewed), then I never was nor will be so perverse as to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the pope, and willingly kiss his feet.

"Another cause why I refused to take the bishop of Gloucester for my judge, was on account of his own

person, being more than once perjured First, for that he being, divers times, sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they be; contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a judge.

"The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the queen's majesty and of the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths are so contrary that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore, in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge."

An Account of Agnes Potten, and Joan Trunchfield.

In the history of Robert Samuel, mention was made of two godly women of Ipswich, who suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom; namely, Agnes Potten, and the wife of one Trunchfield, a shoemaker; who, about the time that Cranmer was burned at Oxford, suffered in Ipswich.

Their opinion was, that the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: for (said they) Jesus Christ is ascended into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the scriptures, and not in the sacrament.

For this they were burned. Their constancy in suffering was greatly wondered at, though but women, they so manfully stood to the confession of God's word, that when they had prepared and undressed themselves for the fire, with comfortable words of the scripture they earnestly required the people to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish antichrist, with all his superstitions and false religion; and while in the midst of the fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God constantly, so long as life endured.

After these two women of Ipswich, succeeded three men, who were burnt in the same month, at one fire, in Salisbury; who spared not their bodies, to bring their souls to the celestial felicity, of which they were thoroughly assured in Christ Jesus, by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their body and souls asunder. Their names were, John Spicer, William Coberley, and John Maundrel.

John Maundrel was from his childhood brought up in husbandry, and after he came to man's estate, dwelt in Buchampton, in the parish of Kevil, in Wiltshire, where he had a wife and children, of good name and fame. After that the scripture was translated into English by William Tindal, he became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion; so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. When he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good memory; so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament. His conversation and living also were honest and charitable.

In the days of King Henry VIII., when Doctor Trigonion and Doctor Lee, visited the abbeys, John Maundrel was brought before Doctor Trigonion at an abbey called Edyngton, where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such ceremonies, and for this was obliged to wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand, about the market, in the town of Devizes.

In the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored, and God's true religion put to silence, John Maundrel left his house, and departed into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another, to such men as he knew feared God. But after a time, he returned to his county, and coming to Anthony Clee, had conference with him about returning home. And when the other exhorted him by the words of scripture, to fly from one city to another, he replied again by the words in the 21st chapter of the book of Revelations, of them that be "fearful," &c., said, that he needs must go home, and so he did. Where he, with Spicer and Coberley, used at times to resort and confer together.

At length upon the Sunday they agreed to go to the parish church called Kevil, where seeing the parishioners in the procession follow and worship the idol, they advised them to turn to the living God. After this, the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, that that was the pope's pinfold, the other two affirming the same. After which, by command of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till the service was done, and then they were brought before a justice of peace, and the next day carried to Salisbury, and presented before bishop Capon, and W. Jeffrey, being chancellor of the diocese; by whom they were imprisoned, and often examined about their faith.

They answered, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelations.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow; so he opposed them in particular articles: first, whether they did not believe that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary. They answered, saying, "That the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received by the faithful believer."

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth? they answered, that the bishop of Rome usurps over emperors and kings, being antichrist and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Will you have the church without a head?"

They answered, "Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty." "What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church!" "Yea," said they, "within her grace's dominions."

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church.

They said, "They believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they feared not the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons."

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed to and worshipped.

John Maundrel answered, "That wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but were bad in the church; whereby idolatry was committed."

Those articles thus answered, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff. Then spake John Spicer, saying, "Oh, master Sheriff! now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord." This was the 23rd day of March, A.D. 1556, and on the 24th day of the same month they were carried out of the common gaol to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at. On coming to the place, they kneeled down, and offered their prayers secretly together, and then being undressed to their shirts, John Maundrel spoke with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury;" which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after

that, in like manner, spake John Spicer, saying, "This is the most joyful day that ever I saw." Thus were these three godly men burnt at two stakes: where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As to William Coberley, this is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper's house while her husband was in prison; where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key in the fire, and laid it in the grass. She then requested Alice Coberley to fetch her the key in all haste; so Alice went, and taking up the key in haste severely burned her hand; and when she cried out at the sudden burning of her hand, the other said, "Ah, thou drab! thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body?" and so she afterwards recanted. But to return again to the story of Coberley, who at the stake was somewhat long in burning: after his body was scorched, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, so that the flesh was burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and, with the right hand, knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth.

About the 23rd day of April, (A.D. 1556,) were burned in Smithfield at one fire, six constant martyrs of Christ, who suffered for the profession of the gospel, viz.

Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyms, curate; Richard Spurge, sheerman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; and George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and consequently of the diocese of London, and were sent up, some by the lord Rich and others, to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, about the 22nd of March, A.D. 1555; who, after examination, sent them, some to the King's-bench, and others to the marshalsea, where they remained almost all the whole year, until the death of the bishop of Winchester. After Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, being now weary of their long imprisonment, made a supplication to Doctor Heath, for their deliverance: the copy whereof is as follows.

To the right reverend Father Thomas, archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England.

"May it please your honourable good lordship, for the love of God, to tender the humble suit of your lordship's poor petitioners whose names are subscribed, who have lain in great misery in the marshalsea, by the space of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In consideration whereof, your lordship's said petitioners do most humbly pray and beseech your good lordship, to suffer them to be brought before your honour; and there, if any man of good conscience can lay any thing to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocency against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true, and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign punishments to satisfy the law, according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, in the which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God, Amen."

Upon the receipt of this petition, Sir Richard Read, knight, on the 16th of Jan., was sent to the marshalsea to examine the four prisoners; and therefore, beginning with Richard Spurge, received his answers: the effect of which was, that he with others were complained of by the parson of Bocking to the lord Rich, for that they came not unto their parish church of Bocking, where they resided; and for this were sent to the late lord chancellor. And farther, he said, that he came not to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin, because he disliked both it and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Thomas Spurge being next examined, made the same answer in effect that the other had done; confessing, that he absented himself from the church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered in such sort as was prescribed by the same word. And being farther examined of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said, That if any could accuse him in it, he would make answer as God had given him knowledge.

The like answer made George Ambrose, adding, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, intitled, "*De vera obedientia*," with Bonner's preface, inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he was much less influenced by their doings than before.

John Cavel answered, that the cause why he forbore coming to the church, was, that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For, first, in a sermon that he made at the queen's first entry to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the testament was false in forty places, which contrariety was one cause amongst others, for his absenting from the church.

Robert Drakes also was examined, he was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had there remained for the space of three years. He was first made deacon by Doctor Taylor of Hadley, at the command of Doctor Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. And within one year after, he was by the archbishop and Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and presented to the benefice of Thundersley by Lord Rich. At his coming to the bishop of Winchester, he was by him demanded whether he would conform himself to the laws of this realm then in force. To which he said he would obey all laws that stood with the laws of God; and was committed to prison.

Now remains likewise to declare the examination of William Tyms, deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex. But before I come to his examination, first here is to be opened and set forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was first apprehended in Essex, and from thence sent up to London.

There were at Hockley in Queen Mary's days two sermons preached in the woods, called Plumborough-wood, and Beches-wood, and there was at the sermons an honest man, called John Gye, and his wife. Shortly after it was known to Master Tyrel, who owned the woods, how that his woods were polluted with sermons being preached in them, he took it very ill. Shortly after Master Tyrel came to Hockley to sift the matter, and to know who was at the preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is supposed there were an hundred persons at the least. So it pleased him to begin first with John Gye, and he asked him where that naughty fellow was that served their parish, one Tyms; "for it is told me," said he, "that he is the cause of bringing these fellows into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this fellow Tyms, for thou knowest where he is." "No," said Gye, "I do not know."

Then stepped forth another of Master Tyrel's men, whose name was Richard Sheriff, and said to his Master; "Sir, I know where he is." "Well," said Master Tyrel, "go to the constables, and charge them to bring him to me."

So this sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had him brought before his master with the constables, when he came, Master Tyrel commanded all men to depart; and it was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms, and there he kept him about three hours. Some that listened, heard Master Tyrel say to Tyms:

"Methinks," said he, "that when I see the blessed crucifix, it makes me think of God."

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "if an idol, that is made with man's hands, doth make you remember God; how much more ought the creatures of God, as man being his workmanship, or the grass, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?"

Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms, as it appears, in a heat, for he burst out and called him traitorly knave.

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "in king Edward's days you affirm the truth which I do now."

"Affirm!" quoth Tyrel, "nay, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart."

"Well," said Tyms, "then I pray you Master Tyrel bear with me, for I have been a traitor only a while, but you have been a traitor six years."

After this Tyms was sent to London to the bishop, and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's bench.

When Tyms came before the bishop of London, there was with him at the time the bishop of Bath, and William Tyms was examined before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true hearted man, that he had wherewith to answer them both; for the constables that brought him before the bishop, said, that they never heard the like.

Both the bishops waxed weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to flatter him, saying, "Ah, good fellow, thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit, we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit." "I thank you, my lords," said Tyms, "both you are learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning." So thus they broke up.

William Tyms was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above named, and with them brought together to public examination before Bonner, on the 21st of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the bishop after his accustomed manner proceeding against them, inquired of them their faith upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporeally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest.

On the 23rd of March, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and objected to them certain articles. On the 26th, he sent for the other four, ministering to them also the same articles.

But in conclusion, on the 28th, William Tyms, and Robert Drakes, with the others, were brought to the open consistory in St. Paul's, before Bonner, to be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began in this sort; "Tyms," said he, "I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been the ringleader of these thy companions; thou hast taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and hast endeavoured, as much as in thee lieth, to make them like thyself. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ in the xviii. of Matthew, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldst not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I with two or three others would have exhorted thee; if that would not have served, then would I have told the church, &c. But because thy fault is open and manifest to the world, and thou thyself remainest in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, of which St. Paul speaks, 1 Timothy v. 20.—'Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others also may fear.' For this cause thou art brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to thy deserts. Let me see what thou canst say, why I should not proceed against thee as thine ordinary."

"My lord," said Tyms, "will you now give me leave to speak?"

"Yea," said the bishop.

Then said Tyms, "My lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have said, shall shortly appear; for there is none of all these my brethren, who are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present; and for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until I by your commandment was made a prisoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other religion than Christ preached; the apostles witnessed; the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed by what rule you will; I force not, I do not refuse you for my ordinary."

Then said the bishop, "I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How sayest thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the catholic church as an obedient child? in so doing thou shalt be received, and do well enough; otherwise thou shalt have judgment as an heretic."

Then one of the prisoners said; "My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own will. But if you will judge us according to the holy testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will submit to your judgment; for to that word we wholly submit ourselves. But as for your judgment, without the truth, God shall condemn it."

With this the bishop was offended, calling him, "busy knave," and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he should be had away to prison.

Then Tyms answered and said, "My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporeal oath promised never to consent to it. Contrary to which, you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely forsworn. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you burn men who will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head."

"Have I?" replied the bishop, "Where have I written any thing against the church of Rome?"

"My lord," quoth Tyms, "the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, '*De vera obedientia*,' which contains worthy matter against the Romish authority, to which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it."

Then the bishop was somewhat abashed, and looking upon such as were present, spake very gently, saying; "Lo, here is a goodly matter indeed. My lord of Winchester, being a great learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and I also did write a preface before this book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we, because of the perilous world that then was. For then it was made treason, by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope's authority, and it was great danger to be suspected as a favourer of the see of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it."

And then turning his tale to Tyms, he said; "But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen's majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my lord of Winchester himself was not ashamed to recant, at St. Paul's cross. And also, thou thyself seest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done."

"My lord," said Tyms, "that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well proved by the scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the word of God, as I can well prove."

Then Doctor Cooke said; "Tyms, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou speakest much of the scripture, and yet understandest it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayest be compared. Thou art like to one who intend-

ing to go on hunting, riseth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the vallies; he passeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he searcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh, weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it with thee. Thou labourest in reading of the scriptures, thou takest the letter, but the meaning thou knowest not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I spake of even now."

"Sir," said Tyms, "you have not well applied your similitude; for I, praise God, I have not read the scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me so much as I doubt not is sufficient for my salvation."

Then said the bishop; "You boast much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of scripture, and you know not what scripture is. I pray thee tell me: How knowest thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou callest scripture?"

To this answered Robert Drakes, that he did know it to be the word of God, for "it shews unto men their salvation in Christ, and calls back all men from wicked life, to a pure and undefiled conversation."

The bishop replied, that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the scripture, and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God's word.

To this Tyms answered, saying; "The old testament bears witness of those things which are written in the new, for there is nothing taught in the new testament, but was foreshewed in the law and the prophets."

"I will deny all," said the bishop, "I will deny all; what sayest thou then?" Then he spake to Doctor Pendleton, saying,

"Master doctor, I pray you say somewhat to these folks that may do them some good." Then Doctor Pendleton covered his face with both his hands, that he might the more quietly devise what to say; but other talk was presently ministered, so that for that time he said nothing.

Then the bishop, proceeding at length in form of law, caused both his articles and answers to be openly read.

After this, the bishop began to entreat and persuade him to revoke his heresies (as he termed them), and to conform himself to the church of Rome, and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old fathers.

To which Tyms answered, "I will not conform myself thereto. And I thank God, for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings."

And asking this question, he said; "And what have you to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but only the bare letter?"

"We have," said the bishop, "the catholic church."

"No," said Tyms, "you have the popish church of Rome for you, and the see of Rome is the see of antichrist; and therefore to that church I will not conform myself, nor once consent to it."

Then the bishop, seeing his constant boldness, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced sentence upon him, and gave him over to the secular power.

Afterwards Bonner called for Robert Drakes, and used towards him the like manner of exhortation. Drakes said; "As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and refuse it, with all the works thereof, even as I refuse the devil and all his works."

The bishop then using his accustomed order of law, at last pronounced sentence upon him, and so charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, said as follows; "As for your church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the same, whereof I believe the church of Rome to be no part or member." Then calling the rest in their order, and upon the like demands receiving the like answers, the bishop pronounced on them their several judgments, and so committed them to the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate, whither they went all most joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, till they should seal this their faith with the shedding of their blood; which they most firmly and willingly performed, on the 14th day of April.

A Letter of William Tyms to his faithful Sister in the Lord, Parishioner in the town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sister, yea, mother I might rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

"And now, (my dear heart,) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the 20th of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly afterwards be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hasten you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear heart, make good haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night take you, and so you be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now, (my sister,) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood, for a testimony unto you that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests, Amen."

These words following were written with his own blood.

"Continue in prayer. By me, William Tyms, in the
"Ask in Faith. King's-bench for the
"And obtain your desire. gospel of Christ."

Another Letter to his Sisters Colfox and Agnes Glascock.

"Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, who are the papists, and take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty master; yea, and as St. Peter saith, he sleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run to the idols' temple with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter saith, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

"But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose sake, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if you be railed on, and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy. For if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants always have persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

"By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen, who, for favouring, maintaining and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were variously afflicted all the world over for the same cause, by this evil generation. Antipas, the faithful witness of Christ, was slain at Pergamos. Jason, for receiving of Paul and Silas, with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council at Thessalonica, and accused for a seditious traitor against Cæsar. No marvel, therefore, that at this day we are vexed on the same sort, for maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than hath been afore-times? No, surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, they must needs persecute his members; if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, so will they do his household; 'You shall be hated of all men (saith Christ), for my name's sake.'

"It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they are, as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For heretics must they be taken, who follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies. He never went in a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick. He never sensed image, nor sang Latin service. He never sat in confession. He never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope's pardons. He never honoured saints, nor prayed for the dead. He never said mass, mattins, nor evensong. He never commanded to fast Friday nor Vigil, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names out of the book of life. St. Paul saith, they have no portion with Christ, who entangle themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God hath, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and entangle not yourselves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, as St. Peter saith, 'will come as a thief in the night!' And our captain Christ saith, 'If the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have suffered his house to be broken in.'

"Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who, according to his promise for the weakness of our nature, hath so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren who are gone before us, in the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Rom. viii. 35—37. 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, for thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.'

"Therefore, (my dear sisters,) if to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you to go to the idols' temple with them, say unto them; No, for my master Christ saith, 'He that would save his life, shall lose it.' And in another place, to comfort us he saith, There shall not one hair fall from our head, without it be our heavenly Father's will. And therefore say that you will not be of that sort, who are neither hot nor cold, lest God should utterly reject you. But make them this answer, saying as St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. vi. 14—18. 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you. And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'

"Thus, mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS."

About this time, there came down certain commissioners to Norfolk and Suffolk, to enquire of matters of religion: to which commissioners there was a supplication then exhibited by some good and well disposed men dwelling about those parts, well worthy the perusal of every christian man, as here follows; shewing the godly nature of the reformation wrought in king Edward's days.

A Supplication exhibited by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, to the Commissioners.

"In most humble and lowly wise, we beseech your honours, right honourable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with God's grace, to continue in christian obedience unto the end, (and according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul saith, Romans xiii. 1, 2, 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.' These lessons, right honourable commissioners, we have learned from the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

"First, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for man to be governed by, and that the same is of God, the fountain and author of righteousness.

"Secondly, That to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them, bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 13—16. saying, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto gover-

nors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: As free and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.'

"Wherefore considering with ourselves, both that the magistrate's power is of God, and that for the Lord's sake we are bound to christian obedience unto them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God, which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her grace, and with due reverence unto you her grace's commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this commandment, now given unto us.

"First, right honourable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due unto God's word; insomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with God's word.

"Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service, and believe it to dissent and disagree from God's word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religon, and to impart a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors, superstitions, and idolatry, wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded, that the same wicked commandment should come from the queen's majesty, but rather from some other person, abusing the queen's goodness and favour, and studying to work some design against the queen, her crown, and the realm, and to please the Roman bishop, at whose hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

"As Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king, Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius: so we think the queen's most gentle heart is abused by some, who seeking themselves and their own vain glory, procure such commandments as are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion of her majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy religion (so according to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, a very saint of God, our late most dear king Edward, her grace's brother) except she were wonderfully abused; but the authors of this commandment hating reformation, will rather the destruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and conform according to God's word. For truly, the religion lately set forth by king Edward, is such as every christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's church here in England must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and if need require, lose and forsake, not only house, land and possessions, riches, wife, children and friends; but also, if God will so call them, gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and lose their lives in the defence of God's word and truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour, Christ, requireth the same of us, saying, 'Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.' Mark viii. 38. And again, saith he, 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' Matt. x. 32, 33. 'And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.' Matt. xii. 32.

"We humbly beseech the queen's majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, be not offended with us for confessing this truth of God, so straitly given us in charge by Christ; neither bring upon us, that great sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his bloodshedding, wherewith we are redeemed.

"For in that day, neither the queen's highness, neither you, nor any man shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon of Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a sin; but we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, most earnestly to flee from it, and rather, if the will of God be so, to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, rather than to incur such damnation before God.

"Manasseh, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion (before put down by Hezekiah his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people: as the scripture saith. 'Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal. And the Lord said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, my name shall be there."—2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27. Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected up a new found service of God, not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel to sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying that his ungodly commandment: yet it was not so heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

"This most heinous offence is now offered to us, although the same be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, restoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holiness. These are sheepskins, under which, as Christ saith, ravening wolves cover themselves. But Christ desires us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit, to cast aside God's word, and to banish the English service out of the churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue unknown to the people. Which, as it edifieth no man, so it hath been the occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For before the blessed reformation begun by the most noble prince of godly memory, the queen's good father; and finished by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother; it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in; when not one man in all this realm, unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lord's prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or rehearse any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, unclean monkery, and immorality of unmarried priests, of all vice, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing us with famine and pestilence; and at last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is greatly to be feared the same or more grievous plagues shall now again follow.

"We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin service, we know not what (for none of us understand it) to be again brought in amongst us, specially seeing that Christ hath said, 'My sheep hear my voice, and

follow me, and I give to them everlasting life.' The service in English teaches us, that we are the Lord's people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commands that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderness, lest he sware unto us, as he did sware unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

"The service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good, (as they say it is) yet unto us that lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commands, that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God's commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but contrary all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the same, and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that St. Paul speaks of, saying: 'Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders. And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' 2 Thess. ii. 9—12.

"Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into his rest.

"In the administration of the Lord's supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments, and at the rehearsal of every one of them to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

"We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen's majesty; wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God, therefore we pray to God for her, that she and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we her subjects obey according to the same.

"Truly most honourable commissioners, we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our churches, and we should think ourselves not to have the hearts of true subjects if we should go about to put away such godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet multitude have more need to have these things more often and earnestly inculcated upon them, specially given, as they are in many places to stir and trouble, than to take from them that blessed doctrine, whereby only, they may to their salvation be kept in quiet.

"Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ's institution, administered with such godly prayers, exhortations and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption: which we in eating of that blessed bread, and drinking of the blessed cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and are perfectly joined with Christ and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby each member faithfully embraces another. We must needs confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conscience against sin and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins, much quarrelling, strife, and contention is ended; drunkenness, and other vices, reformed in some, goodness and virtue increased and nourished

"In the Latin mass we never had such edifying, but only we saw a great many ceremonies and strange gestures; as turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we understand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the priest prayeth, we know not whether he blesses or curses us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution appointeth we should be.

"In the administering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, Drink ye all of this.

"They rob us also of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Christ commandeth not that his supper should be administered in an unknown tongue: but forasmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made unto us in his holy sacrament, saying, 'This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins,' if the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the congregation understand not, and hear not what is spoken? St. Paul saith thus, reciting the saying of Isaiah, 'As I live saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.' Also he saith, 'All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father.' The Holy Ghost came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul administered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of strange tongues into the congregation. We cannot think that to be well, which so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatsoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

"The priests complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: for how should we love them, that only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance, under a colour of pretended holiness? We know, right honourable commissioners, what honour is due to such wolves, and how by the authority of God's word, such are to be fled from, as pestilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miserably daily murder.

"But we have rather chosen by this our meek supplication, humbly to desire the queen's majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, to render God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the same. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately set out by the holy saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the holy scripture of God, and by Christ and his apostles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with safe consciences this refusal of it, and casting of it out of our churches; forasmuch as to refuse, cast off, and to reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption. Which thing whoso doth, the same without repentance can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but most fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire which shall destroy Christ's adversaries. For if he that despised the law of Moses, was without mercy put to death under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall he suffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and esteemeth the blood of the testament (whereby he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliously useth the spirit of grace?

"Wherefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the queen's gracious majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and shall so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service, that nothing edifieth us, and casting out of Christ's holy communion and English service, so causing us to sin against our

Redeemer. For such as willingly and wittingly against their consciences shall so do (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe, that they shall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Christ's holy word and communion before men, so shall Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

"And whereas it is very earnestly required, that we should go in procession (as they call it) at which time the priests say in Latin such things as we are ignorant of, the same edifieth nothing at all unto godliness, and we have learned that to follow Christ's cross, is another matter, namely, to take up our cross, and to follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whensoever God's holy will and pleasure is to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, whereby in his own person he conquered death, sin, and hell, hath most lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Christ's cross declared by our preachers; whereby we have learned the causes and effects of the same more lively in one sermon, than in all the processions that ever we went in, or ever shall go in.

"When we worshipped the divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invocating the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all christian prayers should be directed, and also to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the salvation of our souls, as to the relief of our mortal necessities. And we humbly beseech the queen's majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued amongst us; that our ministers praying in our mother-tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer Amen, unto them. At evening service we understood our minister's prayers, we were taught and admonished by the scriptures then read; which in the Latin even-song is all gone.

"At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vows and promises we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

"The christian catechism continually taught and called to remembrance the same, whereas before no man knew any thing at all; and many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to wash their hands ere they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

"O, merciful God! have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether cast from thy presence? we may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment, to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions and doctrines; and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps, the bread coming down from heaven that giveth life; which whoso eateth, it shall be in him a well-spring, streaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would us to walk in, what punishment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

"Wherefore, right honourable commissioners, we cannot without impiety refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing set forth by our most godly late king Edward, and his virtuous proceedings, so agreeable to God's word. And our most humble suit is that this commandment may be revoked, so that we be not constrained thereunto. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root amongst us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her grace's mortal foe, that then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

"And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word be not taken away out of her churches, nor from us her loving, faithful and true subjects; lest, if the like necessity should hereafter chance (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her grace, and us all) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true subjects. And truly we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil, enemy to all godly peace and quietness, that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all mischief and wickedness; and by banishing the holy gospel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain, most terrible uproars, commotions and seditions. These things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refusing his word, saying, 'Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate.' Isaiah vi. 9—11. And the prophet Micah, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus, 'The day of thy watchmen and thy visitation cometh, now shall be their perplexity. Trust ye not in a friend, put ye not confidence in a guide; keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom. For the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: a man's enemies are the men of his own house.' Micah vii. 4—6. The same plague Christ threatened unto the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel, and he wept over the city Jerusalem, which murdered the prophets, and stoned such as were sent unto her.

"The same plagues, we are afraid, will also fall upon us. For whereas heretofore, with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great benedictions of God, especially this christian concord and holy peace, so that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion, no man offended with another, but as the sons of peace, each of us with christian charity embraced other: now alas for pity, the devil (riding upon the red horse, showed unto St. John in the Revelation,) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious busy-bodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in despising God's word, then will they spitefully and hatefully rail against him and it, calling it error and heresy, and the professors thereof heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, as traitors and not the queen's friends, not favourers of the queen's proceedings; as if to love God's word were heresy, and as though to talk of Christ, were to be schismatic; as though none could be true to the queen, that were not false to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but such as despitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth; as though none favoured the queen's majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

"And in very deed these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations, without commandment or ensample either of Christ, or of his apostles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alleged maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved, before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet these, being mere tra-

ditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honourable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishops apparators, to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonour, and against the supreme authority of the regal estate of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for seditious, and not the queen's friends.

"But God who is blessed for ever, knoweth that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours: for the searcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, that her grace's brother, our most dear king, did set out amongst us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and with prosperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

"But we cannot think that those men do seek either God's honour, or her grace's prosperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her grace's faithful subjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless. And when the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we should have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refused and cast off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then shall we look for the Lord's wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And St. Paul saith, Rom. xi. 8. 'God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear unto this day.' And as David said; Psal. lxix. 22, 23. 'Let their table become a snare before them: and that which should have been for their welfare, let it become a trap. Let their eyes be darkened that they see not, and make their loins continually to shake.'

"O, merciful God! all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our backs, that we shall utterly be destroyed; the troublesome spirit of uproars and disquietness daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh such disquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and see not how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God's word, calling us to true repentance, nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ's word and most holy communion, is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And, as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokeneth desolation of this noble realm of England to be at hand.

"For the plagues of hunger, pestilence and sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never seen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the gospel? 'Those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me,' Luke xix. 27. God be merciful unto us, and move the queen's majesty's heart, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts, right honourable commissioners, to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this bishop-like commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this world, lest if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, that no man can quench.

"We have humbly opened unto you our consciences, doubtless sore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the precious death and blood-shedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us, her grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her grace is supreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience, and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels, in the day of judgment: which we trust her benign grace will not require of us.

"And we humbly beseech her majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment: so we may be permitted freely to serve God, and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so as Christ teacheth, we may render to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.

"For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's highness, or to any other magistrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God's word, although the same be ever so straitly charged in her grace's name. The bishop of Winchester hath truly taught on that point, in his book 'Of True Obedience,' that true obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord; as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, commanding them never more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus. 'Whether it be right,' said they, 'in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.' And again they said, 'We must obey God rather than man.' Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords; and for him, in him, and not against him and his word, to obey the princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

"Tobias disobeyed not his king, although contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel, who prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king than those wicked councillors who procured that wicked law, or those that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two pestilences—fear and flattery—have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked, godless men, who care not if the devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory—turn to and fro, as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing that their hearts and consciences inwardly abhorreth; and so outwardly disobey God, and in heart dissemble with man, which dissimulation we think worthy the hatred of all men, and most uncomely for christian men.

"Wherefore, we humbly beseech the queen's majesty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects, who are by this commandment sore

hurt, and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful stir or commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her majesty in all things not against God and his holy word. But unto such ungodly commandments as are against God, we answer with the apostles—God must be obeyed rather than man. If persecution shall ensue, which some threaten us with, we desire our heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adversaries, and to give us faith, strength and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days, for his chosen's sake; and so we faithfully believe he will.

"Notwithstanding, we trust the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; who have no remedy in this world, but to sue unto her highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honour, as the good kings Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion—set forth by our most holy and innocent king Edward, a very saint of God, to be restored again unto our churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life; so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates, and all superiors ordained of God; so shall love and charity, of late through this commandment so decayed, be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established, and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

"And we most heartily pray you—the right honourable commissioners—to be means unto the queen's highness, and to her honourable council, that this our humble suit may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preserve her grace and all other magistrates in his fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour, Amen.

"Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true religion, in Norfolk and Suffolk."

An Account of John Harpole and Joan Beach.

Joan Beach, widow, of Tunbridge, and John Harpole, of Rochester, were examined by Maurice, bishop of the diocese, who condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence. And thus these two christian martyrs joined in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the town of Rochester, where they ended their lives about the first day of April.

Next after these followed the martyrdom of John Hullier, minister, who first being brought up in the school of Eton, was afterwards scholar, and, in the king's college at Cambridge suffered under Doctor Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days. In whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little is left as to the process of his judgment and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause among the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appears that he was zealous and earnest in the doctrine of truth, which every true christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the 2d of April.

The Martyrdom of six godly Professors of Christ at Colchester.

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as before mentioned, followed the martyrdom, at one fire in Colchester, of six other blessed martyrs, namely:—

Christopher Lyster, husbandman; John Mace, apothecary; John Spencer, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, weaver; and John Hamond, tanner.

With these six was also joined another, whose name was Roger Grasbroke, but he afterwards submitted himself. Of these above named, the bishop, because he now waxed weary, made a very quick dispatch: he caused them to be brought to his house at Fulham: where in the open church, there were administered to them the same articles that were propounded to others. To which they made their several answers, agreeing altogether in one truth, namely, that they believed that the church of Rome is no part of Christ's catholic church; and that they believed, that in the true catholic church of Christ there are but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; confessing that they were baptised in the faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had so professed and promised for them; and that they always were, and yet did continue in the faith and profession wherein they were baptised; and that they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessd, that they had disliked, and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers of it, because they believed that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. And moreover, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he ought not to have any authority in England, and that they never refused, nor then did refuse to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church: but they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter utterly refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge its authority, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonish mass, with all other of antichrist's merchandize.

These answers being made by them, the bishop dismissed them till the afternoon. At which time, standing most firmly to their christian profession, they were by various ways and means tried if they would revoke their professed faith, and return to the unity of antichrist's church. Which when they refused, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them to the temporal power. On the receipt of the king and queen's writ, accordingly, they were sent to Colchester, where, on the 28th of April, most cheerfully they ended their lives to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

An Account of Hugh Laverock, an old man, and John Apprice, a blind man, Martyrs.

In treating of this part of the history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, with whom there is no respect of persons, for he chooseth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory, or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful papists, (I mean Bishop Bonner and his accomplices) in whom there was so little favour or mercy to all conditions of men, that they spared neither impotent age, nor lame nor blind, as will appear by the following poor creatures, whose names were Hugh Laverock, of the parish of Barking, painter, aged 68, a lame cripple; and John Apprice, a blind man.

These two poor and simple creatures being accused by some neighbour of theirs to the bishop, were sent for by their officer; and so being delivered into the hands of the bishop, were on the 1st day of May examined in his palace at London: where he first propounded and objected against them nine articles, similar to those administered to Bartlet Green and many others, to which they answered with all christian faithfulness.

Upon this they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, on the 9th of the month, in the consistory

of St. Paul's were again publicly produced, and there laboured with to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

Hugh Laverock said; "I will stand to mine answers, and to what I have confessed; and I cannot find in the scriptures, that the priests should lift up over their head a cake of bread."

The bishop then turned to John Apprice, and asked what he would say.

He answered; "Your doctrine that you set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced by the world, that it cannot be agreeable with the scriptures of God. And you are not of the catholic church; for you make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman."

At which words the bishop, somewhat irritated, and therefore very loath to delay their condemnation any longer, commanded that they should be brought after him to Fulham, and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, and so delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to rid himself of them, but could not so satisfy his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men, being now in the temporal officer's hands, were not suffered to remain long there, and therefore on the 15th of May, very early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart, to Stratford-le-Bow, and most quietly in the fire yielding up their souls into God's hands, praising him, through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom to the end they most constantly confessed.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-martyr, said unto him; "Be of good comfort, my brother; for my lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." And so patiently these two good saints of God patiently suffered together.

Three Women burned in Smithfield.

The next day after the martyrdom of this lame and blind man, were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was joined another, who being of the same opinion and constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the same condemnation. Their names were: Katharine Hut, widow; Joan Horns, maiden; Elizabeth Tackvell, maiden; and Margaret Ellis, maiden.

When Bishop Bonner entered into an examination of these four women, he objected the like articles to them as he had used to administer, and are before expressed; to which the women likewise agreeing in the same unity of spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing to the others before them, viz. They answered, that matrimony, and baptism, and the Lord's Supper were sacraments ordained in the church: but whether the others specified in this were sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. And they said, that they were baptised by their godfathers and godmothers, which godfathers and godmothers did not then know so much; but what their godfathers and godmothers then promised in their names they could not tell. They further answered and confessed, that as to the mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as to the sacrament of the altar, they believed that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar, and as concerning the see of Rome, they acknowleged no such supremacy in that see, neither have they any thing to do with it. And they all refused to be reconciled or united to the church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that in which they now stood, and did profess. They answered likewise, that neither the service in Latin, mass, matins, and evensong, nor the sacraments were used and administered according to God's word: And furthermore, that the mass is an idol, neither is the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

After their answers were received, they were produced again about the 13th of April, and at length brought to their final judgment; where Katharine Hut, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly maintained that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required to speak her mind of the sacrament, and to return to the fellowship of the church of Rome, openly protested, saying, "I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with men's hands." Wherein this good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her sentence, being condemned of Bonner to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns, brought likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of which sacrament, contrary to the nature of a sacrament, the adversaries are wont to make an idol-service; to this she protested openly her mind, saying—"If you can make your God to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you. And in the way which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God," &c.

And as to the Romish see, she said, 'My lord (speaking to Bonner) I forsake all her abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us." From this, her stable and constant assertion, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he passed sentence upon her. And so this holy virgin and martyr was committed to the secular power, and was offered up with her fellows, a burnt-sacrifice to the Lord.

As to Margaret Ellis, she likewise persevering in her confession, and resisting the false errors and heresies of the papists, was by Bonner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning arrived, she died in Newgate, and thus departed and slept in the Lord.

The same strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maiden Elizabeth Tackvell, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of scripture convince her, so by no forcible attempts could they remove her confession. Whereupon she standing to the death, being in like sort condemned, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully condemned for the just cause of God's gospel, were conveyed to Smithfield on the 16th of May, and there cruelly bound to the stake, giving their bodies to the tormentors, but their spirits they recommended to God. For whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of them that burned them did in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his saints.

An Account of Thomas Drowry and Thomas Croker.

You heard a little before of two men, the one blind and the other lame, who suffered about the 15th of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, who suffered the like martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester; of which two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the history of bishop Hooper, whom the said virtuous bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.

With him also was burned another in the same place; and at the same fire in Gloucester, about the fifth of May, whose name was Thomas Croker, bricklayer.

Concerning the blind boy, how long he was in prison, I am not certain. At his examination and final condemnation, he was brought before Doctor Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the register in the consistory. Where the chancellor

administered to the boy the usual articles; amongst which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying in effect as follows :—

"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?"

Thomas.—"No, I do not."

Chancellor.—"Then thou art an heretic, and shall be burned: but who has taught thee this heresy?"

Thomas.—"Yourself, Master Chancellor."

Chancellor.—"Where, I pray thee?"

Thomas.—"Even in yonder place, (pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church.)

Chancellor.—"When did I teach thee so?"

Thomas.—"When you preached there" (naming the day) "a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught."

Chancellor.—"Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I live, and escape burning."

Thomas.—"Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not do so."

Chancellor.—"Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee."

Thomas.—"God's will be fulfilled."

The register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor :—

"Fie, for shame, man; will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment."

Chancellor.—"No, register, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office."

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, delivering him over to the secular power. Who on the fifth day of May, brought the blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester, together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth. Who both together, in one fire, most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

Three Persons burnt at Beccles.

After the death of those above mentioned, three men were burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21st May, namely, Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole.

Thomas Spicer was a single man, of the age of nineteen years, dwelling in Winston in Suffolk.

The occasion of his being taken was, that he would not go to the popish church to hear mass, and receive their idol at the command of Sir John Tyrrel, who sent both him and the other two to a dungeon, till they were all three together brought before the chancellor of Norwich, and the register at the town of Beccles.

And there the chancellor, after endeavouring all he could to turn them from the truth, and could by no means prevail, minding to give sentence, he burst out into tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves: with such like words.

Now as he was thus exhorting them, and seemed very loath to read the sentence, the register sitting by, being weary of tarrying, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles objected were, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be the supreme head immediately under Christ in earth of the universal catholic church. That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion. That they believed not, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine to be in the sacrament of the altar. That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar. That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion. That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest. That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil. For this doctrine, these three were condemned, and committed to the secular power. And the next day they were all burnt together in the town of Beccles.

While these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they said their belief; and when they came to "the catholic church," Sir John Silliard spake to them; "That is well said, sirs, I am glad to hear you say you do believe in the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet."

To which Edmund Poole answered, that "though they believe in the catholic church, yet do they not believe in the popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief."

When they arose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake, and being bound, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those who stood by and heard them.

The Persecution in Suffolk.

By the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel, and others of his colleagues, there were persecuted and driven out of the town of Winston in Suffolk, thirteen persons, and out of Mendlesham twenty-one persons, in this same year: the charge against them was that they believed the holy word of God to be sufficient to their salvation, and denied the pope's usurped authority, and held all that church of antichrist to be Christ's adversaries. And they refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass, and all popish service and ceremonies, saying, they robbed God of his honour, and Christ of his death and glory. They held, too, that the ministers of the church by God's word might lawfully marry. And that they held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent by God on account of sin. They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many others with them, in that point, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness.

The Death of William Sleech.

On the last day of May, 1556, William Sleech being in prison for the doctrine of the Lord's gospel, and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried at the back of the prison, for the Romish spiritualty thought him not worthy to come within their holy church-yards, in any christian burial.

Four Men Condemned at Lewes.

In the following June, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes: namely, Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I find it objected in the bishop of London's registers, for not coming to church. He answered, "That after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because," said he, "it was in Latin, which he did not understand."

John Oswald, refused to answer any thing, until his accusers should be brought face to face before him; and said, "That fire and fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers, who were in King Edward's time, had suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after."

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire, on the 6th of June.

In the same town of Lewes, were burned Thomas Wood, minister, and Thomas Miles, about the 29th of

the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

In which month also, William Adherall, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, there died and was buried in the back of the prison. Also John Clement, wheelwright, who dying in the prison was buried in the same way, on the 25th day of June.

The next day, we read of a young man, a merchant's servant, who suffered cruel persecution of the papists, and was burnt at Leicester, on the 26th day of June.

Not long after the death of this servant, there were burned in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow, near London, eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in Essex.

To whom, on the 6th of June, Doctor Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, ministered the usual articles, to which they made their answers, in simplicity and in a good conscience.

When these thirteen persons were condemned, and the day appointed when they should suffer, which was the 27th of June, 1556, they were carried from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, and there separated into two several chambers. Afterwards, the sheriff came to one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves. They answered, That their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified. Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said the same to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to act the part of wise men, &c. They answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word, &c. When he saw it availed not to persuade (for they were, God be praised, firmly grounded on the rock Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they should suffer, and being all there together, they earnestly prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stkes, but the two women were loose in the midst, without any stake, and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will! Amen.

In the company of these thirteen, were three more condemned to die; who answered to the articles that were propounded to the thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, by means of which they then escaped.

The Sunday after these sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at St. Paul's Cross, where he declared, that they had as many opinions as they were persons. At hearing this sermon they drew up their faith in writing, and signed their names, and directed it to their friends and the faithful congregation, as follows:

"Unto all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

"Be it manifest to all by whom this our certificate shall be seen, that where upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us, whose names hereunder are subscribed, were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's truth; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning by the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is, by the devil and his agents, even at this present likewise daily slandered. Upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea, constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen, by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon lately preached at St. Paul's Cross, on the fourteenth of the said month, being Sunday, by Master Fecknam, now dean of the same church; where he, in that most worthy audience, defamed us to be in sixteen sundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all christian truth; and for a testimonial thereof, this hereunder written shall answer our cause, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

"First, we believe we were baptised in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church; in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, who hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do persist, and will, by God's assistance, to the end. Now mark, that although the minister were of the malignant church, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for he baptised us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confessing the articles of the christian faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptised, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

"There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

"2. We believe that there is a visible church wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elijah the prophet, as well as now.

"3. The see of Rome is the see of antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c., whereof the pope is head under the devil.

"4. The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

"5. God is neither spiritually nor corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remains no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"For these the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

"Apparent also let it be and known, that being examined of the former articles before the bloody bishop, the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the scripture. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches.

"Signed, Ralph Jackson.	Edmund Hurst.
Henry Adlington.	Laurence Parnam.
Lyon Caweh.	Thomas Bowyer.
William Halliwell.	Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles.	Agnes George.
John Routh.	Thomas Freeman.
John Derifall.	William Stannard.
Henry Wye.	William Adams."

In the diocese of Lichfield, about the 14th of June, in the same year, John Colstock who was lately come from London, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he suffered no martyrdom, yet sustained some trouble, being attached and examined by the bishop, especially for two points; in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession to be made to the priest. For which being compelled to recant, he was enjoined, in the church of St. Cedde, to bear a fagot before the cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst many others, who in the same diocese, and at the same time were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxeter, Nicholas Ball of Uttoxeter, Thomas Pyot of Chedull, and others.

In the same month there died in the prison of the King's-bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, who was buried in the back of the prison, on the 27th of June.

Also Martin Hunt, in the same prison, died through hunger, on the 29th. At which time likewise died in the same prison, as I find recorded, one John Norice, and after the same manner as the other, was buried at the back of the prison.

After the death of Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, there were three martyred at St. Edmund's-bury in Suffolk, in one fire, namely, Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson.

When Roger Bernard came before the bishop, he was asked whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be absolved, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or not? Roger Bernard answered, "No: I have not been with the priest, nor confessed to him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; I shall not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself."

Bishop.—"Surely, Bernard, thou must needs go, and confess thyself to him."

Roger.—"That shall I not do, by God's grace, while I live."

Bishop.—"What a stout heretic is this! How pertly he answers!"

Roger.—"My lord, it grieveth me not to be called heretic at your hands, for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ, long before this time."

At these words the bishop rose up in a great passion, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before what they call the sacrament of the altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not, and did as he did? Bernard answered, "I cannot tell why I should so do." "Why," quoth the bishop, "thou stupid fellow, whom seest thou yonder?" pointing to the pix over the altar.

Roger.—"I see no body there. Do you, my lord?"

Bishop.—"Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?"

Roger.—"My Maker! No, I see nothing but a few clothes hanging together." With that the bishop rose up sore displeased, and commanded the jailor to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him. "For," said he, "I will tame him ere he go from me," and so he was carried away.

The next day Berard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him if he did not remember himself since the day before, that he was before him?

Roger.—"Yes, my lord, I have remembered myself very well, for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of."

Then one of the guard standing by, said, "My lord, I pray you trouble not yourself any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I shall handle him after another sort, I trust, and make him a fair child ere he go, you shall see."

So he was committed to him, and then he brought him to an inn, where were a great number of priests assembled together, and there they commenced flattering him, and persuading him with enticing words, what they could; but when they could not prevail, for the Lord assisted the good poor man, then they began to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like. Bernard said, "Friends, I am not better than my master Christ and the prophets, which your fathers served after such sort; and I, for his name's-sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers." So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they carried him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

Adam Foster, of the age of six-and-twenty years, was taken at home in his house, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, except he might have it after Christ's holy ordinance. Accordingly, he was sent to Norwich, and there condemned by bishop Hopton.

Robert Lawson was a single man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen weaver. He was apprehended, because he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three aforesaid martyrs were carried to their deaths, at Edmund's-bury, after they had offered their prayer at the stake, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same cause.

John Fortune, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, was by his occupation a blacksmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, on the 20th of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find. Certain it is, however he was made away, he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Doctor Parker and Master Foster, you shall hear, written with his own hand.

The Examination of John Fortune before Doctor Parker and Master Foster.

"First Doctor Parker asked me 'if I believed in the catholic faith!'

"And I asked him 'which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen held, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death?'

"Doctor Parker being moved, said, 'What a naughty fellow is this! you shall soon see he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.'

"Then said Master Foster, 'I know you well. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?'

"And I stood still, and made no answer.

"Then said Master Foster, 'why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer?'

"And I said, 'Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.'

"Then said the Doctor, 'I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also.'

"And I said, 'I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Then said he, 'you deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?'

"And I said, 'because it is not written in God's book.'

"Then said he, 'you will not believe unwritten truths.'

"And I said, 'I will believe that those unwritten truths that agree with the written truth are true: but those unwritten things that are of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe.'

"'Well,' said Master Forster, 'you shall be whipped and burned for this.'

"When I came before the bishop of Norwich, he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church. I said I believed in that church of which Christ is the head.

"Then the bishop said, 'Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?' And I said, 'No, Christ is the head of the true church.'

"Bishop.—'So do I believe also: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.'

"Then said I, 'the pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, Psalm xlix. 7, 8, None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever.'

"'Well,' said he, 'what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?'

"And I answered, 'All things which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be plucked up by the roots,' saith Christ, 'for they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.'

"Bishop.—'They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.'

"'Saint Paul called them weak and beggarly.'

"Bishop.—'No, that is a lie.'

"I hearing that said, 'St. Paul writes thus to the Galatians, Foolish Galatians who hath bewitched you, that you seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you do lie? you or St. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matth. xv. 9. 'In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.'

"Bishop.—'Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou naughty heretic, thou art worse than all other heretics, for Hooper and Bradford allowed them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him!'

"The bishop again asked, 'How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?'

"And I answered him, 'That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.'

"Bishop.—'Why so?'

"I said, 'if I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I should be ashamed to ask such a question. If it is not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.'

"Then, said he, 'lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or not?'

"'God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.'

"Bishop.—'I ask thee no such question: answer me directly.'

"'I answer that this is the God Muhuzzim, that robs God of his honour.'

"Bishop.—'It is a pity that the ground bears thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak. Away with him: for he hath spoken too much.'"

In the register of Norwich I find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, is not expressed.

The Death of John Careless in the King's Bench.

About the 1st of July, amongst other prisoners who died in the same year in the King's-bench, was one John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver. Who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place among Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments.

The Martyrdom of Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin.

About the 16th of July, suffered three godly and constant martyrs at Newbury, among whom was Julius Palmer, sometime student and fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading. There is no one example, in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more to be marked, yea, more to be wondered at, than this, that one, who all King Edward's days was a papist in the University of Oxford, and so obstinate that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and sincere preaching, and almost by all with whom he lived, was likewise abhorred, and (as I may say) pointed at with the finger, yet after, in Queen Mary's time, suffered most cruel death, at the hands of the papists, at Newbury in Berkshire, for the zealous profession of the blessed truth.

He was born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had sometime been mayor of the city, and followed merchandize. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, we know not, but he was sometime scholar to one Harley, who taught the free-school of Magdalen College in Oxford; he had a very prompt and ready memory, and a sound and vigorous judgment. He spake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; so that many times he supplied the room of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy; so that he has oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and abstruse questions; he greatly abhorred all cavilling, and all frivolous talk. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly and with such probability, that even his adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his propriety and decent behaviour. Although he applied to divinity very lately, it appears that he recompensed the small time of his study with the greatness of his diligence.

And somewhat to speak of his civil behaviour, he was of courteous manners, without curiosity, of a cheerful countenance, without high looks, of speech pleasant, without affectation; he was affable and humble as any child, and yet quick spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practised no deceit towards any man, for he was of such simplicity, that he was apter to be deceived, than to deceive, and he was so great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, None were to be counted valiant, but such as could despise injury.

In private study he was so indefatigable, that he rose ordinarily every morning at four o'clock, and usually went not to bed before ten at night. Insomuch, that as he grew in years and understanding, so he came to be a bachelor of arts, and at length, to a fellowship in Magdalen College, where also he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, A.D. 1550. Now, if he had at the first favoured sincere religion, so much as he followed his book, then we had the less matter to note in him. But, indeed, he was so much addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation was altogether with such as were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion, for otherwise he came not. He would not hear sermons himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort to them, for he was fully persuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he both disdained and despised, and all such as were setters forth of sound doctrine. And so for his popish pranks he was afterwards expelled the house.

After this, he was obliged, for his maintenance, to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles, in which avocation he continued till the coming in of Queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalen College, to displace the fellows that were learned, and to put right catholics, as they called them, in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, expecting to be restored to his living, of which he had been deprived before, thinking that those would restore him, whose faith and religion he did to the utmost of his power defend and maintain. And he obtained the same. Then, after he was restored to his house in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became from an obstinate papist, to be an earnest and zealous gospeller.

When he was restored to his college, although he began something to favour and taste of God's truth, by conference and company with certain godly and zealous men; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. But he was yet continually discussing in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was his nature always, both in papistry and in the gospel, utterly to detest all dissimulation, that by the means of his plainness, he suffered much both in King Edward's, and also in Queen Mary's time.

Now within a short space, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, and careful to hear and understand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and after what sort they took their death. Insomuch that he spared not at his own charges to send over one of his scholars, in the company of a bachelor of that house, to Gloucester, to see and understand the whole order of bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him a true report, which some think he did, because he was wont in King Edward's time to say; that none of them all would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great extreme and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Of this he himself had more experience afterwards, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs who were burned at Oxford before his eyes, so that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of bishop Ridley, and bishop Latimer. When in the hearing of his friends, he broke out into these words and such like; "Oh raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!"

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries, and other good books. And so through hearty prayer, and diligent search and meditation on the scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in it, that he daily more and more declared it both in word and deed.

At length through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to show it in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at the Confiteor, (as the custom was) in turning himself to and fro, sometime eastward, sometime westward, and afterwards knock his breast at the elevation time, against these idolatrous adorations, his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes being there, he would, even at the sacring or consecrating time (as they termed it) get him out of the church, to avoid those ungodly gestures and idolatrous adoration. To be short, seeing that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he resolved to depart the house. And being asked by a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live? he made this answer, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit myself to God, and the wide world."

Shortly after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, he was through God's providence, who never faileth them that first seek his glory, placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading, where he was well accepted by all those that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as also for his earnest zeal, and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain doubled faced hypocrites, who by dissimulation and crafty insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets, under pretence of a zeal to the Gospel. Which men, suspecting no deceit, he joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so he had a great desire by all means possible, to allure and encourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of godly books and writings; amongst the which were with others, his arguments, written against the popish proceedings, and especially against the unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit them to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the school to a friend of theirs. The truth of this story appears in part by a letter written with his own hand, out of prison, eight days before he was burned.

Thus was this young man, to save his life, forced to depart from Reading, and so he took his journey towards Ensham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's last will. His mother understanding his state, as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing as he had been accustomed to do, spake thus to him, "thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, wherever thou goest."

He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length said, "Oh mother! your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me."

"Nay," saith she, "thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm sun, when thou wast banished for a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford, and now for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading too."

"Alas, mother," said he, "you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine own accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn heretics as they term them."

"Well," replied she, "I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done; but as we were taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy."

"Indeed, I confess," said he, "that I believe that doctrine which was taught in King Edward's time, which is not heresy but truth, neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles."

"If thou be at that point," said she, "I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Fagots I have to burn thee; more thou gettest not at my hands."

"Mother," said he, "as you have cursed me, I pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long," and with sweet words and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her.

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, knew not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen college, upon the assured trust and affiance, that he had a friend or two in that house.

Afterwards, as he went along, musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writes in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and return secretly to Reading, trusting there, by the help of friends, to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his property to the custody of some trusty body. He came not so secretly, but that his enemies had knowledge thereof, and without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him. And soon it was concluded, that one Master Hampton should resort to him under the pretence of friendship.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without all collusion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, and went away. Palmer not suspecting mischief, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed: but quietly he could not long

rest there, for shortly after, the officers came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make ready himself, and quietly to depart with them. So this young man perceiving that he was thus betrayed (without opening his lips) was led away as a lamb to the slaughter, and was committed to prison, whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf, greedy for his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days, under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there many grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

Palmer answered, that if such horrible and heinous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kinds of torments that could be devised.

He so clearly overthrew their evidence, and defended his own innocence, that the mayor himself was ashamed that he had given credit to them, so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

Then his enemies, afraid he would escape their hands, charged him with the letters and papers which had been stolen from his study, and they accused him of heresy. Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith, and to answer to such articles as were laid against him. It was concluded that he should be sent over to Newbury, to the visitation about to be held there.

On the 16th of July, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury for the visitors, whose names were Doctor Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridges, knight, and then high-sheriff of the shire; Sir William Ramsford, knight; John Wincheomb esquire, and the parson of Inglefield. After the prisoners were presented, the commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Doctor Jeffrey called to Palmer, and said; "Art thou that jolly writer of three half-penny books that we hear of?"

Palmer. — "I know not what you mean."

Jeffrey. — "Have you taught Latin so long, that now you understand not English?"

To this he answered nothing.

Then Doctor Jeffrey standing up, said, "We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that you were convicted of certain heresies. 1. That you deny the pope's holiness' supremacy. 2. That you hold there are but two sacraments. 3. That the priest shews up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass, since your first coming to Reading. 4. That there is no purgatory. 5. That you are a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this volume?"

Palmer. — "I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the scripture."

Jeffrey. — "Art thou not ashamed to own it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive."

Palmer. — "If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself; for I but report his own writing, and expose the folly therein. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead."

Jeffrey. — "Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring peccavi out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee."

Palmer. — "But I know, that although of myself I am not able to do any thing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and spiritually, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass; neither shall ye prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly."

Jeffrey. — "Ah, are you full of the Spirit? are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?"

Palmer. — "Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true christian. 'He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his.'"

Jeffrey. — "I perceive you lack no words."

Palmer. — "Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them, such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound, or prevail against it."

Register. — "Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done."

Jeffrey. — "Well, ye shall understand, that I have it not in commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why, or wherefore, as the creed tells us. But the cause why ye are now called here, is that ye might be examined upon such articles as are administered against you, about your own hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or nay. How say you to this?"

Palmer. — "By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular church. The catholic church I believe, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a church that has grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ."

Jeffrey. — "Answer me directly to my question — Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?"

Palmer. — "If you prove any sentence therein comprised, not to stand with God's word, I will presently recant it."

Jeffrey. — "Thou impudent fellow, have I not told thee, that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?"

Here the parson of Inglefield, pointing to the pix, said, "What seest thou yonder?"

Palmer. — "A canopy of silk broidered with gold."

Parson. — "Yea, but what is within it?"

Palmer. — "A piece of bread."

Parson. — "Thou art as froward an heretic as ever I talked withal!" (here there was much spoken concerning confession, and other parts of the mass.)

Parson. — "Do you not believe that they who receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body?"

Palmer. — "If the sacrament of the Lord's Supper be administered, as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very natural body and blood."

Parson. — "The faithful receivers? You cannot blind our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?"

Palmer. — "No, Sir."

Parson. — "How prove you that?"

Palmer. — "By this place, 'He that eateth me, even he shall live by me.'"

Parson. — "See that fond fellow. Do you not read likewise, 'Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved?' Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore mark how St. Paul answers you. He saith that the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation."

Palmer. — "I say that St. Paul hath no such words."

Parson. — "See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text. 'He that eateth and drinketh *the body* of the Lord unworthily, &c.'"

Palmer. — "I beseech you lend me your book."

Parson. — "No."

The Sheriff. — "I pray you lend him your book." (So the book was given over to him.)

Palmer. — "Your own book hath, 'He that eateth *'this bread,'* not *'this body.'* I have shut up your lips with your own book."

Jeffrey. — "It is no matter whether you write bread or body, for we are able to prove that he meant the body. And where you say, they eat it spiritually, that is but a blind shift."

Palmer.—"What else should I say?"

Jeffrey.—"As holy church saith, really, carnally, substantially."

Palmer.—"And with as good scripture, I may say grossly or monstrously."

Jeffrey.—"Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, is Christ present in the sacrament or not?"

Palmer.—"He is present."

Jeffrey.—"How is he present?"

Palmer.—"The doctors say, in an ineffable way. Therefore why do you ask me?"

Sir Richard Abridges, the same day after dinner, sent for him to his lodging, and there exhorted him to revoke his opinions, to spare his young years, wit, and learning, saying, "If thou wilt be conformable, and shew thyself repentant, I promise thee I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to furnish thy farm for thee."

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made answer concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would with God's grace, be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time.

Sir Richard.—"Well, Palmer, then I perceive one of us two shall be damned. For we are of two faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation."

Palmer.—"O, Sir, I hope that we both shall be saved."

Sir Richard.—"How may that be?"

Palmer.—"Right well, Sir. For as it hath pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the parable in the gospel, to call me at the third hour of the day, at the age of four-and twenty years, even so I trust he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion."

Sir Richard.—"Sayest thou so? Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house, I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldst convert me."

Winchcomb.—"Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of youth, before it be too late."

Palmer.—"Sir, I long for those springing flowers, that shall never fade away."

Winchcomb.—"If thou art at that point, I have done with thee."

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles, which they had drawn out, as the cause of his condemnation: in the front of which were collected together many heinous terms, as "horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish and execrable doctrine." To these words Palmer refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he professed, was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey.—"You may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice administered to them. But I tell thee, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it."

Palmer.—"Then I cannot subscribe to it."

Jeffrey.—"Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou dost not like justice, and revoke thy heresy?"

Palmer.—"I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy."

Jeffrey.—"Then subscribe to the articles."

Palmer.—"Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe."

Jeffrey.—"Subscribe, and qualify the matter with thine own pen."

So he subscribed. Whereupon Doctor Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so he was delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burned the same day in the afternoon, about five o'clock, together with John Quin and Thomas Askew.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words. "Brethren," said he, "be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, 'Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able to bear.' We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals we shall receive pearls. For God's Holy Spirit certifies our spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven for his sake who suffered first for us."

With these and such like words, he not only comforted the hearts of his brethren that were with him, appointed as sheep to be slain, but also drew out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, the sheriff, Sir Richard Abridges, and the bailiffs of the town, came with a great company of men in armour, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they should suffer, they fell all three to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31st psalm, but the other two who were brought out with him from prison, made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, "Away! away! tempt me no longer. Away! I say, from me all you that work iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my crying." And so forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs, threw a fagot at his face, so that the blood gushed out. For which the sheriff reviled him, calling him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking staff broke his head, that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they had felt no smart, they cried: "Lord Jesus, strengthen us, Lord Jesus assist us, Lord Jesus receive our souls." And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

An Account of a cruel and tyrannical Murder, done by the pretended Catholics, upon three Women and an Infant; to wit, the Mother, two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, for Christ's true Religion, July 8th, A.D. 1556.

Amongst all the histories narrated in this book, though there are many pitiful, several lamentable, others horrible and tragical; yet is there none to be compared either for cruelty, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless act of the papists, done in the Isle of Guernsey, upon three women and an infant; namely, Katherine Cawches, the mother; Willemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Massey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpose of this history, it may be necessary, for the better explanation of the matter, to begin first with the origin of this tragical cruelty; the case was this:

On the 17th of May, A.D. 1556, in the Isle of Guernsey, in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a wicked woman, named Vincent Gosset, who went to the house of a person dwelling in the town, and entered into a chamber, where she saw a cup of silver, and took it away. Immediately after this act done, she brought the cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman, dwelling in the town, desiring her to lend her sixpence upon the same. Perotine seeing the cup or goblet, and suspecting it to be stolen, answered, that she would not take it: yet, nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, she took it to restore it again to whom it belonged; and that the woman should not carry it to another, she gave her sixpence.

The next day, the king's officers assembled the justices to enquire and examine, as well upon the act of Vincent Gosset, as upon other things. So that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for the constable reported to have found the vessel in the house of Perotine Massey, who then dwelt with her mother, Catherine Cawches, and her sister, Willemine Gilbert, their bodies upon the same were attached, and put in prison, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after, these three women, abiding thus in confinement in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice administered to them, if they had offended the law; if not, beseeching to grant them the benefit of subjects, &c. Which supplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their answer on the 5th day of June, in the year aforesaid. Upon which day, after strait examining of the matter, it was proved that they lived truly and honestly, as became christian women.

They were found by the neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with, but had lived always as honest women among them; save only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, should be banished out of the isle without further punishment. And as touching the three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to the church, they were returned prisoners again into the castle, on the 1st of July. This is the true account in every point as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue. Wherein you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved, and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the act, and would have been dismissed by the temporal court, had not the clergy brought matter of religion against them, exercising such extremity in persecuting these four women, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their final end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned, being made known of their not coming to the church, they were sent to the clergy, with letters of mandate under their signets to the dean, as follows:

"Master dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaseth you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, passed before us in manner of an inquiry; in which inquiry Catherine Cawches, and her two daughters, have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we are informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forsaking the mass, and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and the queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you can possible, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, A.D. 1556."

After these letters, the women were again brought before the justice, with his assistants. In whose presence they being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, made their answers that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done to the contrary in the time of king Edward the sixth, in shewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments. After which they were returned again to prison. The dean and curate gave their information touching the women, and delivered it to the bailiff and jurats, condemning and reputing them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, nor yet being ever examined as to their faith and religion. When the bailiff and jurats understood that the dean and curates had not examined the women as to their faith, they would not sit in judgment, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. And so the officers at the command of the justices, did present them before the dean and curates. Which being accomplished, they were examined severally one from another: after which examination, they were returned again into prison.

Then on the fourteenth day of July, 1556, after examination, the dean and the curates delivered before the justice, under the seal of the dean, and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum of which was; that Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence.

When this was done, command was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to bring the women, to hear the sentence against them. And they said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accusers, and know them that had deposed against them, for they knew not that they had offended the majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church; but entirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do; notwithstanding which, the poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burned, until they were consumed to ashes.

After sentence pronounced, the women appealed to the king and queen, and their honourable council, saying, That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the sentence.

When the time arrived, that these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, should suffer, there were three stakes set up in the place where they were to consummate their martyrdom. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope broke before they were dead, and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, one of the daughters being then pregnant, to the great horror of those who were present, gave birth to an infant in the midst of the flames, who was taken out of the fire by one W. House, and laid on the grass.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave sentence that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptised in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein all may see the Herodian cruelty of this generation of popish tormentors.

Now, as this history, for the horrible strangeness of the act, will be hardly believed by some, therefore, I have annexed the supplication of the inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act; which supplication here follows:

To the Right Honourable, and the Queen's Highness' most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of Religion, and causes Ecclesiastical.

"Most lamentably and woefully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and honourable lordships, your poor and humble petitioner, Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by colour of a sentence of heresy, pronounced against Catherine Cawches, the sister of your honours' said supplicant, and Perotine and Willemine her two daughters, did cause the said Catherine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, most cruelly to be burned, although the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing

directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in being, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said persons did consume with violent fire, the said Perotine being burned, did give birth to a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and afterwards in a most despiteful manner thrown into the fire, and there also, with the holy mother, most cruelly burned. In tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as this inhuman murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be shewed to your honours, will make very plain and manifest: It may, therefore, please your good and gracious lordships, of the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may please your honourable lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor petitioner, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours' said supplicant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health."

This supplication being presented to the queen's honourable commissioners, in the year 1562, such order was taken, that the matter being returned again to Guernsey, to be further examined, the dean was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that inhuman murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queen's pardon. This submission is still on the rolls, and for which submission they received the pardon of the queen for the horrid act.

Three Martyrs burned at Greenstead, in Sussex.

Near about the same time that these three women with the infant were burned at Guernsey, there suffered three others likewise at Greenstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman, on the 18th of July, 1556; their names were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mistress Tree, who for righteousness sake submitted themselves to death and torment of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them.

The burning of Thomas Moor, in Leicester.

As the rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman nor child, wife nor maiden, lame, blind, nor cripple; as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected; but whoever he were, that held not to the pope and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise, or unwise, all went to the fire, as may appear by this simple and innocent creature, named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about the age of twenty-four, who for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix, was apprehended. Being brought before his ordinary, he was asked, whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

Then asked the bishop, "How then," said he, "dost thou believe?"

The young man answered again; "as his creed did teach him."

To whom the bishop said; "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?" He answering, said; "I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay trappings hanging about the pix."

"Why? dost thou not believe," said the bishop, "Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone." "No, that I do not," said he.

Upon this, the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and condemned this true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; he was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, about the 26th of June, 1556.

To this Thomas Moor, we have also annexed the answers and examination of one John Jackson, before Doctor Cook, one of the commissioners, for that it belongeth much unto the same time.

The Examination of John Jackson before Doctor Cook, on the 11th of March, A.D. 1556.

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic. I answered and said, 'I am no heretic.'

"'Yes,' said he. 'For Master Read told me, that thou wast the rankest heretic of all in the King's-bench.'

"I said, 'I knew him not.'

"'No,' said he. 'Why, he examined thee at the King's bench.'

"I answered him, and said, 'he examined five others, but not me.'

"Cook.—Then answer me: 'what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? tell me.'

"I answered, 'it is a difficult question, to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me.'

"'What an heretic is this?' quoth he.

"I said, 'it is easier to call a man a heretic, than to prove him one.'

"Then he said, 'What church art thou of?'

"'What church?' quoth I, 'I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.'

"'Thou art an heretic,' said he.

"'Yea,' answered I, 'how can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.'

"'No,' quoth he, 'Keeper away with him.'

"Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him, and I said, 'Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.'

"He answered and said to me, 'that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.'

"I answered, and said to him, 'yea, that I do.'

"'Whereby?' quoth he.

"'Hereby,' said I. 'Our Saviour Christ saith, 'Search the scriptures; for in them you think you have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me.'

"'This is a wise proof,' answered he.

"'Is it so?' said I, 'What say you then to these words that the prophet David said? 'What man is he that feareth the Lord? him shall he teach in the way that he shall choose. His soul shall dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and he will shew them his covenant.' Psalm xxv. 12, 13, 14.

"Cook.—'I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the Church?'

"I answered, and said, 'Christ is the head.'

"'But who is head in earth?'

"I said, 'Christ hath members here in earth.'

"'Who are they?' said he.

"I replied, 'they, that are ruled by the word of God.'

"'You are a good fellow,' said he.

"'I am that I am,' answered I.

"Then he said to my keeper, 'Have him to prison again.'

"'I am contented with that,' said I; and so we parted."

The Martydom of Joan Waste, a blind woman.

On the first day of August, 1556, there suffered like-

wise at the town of Derby a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of Alhallows. Of them that sat upon this innocent woman's blood, the chiefest was Ralph Baine, bishop of the diocese, Doctor Draicot, his chancellor, with others. After the bishop and Doctor Draicot had caused Joan Waste to be apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was privily examined, as well in prison as out of prison. After that, being brought to public examination before the bishop; was burnt in Derby.

This Joan Waste was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man; she was born blind, and continued with her father and mother, during their lives. After whose death she lived with Roger Waste, her brother, and in the time of King Edward VI., of blessed memory, daily went to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and sermons, she became well affected to the religion then taught. So at length having by her labour gotten and saved so much money as would buy her a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And though she was of herself unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and have imprinted in her memory the sayings of the holy scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts.

John Hurt being a sober grave man, of the age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest entreaty, and being prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read to her some chapter of the New Testament. And if at any time he were otherwise occupied or prevented through sickness, she would repair to one John Pemerton clerk of the parish church of All-Saints in Derby, or to some other person who could read, and sometimes she would give a penny or two to such persons as would not freely read to her, appointing to them beforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter for a price.

By which she so profited, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without book, but also could aptly reprove, by various places of scripture, as well sin, as such abuses in religion, as were then too much in use in many persons.

Not long after, through the death of blessed King Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion, in the reign of queen Mary his sister. In which alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greater part of the whole realm into the old papism again, yet this poor blind woman continued in a constant conscience, being zealous in that she had learned, and also refusing to communicate in religion with those who taught contrary doctrine to that she had learned in King Edward's time.

For which she was called before the bishop and Doctor Draicot, who objected against her the usual articles.

She answered, that she believed so much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached, by many learned men. Of whom some suffered imprisonment, and some suffered death for the same doctrine, and she asked of them, if they would do so for their doctrine: which if they would not, she desired them for God's sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, saying, that by God's assistance she was ready to yield up her life in that faith.

And yet notwithstanding, being pressed by the bishop and Doctor Draicot, with many arguments of Christ's omnipotency, and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death; the poor woman, desirous to prolong her life, offered to the bishop that if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that that doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment answer for her therein, she would then further answer them.

The bishop answered, "he would." But Doctor Draicot his chancellor, hearing that, said, "My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for an heretic." And immediately he asked the poor woman whether she would recant or not, and said she should answer for herself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered again, that if they refused to take on their conscience that it was true they would have her to believe, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure; and so after certain persuasions, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of Derby. Who, after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, at length there came unto them a writ De hæretico comburendo; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the bishop to bring her to the parish church of All-Saints at a day appointed, where Doctor Draicot should make a sermon.

When the day and time was come that this innocent martyr should suffer, first comes to the church, Doctor Draicot, accompanied with several gentlemen.—This done, and all things now in readiness, at last the poor blind servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the doctor having commenced his sermon, and there inveighing against many matters, which he called heresies, declared to the people that that woman was condemned for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and said, that she was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, that as her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall be separated from the body, and there remain world without end, and said, it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and so with many terrible threats he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentlemen to see her executed. And the sermon thus ended, the blessed servant of God was carried away from the church, to a place called the Windmill-pit, near the town, and holding Roger Waste her brother by the hand, she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In the mean season, Doctor Draicot went to his inn, and there laid him down and slept, during all the time of her execution.

About the beginning of the next month, which was September, a certain godly, and devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years or thereabouts, was condemned at Bristol, to martyrdom, where he constantly and manfully persisting in the just cause of Christ's gospel, for disliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire: in whose death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

Next after the martyrdom of Edward Sharp, followed four, who suffered at Mayfield, in Sussex, on the 24th day of Sept., A.D. 1556. Which four, being at the place where they were to suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

The day after the martyrdom of these at Mayfield, a young man was put to death, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ, at Bristol, where he yielding himself to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with such joyful constancy and triumph, as all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

In the same month, were two more godly martyrs consumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in Glocestershire, who died very gloriously in a constant faith, to the terror

of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death to them was life, and life with an evil conscience was death.

An affecting Account of the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, and Joan his Wife, who with their young infant of fourteen days old, were taken out of their House, and laid in the common gaol amongst thieves and murderers.

When I had written the history of the Guernsey women, with the young infant burned with them, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such histories of unmerciful cruelty shewed upon weak women, with their children and young infants: but now coming to the persecution of Glocestershire, about the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shewed against another woman as far from all charity and humanity, as has been in any other history yet rehearsed.

In the parish of Wotton Underhedge, not far from Bristol, was dwelling one William Dangerfield, a right honest and godly poor man, who by Joan Dangerfield his wife had nine children, and she was then lying in childbed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain time, for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, and to see his children, she being now delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no sooner known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incensed with the spirit of papistry, beset the house, and took William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison, and at length he was brought to the bishop, called Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained so long, till his legs almost were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young child, being but fourteen days old, and carried into the common gaol, and there placed amongst thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity amongst the papists, that she never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she put about the child, in her bosom.

While they were thus confined in separate prisons, the husband and the wife, the bishop begins to practise not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glosing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he should stand more in his own conceit, than she, and so subtlely drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul. After he had once said that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted, they suffered him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common gaol.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared to her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, that certainly she had recanted, and thus deceiving me, (said he) brought this to me, and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation. The wife hearing what her husband had done, was sorely grieved, and exclaimed, "Alas! thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed, to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so parted William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then he began not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, and darkness light; and so he departed home towards his house: where, by the way homeward, as it is affirmed, he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the bishop to be examined. What her answers were, is not known. However they pleased not the bishop, as appeared by his increased anger against the poor woman, and by her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the gaol, a partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died: and not long after the mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, the mother of the husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there perished also.

And thus have you in one history the death of four together; first of the old woman, then of the husband, after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure.

In the month of October following, was burned at the town of Northampton, a shoemaker, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, adhered firmly to the sound doctrine and preaching of God's word, and renounced the false religion of the Romish see.

After whom, not long after in the same month of October, died also in the castle of Chichester, three godly confessors, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ's gospel, who also should have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather the cruel handling of the papists, made them away before, and afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover that in this present year, to wit, A.D. 1556, was burnt a person called Hooke, a true witness of the Lord's truth at Chester.

An Account of five Persons famished in Canterbury Castle.

As among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ; so, of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, was the sorest, and of least compassion, (only Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whose unmerciful nature, very many were put to death in the diocese of Canterbury, not only in the time of Queen Mary, but some also in the blessed beginning of this our most renowned Queen Elizabeth, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Of those that suffered in Queen Mary's time within the diocese of Canterbury, some are recited already, with the order and form set down of such articles as then were most commonly administered to them.

Now to proceed in order of time where we left, next follows the month of November.

In the beginning of it, there were together in the castle of Canterbury, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs, of which number not one escaped with life, but either were burned, or else famished in prison. Of which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth, it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire, of whom in the next book more shall follow hereafter. The other five were famished most unmercifully in prison.

The Persecution in the Diocese of Lichfield.

The months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury, by reason of the archdeacon; so likewise they brought no little business in the country to Lichfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there, called Ralph Baine, and a more cruel chancellor named Doctor Draicot, through the fierce inquisition of whom great stir was among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many caused to bear fagots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, who in their

hearts have a dislike of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of the names of those who in the aforesaid diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, were taken in suspicion, and examined for their religion.

And first amongst them that were detected and enjoined to the popish penance, that is, to bear a fagot, candle, and beads about in procession, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witness convicted, and bore a fagot on the 12th of September. Likewise eight others for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon his book, &c. Besides them, there were eleven priests deprived of their livings for the like causes:—

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Juridan, priest; Edmund Crokel, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Anselme Sele, priest: Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Aston, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Massey, priest, married and deprived.

Besides these there were others, to the number of thirty-three, who were detected, accused and examined, although they bore no fagot, but were dismissed.

These persons, with many more following in the next year, although they subscribed and recanted, through fear of death; yet I here recite them, that by them it might appear, what a number there were, not only in the county of Lichfield, but also in other parts, in heart set against the pope's proceedings, if fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The Conclusion of this Eleventh Book.

And thus, christian reader, have you the whole persecution of the year 1556, and the fourth of Queen Mary's reign, with the names and causes of all who suffered martyrdom within the compass of the year; the number of all slain and martyred in divers places of England this year, came to above eighty four persons, of whom many were wives, widows, and maidens; besides those who otherwise by secret practice were made away or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm, or else within the realm were put to penance, and induced by forcible violence to recant; save only that I have omitted the account of Sir John Cheeke, knight, and schoolmaster for some time of King Edward. The worthiness of which man deserveth much to be said of him; but his fall should rather be covered in silence and oblivion. We shall only note a word or two of a few things which principally appertain to the present history.

First, Master Cheeke being in Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasburg. Where, if he had remained, rather giving place to time, than to presume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end so it fell, that he would needs take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany unto Brussels. Having, as it is said, King Philip's safe conduct to pass and repass; he came to Brussels to see the Queen's ambassadors: and having brought the Lord Paget on his way towards England, in returning, between Brussels and Antwerp he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the provost marshal, spoiled of their horses; and put into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and blindfolded. They were then conveyed to a ship and put under the hatches, and so brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and now in the hands of his enemies had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedy with those papists there was none. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

Although Master Fecknam, whether influenced by the queen, or for his own friendship towards his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Master Cheeke, speaking in his behalf: yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he must needs recant, and so he did.

Then after his recantation, he was, through the crafty handling of the papists, allured first to di e in company with them, at length drawn unawares to sit in the council when the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned; the remorse he felt so mightily wrought in his heart, tha not long after he left this mortal life. Whose fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his rising again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praised.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

ELIBRARY

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK XII.

COMPRISING

THE PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE FAITHFUL AND TRUE SERVANTS OF CHRIST, FROM THE BEGINNING OF JANUARY, 1557, AND THE FIFTH YEAR OF QUEEN MARY.

Cardinal Poole's Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the Bones and Books of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, 9th January, 1557.

CARDINAL POOLE, three years after his return to England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place, among others, specially seemed to have need of reformation, according to his views. To perform the change, there were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester; Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bodolon, in the diocese of Vernon, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary; Thomas Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln; John Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester; and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons. For Ormanet was a man of much estimation with Julius III., at that time bishop of Rome, and was appointed to come to England with Cardinal Poole, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance.

These persons, thus appointed, (while the visitors were preparing themselves for their journey,) sent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Pern, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in readiness against the 11th day of January, 1557, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin: requiring him especially to be there himself, and also to set forward all the rest, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally, to any of themselves, and to present them before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally: for they would not fail, but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university.

This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Master Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university, on the 11th of December 1556. After this, on the 24th of December, the vice-chancellor, with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded, that the visitors' charges should be borne by the university and colleges, and, also, that no master of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers, to leave the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday, the 8th of January, the queen's commissioners sat together in the hall, and read the commission. Then were all the high-constables called to bring in their precepts, and sworn. Also two persons of every parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to enquire of heresy, Lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumours against the king and queen: also, for heretical and seditious books; for negligences and misdemeanours in the church; for observation of ceremonies; for ornaments, and stock of the church.

We said that the cardinal thought the university to have need of reformation. The reason why he thought so, was either because it had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and adhered to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else, that both for the late schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the university interpreted the holy scriptures, they saw many so corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy is applied, it is not possible to quench it for many days after.

This took place in the year 1556. To the intent, therefore, to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors, of whom we spoke before, came to Cambridge on the 9th of January, 1557. And as they were yet in their journey, and far from the town, several of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and afterwards to their lodgings.

This day, as it was toward evening ere they came, and the sun was going down, nothing else was done. The next day was spent in recreation after their journey. Nevertheless, that it should not escape altogether without doing something, they interdicted two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paul Phagius lay buried.

These two men were dead a good while before; Paul Phagius had scarcely shewed the proof of his wisdom and

learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a short time after. During which period, sometimes by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, this old man, being studious in the word of God, never spared himself, nor regarded his health, and brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, nor his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, to the coming of these visitors, were passed but a few years. And from the time that that blessed king, Edward VI., deceased, to that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses, and other ceremonies in those churches, and that without any scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that these commissioners came, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, should be removed to the king's chapel, which is a place far more stately than all the others.

Now was come the 11th of January, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars also should come in their surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great numbers in Trinity College, having the university cross borne before them; and in the gatehouse a forum was set and covered, with cushions, and carpet on the ground for the visitors. Where the vice-chancellor, having on his robes, sprinkled holy-water on them, and purposed to incense them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward, in the queen's college, and elsewhere, they refused not.

There, master John Stokes, common orator of the university, made an oration in the name of all the rest.

When he had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto, "that they took in right good part, that the university had made so open a declaration of her good will: for which he gave most hearty thanks. As concerning the good wills of the commissioners, there was no cause to mistrust. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with such as came to amendment: but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to shew favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, desiring nothing more earnestly than that they who had erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he desired to have seen present, wished the self-same thing also, desiring nothing so much as to sustain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the university; for he gladly takes upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the times past had spread abroad such grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would more gladly have come hither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now, seeing he could not so do, he had appointed this commission, in which he had assigned them to be his deputies. The chief object that they wished to attain was, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in good forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended."

These things being finished, they were brought in procession to the king's college, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost, with great solemnity. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly sirnamed Datary, (who, though inferior in estate to Chester being a bishop, yet was superior to them all in authority,) while the mass was celebrating, now standing, then sitting, and sometimes kneeling on his knees, observed certain ceremonies, which afterwards were required to be observed by all others.

From thence they attended all upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we stated before to have been interdicted. In which place, owing to the interdict, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon by Master Peacock, in Latin, against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they proceeded to the visitation: where, first, Dr. Harvey in the cardinal's name, exhibited the commission to the bishop of Chester. Which being accepted, and openly read, then the vice-chancellor, with an oration, exhibited the certificate under his seal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. Among whom was also Robert Brassey, master of king's college, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoary hairs: who, hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, said, He was there present, as all the others were; nevertheless, forasmuch as the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty, if he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction upon the college, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. This his exception they took all in great displeasure; alleging that they were fully authorised for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor persons was exempted: wherefore, he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men.

Much pomp and ceremony followed this, and at last the time came for the visitation to go to mass; which being finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or not, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out to them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first swearing them upon a book to answer to all such interrogatories as should be propounded to them, (as far as they knew,) they examined first the master himself, and afterwards all the rest, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and, also, because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to betray himself, and not to be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there was no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust is it, that a man should be constrained by force to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

The inquisition lasted three days. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius, was delayed longer than needed. For they looked to have had much altercation and business about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the present state of the case required great deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed all together in this determination; that forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise: a supplication should be made to the lord commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcase might forthwith be digged up, that inquisition might be made as to his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were

not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him; for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in christian burial. Yea, and besides that it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they, who utterly dissented from all other men in their living, laws and customs, should have any part with them in the honour of burial. And therefore the glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy which through this had arisen on them, with all speed put away, no room at all left to those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the consciences of the weak. In executing of which, a notable example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common assent, upon Phagius also. To this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorised Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man meet for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because, by the testimony of Christopherson, he was deemed to be the most popishly inclined of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university, and signed with their common seal, the next day, which was the 13th of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners.

Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a pretence to desire this thing of them by way of petition; as who should say, if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it of themselves. But this gloss was soon found out. For the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing before. But now, peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this act from themselves. Thus the vice-chancellor came to the commissioners, according to appointment. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, when he not only obtained his suit, but also at the same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fairly copied out by Ormanet Datary, himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university. Whereupon a solemn convocation was appointed to be held, at nine o'clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this: "Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be exhumed and taken up again?" &c. After this grace being granted, then was the sentence of condemnation, drawn by the datary, openly read, and immediately another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal. Which request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel. For after the death of King Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of Queen Mary, all such persons being driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, in whom well nigh alone rested whatever knowledge and learning was in the whole university, such a set were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned chaplains: to whom nothing was greater pleasure, than to cause all men to speak slander and reproach of Bucer.

The next day, namely, the 14th of January, the visitors came to the king's college, first going into the church, and there offering their prayers, sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their copes, and singing a solemn respond in honour of the visitors. After the respond, the provost, arrayed in the best cope, made to them his protestation, to whom the bishop of Chester made answer also in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to mass, which ended, the visitors approached up to the altar, and took down the sacrament, and searched the pix, but first the two bishops censed the sacrament and examined afterwards the chalices, &c.

The next day process went out to cite Bucer and Phagius. This citation was fixed up in convenient places, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defence of their doctrine, should at the eighteenth day of the month, stand forth before the commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. In the mean while Ormanet and Doctor Watson abode at home in their lodging, to take the depositions against the dead men.

As Ormanet was sitting at Trinity College, John Dale, one of the queen's college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the bishop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel (the same was a linen cloth that the pope had consecrated with his own hands) which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But Dale, misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix, brought a chalice and the host, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for. To whom he answered, he had brought it. "Then give it me," said he. Dale pulled out the chalice and the cake, or host. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped somewhat back, as it had been in wonder, calling him a blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by those things, saying; he desired him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet, notwithstanding, as he had promised before to give it to them, he would perform his promise. Upon which, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them, both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the giver of it, to keep it among them, with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time, the commissioners had given commandment to the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names; and to the intent that every man should execute it without deceit, they took an oath of them. This commandment some executed exactly and diligently; others, as they deemed it wrong, executed it very reluctantly.

When the day for giving judgment came, namely, the 18th, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put himself forth to defend them; yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment, which nevertheless, for the contumacy of these two dead men, in absenting themselves, they might have done. But these men being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some favour, than to do the utmost they might by the law. Whereupon the second process was published. The meaning of which varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment day to the 26th of the month. Upon which day the vice-chancellor was sent for, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And that there should be wanting no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgesses, which the vice-chancellor did with all readiness.

On the 26th of January, all degrees of the mother university, were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, thither came also the mayor and townsmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the rest, prepared for the purpose. When they had taken their places, Doctor Perne, the vice-chancellor, put on a grave countenance, and reached to them the process that was lately

publisned, to cite them, saying these words: "I bring forth again to you, right reverend father and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation, executed according to the purport and effect of the same, &c." When he had finished, the bishop of Chester, after he had a little viewed the people, began as follows:—

"You see," said he, "how sore the university presses upon us, how earnest intercession it makes to us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, who these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, as they are indeed; but also that we will command their dead carcases, which to this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatever is more grievous than fire, if any thing can be. For the degrees of the university deal not slightly nor slackly with us in this case; but do so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarce give us any respite. And I assure you, though this case of itself is such, that even the unworthiness of those persons though there were no further cause, ought to induce us to the doing of it, much the rather moved with these so wholesome petitions; it is meet and convenient we should grant it. For however we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, the which we protest there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable; yet notwithstanding the very law rises up to revenge: so that the common salvation of you all, which the law provides for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this inexpiable mischief to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weak.

"Moreover, it is but reason that we should do somewhat at so earnest entreaty and suit of the university. I need not to speak much of ourselves. For if we had been desirous to undertake this matter, it had been lawful, after the first citation, to have proceeded to judgment; but because we were willing that their defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

"If we had desired revenge, we might have shewed cruelty upon them that are alive; of which (alas, the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not so to be sought in withered carcases and dry bones. Therefore, you may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the entreaty of the university, partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself: but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve.

"For you yourselves are the cause of this business; you gave occasion for this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that shall come after, as in that which you may learn, not only to shake off the filth which you have taken of these persons; but also to beware hereafter that you fall no more so shamefully as you have done. But I trust, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

"As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangs in law, they bear about the name of the gospel; whereas, indeed, they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And so much the more wicked were they, in that they sought to cover so shameful acts, with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Wherefore, it is not to be doubted, but that God will punish this despite, of itself wicked, to you pernicious; but to the authors thereof shameful and abominable.

"But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding, if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leans, should permit so execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we should not live in quiet one hour."

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius for heresy.

After the sentence was read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all blood-shed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death!

They then sent letters to London, wherein they advertised the cardinal how far they had proceeded in the matter, and also desired his grace, that he would cause to be sent to Smith, the mayor of the town, the writ for the burning of heretics. For unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have any thing to do in the matter.

While this pursuivant went on his journey, they commanded to be brought to them, the books which they had ordered before to be searched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire, with the bones of Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time, Doctor Watson, taking occasion from the day, because it was high-feast, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, made a sermon to the people; in which he spake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine. He said, that these men, and all the heretics of our time, among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught to put away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order. And at the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day; it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For (he said) they came to the temple at the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of procession in good order, with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics.

As he was telling his tale of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of them that heard him, a pleasant and merry fellow, turning himself to him that stood next him; said, "and if it be true, what this man preaches, which of them I pray you bare the cross before them? for that ought not be missing in such solemn ceremonies." Not only this man jested at the preacher's folly, but others also laughed at his preaching these vain and foolish superstitions.

When the pursivant returned, who was sent to London with the commissioners' letter, he brought with him a warrant for burning Bucer and Phagius. Upon the receipt of which, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter. When the day was come, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, and taking with him Marshall, the common notary, he went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath, to dig up Phagius's bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshall took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town sergeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner, (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in armour, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders, (for they were inclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one) they were borne into the midst of the market, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared before, a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcases to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them with. So when they came thither, the chests were set on end, with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to,

as soon as it began to flame round about, a great number of books that were condemned with them were cast into it.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folk (for it was market day), who seeing men carried to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners towards the rotten carcases, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparations. For what needs any weapons, or armed men? said they. As if they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm. Or to what purpose serves that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose, for it was not to be feared that they would run away? Thus, every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, according to their different dispositions.

This was the last act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches; of Our Lady, and of St. Michael, which had been interdicted before.

This was done the next day by the bishop of Chester, with as much solemnity as the law required. But that breaden god, whom Bucer's carcase had chased from thence, was not yet turned there again; nor was it lawful for him to come there any more, unless he were brought there with great solemnity: during all the time of his absence, this god was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity College, and there continued as a sojourner. For all the graduates of the university came there on the 8th of February with gentleness and courtesy to bring him home again. The bishop of Chester took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, in which he wrapped up his little idol of bread.

When this idol or consecrated host was to return home, he went not the straightest and nearest way, as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compass about the most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour and more ere he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their procession, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods. The order of this procession was as follows; the masters' regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salve feste dies*, &c. Next followed the bishop of Chester; on each side of him went Ormanet and his fellow commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper light in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly, came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused to do so, they threatened to send them forthwith to prison. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with the sacrifice of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed place! Then the bishop of Chester prayed, that that day might be fortunate to himself, and to all that were present that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order) all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, namely, in matters appertaining to religion. After this, they bestowed a few days in punishing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth with corrupt doctrine and heresy, others they chastised wrongfully without any desert, and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain statutes, by which they would have the university hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things as concerning the election of their officers of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled all religious matters very circumspectly, in which they were so scrupulous, that they filled all things either with open blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed how many masses every man should attend at, day by day, and how many paternosters and avies every man should say when he should enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the altar, and how to the master of the house; what he should do there, and how long he should tarry; how many, and what prayers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations others should use while the priest is in his *memento*, mumbling secretly to himself, what time of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make curtesy, when exclusively, when inclusively, and many other superstitious ceremonies they decreed, that it was a sport then to behold their superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Within two years after all this mummery and wickedness, God beholding us with mercy, called Queen Mary out of this life, the 17th of November, A. D. 1558. After whom, her sister Elizabeth succeeded to the kingdom, and revived again the true religion. Upon which, as the church of Christ began by little and little to flourish, so the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole), was restored again by this godly Queen Elizabeth. On which occasion, Master Ackworth, the orator of the university, delivered a great oration, in which he speaks largely of the holy life and godly teaching of Martin Bucer, and the sorrow that was felt at his death, after which he continued thus:—

"As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing), it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the beautifying of the christian religion, but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of it. Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the christian doctrine that they had learned before. Those were banished the realm who would not conform themselves to the time, and do as other men did: such as remained, were forced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves, and creep into corners, or else as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but far worse and much more monstrous, from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. We, conforming ourselves to those most filthy times, have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the fortitude to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death. Who, in our living and conversation, kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by the holy scriptures, and who have done all things at the commandment of others.

"As in every place there was now executed some singular kind of cruelty, so that there was no sort of punishment that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended only to the living. Oxford burnt the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; the noble witnesses of the light of the gospel. Moreover, at London perished those two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford. In whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others without number, both there and in other places were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say, not with burning of houses and buildings,

but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might vomit out their bitter poison, played the mad Bedlam against the dead. The dead men, who, when alive, no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by false slanderous accusers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law, condemned, their sepulchres violated and broken up, and their carcases pulled out and burnt with fire A thing surely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, not only in England, but through all Christendom. Bucer, by the excellency of his wisdom and doctrine, was well known to all men, of our countrymen in a manner besought, of many others intreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the christian religion; being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country, refused not the tediousness of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himself upon the sea, but had more regard for the enlarging of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours. For he sought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and although his strength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And towards this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived, were shewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; but when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty that can be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living, house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? Or who is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kind of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues, to bury a man honourably, and soon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who during his life time always deserved praise? All these things have happened unto Bucer, who, whilst he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes, and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly, to his eternal fame, was afterwards, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. Which things, although they did no harm to the dead (for the dead carcases feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God) yet it sheweth the extreme cruelty and insatiable desire of revenge, in them who offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons therefore, whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless strangers and aliens, and being also brought hither by us out of such a country, where, they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but contrariwise were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle than these men was Bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? who against his own countrymen, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel: and yet he spared foreigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never nation so barbarous, that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk, Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he wished to go away, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And though the law of God could not withhold him from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, yet did the law of man bridle him from killing of strangers, which hath ever appeased the most barbarous, and mitigated all cruelty. Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted cruelty of all others, which, to satisfy the insatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our entreaty and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcases digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead men's bones. These, my brethren, these, I say, are the just causes which have so sore provoked the wrath of God against us, because that in doing extreme injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away, we have been slow and backward. For verily I believe, if I may have liberty to say freely what I think, (ye shall bear with me, if I chance to speak any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration) that even this place, in which we have so often assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a hindrance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable to us again.

"The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that sucked it up: likewise, the undeserved burning of these bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to punish us, and crieth, that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof are impure, the places defiled, in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness."

When Acworth, after much more godly exhortation had made an end of his oration, Master James Pilkington the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit, made a sermon also, in which he enlarged upon the long continued cruelties and persecutions by the popes of Rome, and said, "In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, saving a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he died soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly, for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defence in that matter, (over and besides other helps) the testimony of pope Pius II., who in a certain place saith, that upon weighty considerations, priests' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the statute of the emperor, called the 'Interim,' by which it is enacted, that such of the clergy as were married, should not be divorced from their wives."

An Account of the conduct of the Papists towards Peter Martyr's Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave, and buried in a dunghill.

And that the one university should not mock the other, similar cruelty was displayed upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife, at Oxford, who was an honest, grave, and sober matron, while she lived, and always a

great helper of poor people. In the year 1552, she departed this life, to the great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities she had often liberally relieved. Now, when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary; Robert Morwen, president of Corpus Christi College; and Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came there as the cardinal's visitors, they among other things had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcase with fire; not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a shew that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them that had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They administered an oath to them, that they should not conceal whatever was demanded. In short, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, as they understood not her language, being a German.

After these visitors had concluded the business they came for, they went to the cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding, the cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote his letters a good while after to Marshall, then dean of Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of christian burial, because she was interred nigh to St. Frideswide's relics, had in great reverence in that college. Doctor Marshall, calling his men with spades and mattocks together in the evening, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

However, when it pleased God under good Queen Elizabeth, to give quietness to his church, which had been so long persecuted; then Doctor Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; Edmund Grindall, bishop of London; and Richard Goodrick, with others, her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, not ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman, commanded certain of that college, in which this spiteful deed was done, to take her out of that place where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole town to bury her again in a more decent monument. For though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet, was some reverence to be used toward her for womanhood sake. Besides, to say the truth, it was a great shame, that he who had travelled so far at king Edward's request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken such great pains, being an old man, in reading and setting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that university, should be so rewarded as to have his wife laid in a dunghill; who though treated with such ingratitude was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and contrary to their own law.

To all good natures the act seemed odious, and by such as were endued with humanity utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore, Master Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from the dunghill she was restored to her proper place again, yea, and he mixed her with Frideswide's bones, that in case any cardinal should be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other.

And thus much touching the acts of this cardinal in both universities; to which it shall not be impertinent here to adjoin the articles set out by him to be inquired upon within his diocese of Canterbury, by which it may the better appear, what yokes of fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. We omit those that were concerning the clergy as too long, and the following, which refer to the laity, will suffice to shew the nature of this visitation. The following were to be enquired into:—

Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.

Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

Whether any do absent or refrain without urgent and lawful impediment to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holydays.

Whether being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk in the time of divine service.

Whether the churches are sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a cross in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.

Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and ember days.

Whether the altars in the churches are consecrated, or not.

Whether the sacrament is carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.

Whether there is a lamp or a candle burning before the sacrament. And if there is not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

Whether any do keep, or have in their custody any erroneous or unlawful books.

Whether any have or do despise, or contemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the see of Rome.

Ten Martyrs burned in the Diocese of Canterbury.

Mention was made a little before of the persecution in Kent; where we declared, that fifteen persons were condemned and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, for God's word. Of which fifteen, we shewed five to have been famished to death in the castle, and buried in the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the month of January, which was 1557, were committed to the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the arch-deacon of the province.

The names of these ten godly and christian martyrs are these:—

John Philpot, of Tenterden; William Waterer, of Beddingden; Stephen Kempe, of Norgate; William Hay, of Rithe; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; Matt. Bradbridge, of Tenterden; Thomas Stevens, of Beddingden; Nich. Final, of Tenderden; William Lowick, of Cranbroke; and Wm. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of these ten, six were burned at Canterbury, about the 15th of January. Two others at Wye, about the same month: and two more were burned at Ashford, on the 16th of January.

To the articles objected to them, they all agreed together in their answers, though not in the same form of words, yet in effect: first granting the church of Christ, and denying the church of Rome; denying the seven sacraments; refusing the mass, and the hearing of Latin service; praying to saints; justification by works, &c.

The month following, which was February, came out another commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commission I

thought proper not to omit: not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximin, Diocletian, Licinius, &c., so now also in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority to the uttermost they could devise against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ still continues, his gospel flourishes, and truth prevails; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devises dissolved, their councils confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages make manifest. But now let us hear the intent of this commission, as follows:—

A Commission given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Thomas, bishop of Ely, &c. &c.

"Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons, have not only invented and set forth many false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown many heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth many seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with various other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people, we, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, and discretion, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such letter, book, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you and three of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops, as elsewhere, willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places according to your discretions.

"And also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

"And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed within this our said realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called or brought before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any matter of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

"And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barettors, quarrellors, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

"And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you and every of you full power and authority by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdom, consciences, and discretion, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

"Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments in any thing or things, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you or three of you, he be discharged or delivered, &c. And so forth with other such like matter, as followeth:—

The Apprehension of two-and-twenty Prisoners at Colchester.

After this tyrannical proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was on the 8th February, in the third and fourth years of the king and queen's reign, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons almost full of prisoners, in the diocese of Canterbury.

In the meantime, about Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; so that three-and-twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one time; of which twenty-three, one escaped: the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding the bishops, fearing to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them, and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves; notwithstanding which, several of them afterward were taken again, and suffered, as hereafter ye shall hear. Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields, separated in such a manner, as that they might easily have escaped. And when they entered into the towns, their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or

line going between them, they holding it in their hands, having another cord every one about his arm, as though they were tied. And so were these fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and so came into the city.

The twenty-two prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to bishop Bonner. As to the order and manner of their coming and bringing, Bonner himself writes to Cardinal Poole as follows:—

"May it please your good grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London on Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Master Germaine's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following to comfort my heart with letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners, and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the other, which both stood me above twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and all the way from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take great liberty, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their own guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

"And although I gave order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven o'clock before they would come, and no way would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which I took very strange, and spoke to Sir John Gresham to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to take their part, and had much comfort from the crowd, and being entered into my house, and talked with, they shewed themselves desperate, and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could to win them, causing some learned men to talk with them; finding, however, nothing in them but pride and wilfulness. I thought to have had them all to Fulham, and there to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I further proceeded, to advertise your grace, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, December 26th, 1556.

"Your grace's most bounden bedesman and servant,

"Edmund Bonner."

By this letter of Bishop Bonner's to the cardinal, is to be understood, what good will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have passed sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat, as it seemed, stayed his cruelty. Concerning the cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise than a papist; yet, again, he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists, as may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop, but also by his letters written to Cranmer; also by the complaints of some papists accusing him to the pope, as the tolerator of the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him, calling him up to Rome, and setting Friar Pete in his place, had not Queen Mary by special entreaty, kept him out of the pope's power; and besides also, it is thought of him that towards his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome. Yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from popery to Luther's side; notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterwards carried him away to play the papist thus as he did. But to return to our account of this godly company again. As to their confession, which they sent up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's Supper, for which they were chiefly troubled, they thus wrote:

The Supper of the Lord.

"Whereas Christ at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' And 'likewise took the cup,' &c. We understand it to be a figurative speech, as the most part of his language was in parables and dark sentences, that they who are carnally minded, should see with their eyes, and not perceive; and hear with their ears, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they were all partakers thereof, so we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanseth us from all our sins, and hath pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

"And in that he said further, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ; and he commandeth it for this cause, that the congregation of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and so to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ hath given his body, and shed his blood for us.

"Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it follows not, that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine; as many places in scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles, in like phrase of speech, as in John xv. 'I am the true vine.' Also in John x. 'I am the door.' And as it is written in the ninth to the Hebrews, and in Exodus xxiv., how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, 'This is the blood of the covenant or testament.' And also in the fifth chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, 'This is Jerusalem, &c.'

"Thus we see the Scriptures, how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy Scriptures. Also we see that great idolatry is sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, 'This is my body;' and yet daily springs up, to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker."

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a letter in the form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be ministered unto them.

But though the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among the people, and so it was decreed among themselves, that they should rather make some submission or confession, and so be sent home again.

Five Godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield.

To proceed further in this history of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow, five others burned at London, in Smithfield, April 12th, 1557, namely, Thomas Loseby; Henry Ramsey; Thomas Thirtel; Margaret Hide; and Agnes Stanley.

Who being apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were sent to Bonner, bishop of London, and by his command on the 27th of January, were examined before Doctor Darbishire, then chancellor to the bishop, upon the usual articles.

Their answers were, that as they confessed there was one true and catholic church, in which they steadfastly believed, and thought that the church of Rome was no part or member of it; so in the church they believe there were but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord. Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptised into the faith of that true church. And here all men should mark the subtlety of these popish divines, who intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church with the idolatrous and superstitious mummery of their Romish synagogue, cause the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, often to fall into their crafty nets. For after they have made them grant a true church, with the sacraments, though not in such number as they would have them, and also, that they were baptised into the faith of the church, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they craftily descend from the faith of the Trinity, to their idolatrous mass, and other superstitious ceremonies, and would make them grant, that now in denying these they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church, into which they were baptised; which is most false. For though the true light of God's gospel and holy word was marvellously darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished: yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved, and into the faith of it were we baptised, and not into the belief and profession of their idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things not being thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful, and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they did separate themselves from the faith of the church, meaning none other, but only to separate themselves from the popish and erroneous trash which now defiled the church of Christ, and not from their faith received in baptism, which in express words in their answers to the other articles, they constantly affirmed, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar, to be most wicked blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the truth of his gospel; and therefore they refused to assent and to be reconciled to it again.

These answers being taken by the chancellor, they were for that time dismissed; but the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, on the 6th of March, propounded to them other new articles: to which they all answered severally, with faithfulness to the truth.

After this, on the 1st of April, they were again brought before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appears to have been done, except to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or not. But when they refused to recant, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, on the 3rd of April, where seeing their constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

Thomas Loseby first answered, "God give me grace and strength to stand against you, and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devours the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your law, and believe in that idol the mass."

Next answered Thomas Thirtel, saying, "My lord, I say thus, if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life."

Henry Ramsey, said, "My lord, will you have me to go from the truth? I say unto you, that my opinions are the very truth, which I will stand to, and not go from them; and I say unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himself and other true martyrs and professors of Christ) are of the true church, and ye be not."

Margaret Hide, answered saying, "My lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me: for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do wish that I were more strong in it than I am."

Last of all answered Agnes Stanley, and said, "I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never so much worth, than that I should forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith."

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the same place: which commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for Loseby, and after his accustomed manner commanded his articles and answers to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps; at which Loseby said, "My lord, seeing you put off your cap, I will put on my cap," which he accordingly did. And afterwards, the bishop continuing in his accustomed persuasions, Loseby said to him, "My lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor, for the wisdom of God is foolishness unto you." Then the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him; and delivering him to the sheriff, called for Margaret Hide. She said, "I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned: and my lord, I would see you instruct me in some part of God's word, and not to give me instructions about the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the scripture." But he, to make short work, used his final reason, which was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore putting her aside, called for Agnes Stanley, who, upon the bishop's like persuasions, made this answer. "My lord, where you say I am a heretic, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any man that is wise will believe as you do. And as for these that ye say are burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith, as long as I live." She then received the like sentence that the other had. And the bishop then turning to Thomas Thirtell, received of him likewise this final answer: "My lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways, for I say, the mass is idolatry, and will adhere to my faith and belief, so long as the breath is in my body." Upon which words he was also condemned as a heretic. Last of all, was Henry Ramsey demanded if he would stand to his answers, or else recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their church. He answered, "I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and my lord, your doctrine is wrong, for it is not agreeable to God's word." After these words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, and charged the sheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, on the 12th of April, brought them into Smithfield, where, in one fire, they all most joyfully and constantly ended their temporal lives, receiving the life eternal.

Three burned in Saint George's-fields, in Southwark.

After these, in the month of May followed three others that suffered in St. George's-field, in Southwark; namely, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, and one King.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick; for, first, he was condemned by the bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester, who were not his ordinaries. 2. When he appealed from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal was not admitted. 3. When they had no other way to colour their proceedings with, they suborned one of the priests to come in

for a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him. 4. Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the bishop of Winchester, Doctor White, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience once to say, 'God strengthen him.' 5. As they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him; so they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood. 6. And lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words; 'That which I said, I have said,' they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, who would be reputed for catholic fathers of the spiritualty, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whose doings and proceedings, whether they were conformable to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave others to discuss, referring the decision to those who know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

The account of this matter is written by Stephen Gratwick himself, as follows.

"On the 25th of May, 1557, I came before the bishop of Winchester, into St. George's church in Southwark, and then he called me before him, and said:

"'How standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy heresies, which thou hast maintained and defended here within my diocese? and also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies, so that you have offended within my diocese; and now being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not?'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, these articles which you have objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making, and therefore these are objections you lay against me as snares to get my blood. Wherefore I desire you to allow my lawful appeal to mine own ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And where you charge me, that I have offended within your diocese, it is not so: I have not attempted either to preach or teach within your diocese, for I was apprehended by mine own bishop, and sent prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and mine own ordinary, and therefore you have no cause to prevent my lawful appeal.'

"And with that, in came the bishop of Rochester, who was received by the bishop of Winchester with much gladness. And next followed the archdeacon of Canterbury.

"Winchester.—'Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who has appealed to you, being his ordinary.'

"Archdeacon Canterbury.—'I know this man very well. He has been several times before me.'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, I am not of his diocese, not by five miles: I dwell in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, consulted together, and laughed: and they said, 'my ordinary would be here by and by,' they then sent for a counterfeit instead of mine ordinary; and then I saw them laugh, so I spake to them and said:

"Gratwick.—'Why do ye laugh? are ye confederated together for my blood, and therein triumph? you have more cause to look weightily upon the matter: for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare yourselves what you are: for you are clothed in lambs' apparel, but I would to God ye had coats according to your assembly here, which is scarlet gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.'

"And then came rushing in the counterfeit bishop, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high priest; and the bishop hearing him come, inquired, who was there: and he said, 'My lord of Chichester.' Then the bishop with haste rose up and said:

"Winchester.—'Ye are most heartily welcome,' and required him to sit down; and then the bishop of Winchester said to me, 'Lo, here is your ordinary, what have you now to say unto him?'

"Counterfeit.—'Here you stand before my lords and me on trial of your faith, and if you bring the truth, we shall give place to you.'

"Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members. And he answered me, by authority as well as by the Spirit.

"Then I said. 'Now will I turn your own argument upon you: for Christ came before the high priests, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie, yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them. And also the apostles, and all the martyrs that died since Christ: therefore I turn your own argument upon you, answer it if you can.'

"Then he with a great heat of choler, said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would gladly get out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular.'

"Then spake the counterfeit ordinary again, and said, 'My lord, ask him what he saith to the sacrament of the altar.' Then the bishop asked me, as he required him.

"Gratwick.—'My lord, I do believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, to the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and drinketh the blood of Christ.' Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he said, 'Yes.' Then said I, 'Bear witness of the truth.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtlest, said, 'My lord, see you not how he creeps away with his heresies, and covers them privily? Note how he here separates the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true sacrament, and also how he condemns our administration in one kind, and allows that the unworthy receiver does not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ; but he shall answer directly. What sayest thou of the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they administer in both kinds?'

"I answered, 'You have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you minister but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.'

"Winchester.—'Why, then, what sayest thou to these words, 'Take, eat, this is my body.' These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, they are the words of scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.'

"Rochester.—'Why, then, thou dost confess in the sacrament of the altar, there is a real presence, the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into heaven.'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, what do you now mean? do you not also mean a visible body? for it cannot be, but of necessity, if it be a real presence, and a material body, it must be a visible body also.'

"Winchester.—'Nay, I say, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an invisible body too.'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, then it must needs be a fantastical body, for if it were a material and invisible body, as you affirm, then it must needs be a fantastical body, for it is apparent, that Christ's human body was visible and seen.'

"Then the bishop brake out and said, 'When didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.'

"To that I answered and said, 'That is a weak argument; because our corporeal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, does it follow that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?'

"And with that the bishop began to grow weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament, and said, 'He ate him wholly, as the apostles did.' And then I asked him, 'if he meant Christ's flesh and blood, of which he speaks in the sixth of John, and saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me.' To that he answered and said, 'Yea.'

"'Then,' said I, 'of necessity Judas must needs be

saved, because he did eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed; and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ: therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life. Which is a great absurdity to grant: and then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ saith, 'Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you can have no life in you.' And you have said of your sacrament, that it is the same flesh and blood that Christ speaketh of: and here I prove, that all children who die under age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument, must be damned, which is horible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you, answer it if you can.'

"Winchester.—'My lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he brings in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keeps himself in an advantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say to thee, thou perverse heretic, I see now, thou art a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee, yet I answer thee, St. Paul opens the sixth of John plainly, if thou wilt see: for he saith, 'They eat Christ's body, and drink his blood unworthily,' and that was the cause of their damnation.'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, take heed ye do not add to the text, for he that addeth unto the text, is accursed of God, and I am sure here you have brought more than St. Paul hath spoken: for he saith not, because they have eaten his body, and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul saith, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' Note, my lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but quite the contrary.'

"And with that they were all in a great rage. The bishop of Winchester said, I belied the text. And then I called for the text. And he said, 'I asked thee even now if thou understood Latin, and thou saidst, whether I can or no, the people shall bear witness in English.' And so I called again for the testament, whether it were Latin or English, for the trial of the text. And then when the bishop of Winchester saw that I cared not which of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an English testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold on him that should bring a testament: but God disappointed him, and so he began to rail upon me, and said my subtle arguments should not serve: for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. 'For,' said he, 'I see a mad toy in thine head; thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the people are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical opinion. For on the last day when thou wast before me, upon Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovedst my sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at the least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.'

"To that I answered, 'My lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely than your pity. Good experience I have to say so, for you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a testament to look upon for their soul's comfort, which all men ought to have: and so you treat them more like brute beasts than christian men.'

"Winchester.—'No, Sir, we will use you as we will use the child; for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So because you will damn your souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it.'

"Gratwick.—'My lord, a foolish argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you, that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word as you say: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good also; because that some men do abuse drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such like good gift'

"Winchester.—'My lords, here we lose much time, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions: so that we can get no advantage upon him.'

"Then spake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet now with haste he said, 'Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words; 'That which I said, that I have said.''

"Winchester.—'Why, this fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.'

"Gratwick.—'Nay good, my lord, seeing you will needs have my blood, let me say a little more for myself. Upon Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James, and said, 'If any man think himself a religious man, and bridle not his tongue, that man's religion is vain; and so, my lord, you standing there in the pulpit, seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners in iron bonds, burdening us with the sect of Arians, and with the sect of Herodians, and with the sect of Anabaptists, and with the sect of Sacramentaries, and with the sect of Pelagians. And when we stood up to clear ourselves, you said you would cut out our tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my lord, will give my life against all these heresies, which you there burdened us with, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you.'

"Winchester.—'If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce sentence against thee,' and so he proceeded onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin; so that I told him, 'If the people might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable bishop.' And then I said, 'Stay, my lord, and note what you do: for you have neither temporal law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.' Then stepped forth a gentleman, and said unto my lord, 'Take heed what ye do: for he doth here say, that you have no title nor cause why you should condemn him.' Then the bishop looked about him again, and asked me 'if I would recant.' I asked him, 'what I should recant.' At last his chaplains cried, 'Stop, stop, my lord: for now he will recant.' And then the bishop asked me again. And I answered and said, 'My lord, my faith is grounded more steadfastly than to change in a moment; it is no process of time can alter me, unless my faith were as the waves of the sea.' And so the bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be carried prisoner to the Marshalsea again. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, 'Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth!' so I was brought to the Marshalsea, and put in iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God that they to whom this present writing shall come, may take example by my death. So be it.

"By me, Stephen Gratwick, condemned for God's everlasting truth."

Thus this christian martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winchester, was burned with W. Moraunt and one King, in St. George's-fields, about the latter end of May.

Seven Martyrs burned at Maidstone.

After the proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February, the storm of persecution began in all places, but yet in no place more than in the diocese of Canterbury. On the 18th day of June, there were seven christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, namely:—

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst; Walter Appleby, of Maidstone; Petronil, his wife; Edmund Allen, of Frytenden; Katherine, his wife; John Manning's wife, of Maidstone; and Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

The general articles, and the order of their condemnation, differed not much from the usual manner, as also their answers. Of which, I find not much come to hand, save only of Edmund Allen.

The Examination of Edmund Allen.

This Allen was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden in Kent, and in a year when many poor people were likely to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did; and did not that only, but also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight; who committed both him and his wife to ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and so went over to Calais; where, after they had continued a certain time, he began to be troubled in his conscience; and shortly afterwards he returned home, where was a cruel priest, called John Tailor.

Tailor, being informed that Edmund Allen and his wife were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was at the time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation, even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go to Allen's house, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as possible. Which promise he well performed. For he had no sooner made an end of the service, and the vestments were off his back, but by and by he was at the house, and there laying hands on Allen, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting, and reading the scriptures to the people; and so Allen and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. They were no sooner in prison, than Sir John Baker sent to their house certain of his men, and thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of their goods, were brought before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles, to gather people, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion; and thus he began to reason with him.

Baker.—"Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereto? Let me see thy licence?"

Martin Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, "Surely he is an errant heretic, and worthy to be burned."

Allen.—"And it may please your honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other christians. Why are we called christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? and shall the scholar be prohibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our redeemer? and shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? And yet, notwithstanding, he was neither of the tribe of Levi, who were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore if we be christians, we must do the same."

Collins.—"Observe, your honour, what a knave this is, who compareth himself with Christ."

Baker.—"Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself? Why didst thou teach the people, being no priest?"

Allen.—"Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to other. For as out of flint stones cometh forth, that is able to set all the world on fire; so out of christians should spring the flame of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, if he eat none; and apparel, if he wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commanded to practise his faculty and science, and the christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised of christians? Doth not Saint Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of those gifts, which he mentions in 1 Cor. xiv. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but not men. The Jews never forbade any: read the Acts of the Apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory IX. pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in King Edward's days."

Collins.—"This villain is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose?"

Allen.—"No; my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest. For every christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore saith Christ; 'Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Matt. xviii. 18, 20. Neither hath the pope any keys save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance."

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night. Wherewith some that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, desired Allen to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the sixth chapter. "Wherefore, when ye see the multitude of the people worshipping them, behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the consecration went out, and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nord material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the place of Baruch, which his conscience gave him to be no scripture, or else to have another meaning: and after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allen.—"It is an idol."

Collins.—"It is God's body."

Allen.—"It is not."

Collins.—"By the mass it is."

Allen.—"It is bread."

Collins.—"How provest thou that?"

Allen.—"When Christ sat at his supper, he gave them bread to eat."

Collins.—"Bread! knave?"

Allen.—"Yea, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths, and at the table? If he were in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity."

Baker.—"Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one."

Allen.—"Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him."

Collins.—"Thou ignorant ass! the schoolmen say that a glorified body may be every where."

Allen.—"If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and, therefore, was not at the table, and in their mouths, by your own reason."

Collins.—"This rebel will believe nothing but scripture. How knowest thou that it is the scripture, but by the church?"

Baker.—"Away with him."

Then he was carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much touching the history of Edmund Allen and his wife; who, with five other martyrs, namely, five women and two men, were burned together at Maidstone, on the 18th of June, 1557.

Seven Martyrs burned at Canterbury, three Men, and four Women.

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the rage of these pretended catholics, who, being never satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the direct law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple lambs of the glorious church of Jesus Christ, and that for the true testimony of a good conscience, in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation? What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men? who, for want of work, do so vent their cruelty on poor women, whose imbecility the more strength it lacks by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed by men that are stronger, and especially by priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath endowed from above such weak creatures with such manly fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors: as here may appear by the martyrdom of seven, of which were four women and three men, burned together at Canterbury, the 30th of June. John Fishcock; Nicholas White; Nicholas Pardue; Barbara Final, widow; Bradbridge's widow; Wilson's wife; Benden's wife.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the several histories of every one of these godly martyrs; so I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment, and partly also some doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren.

The tragical handling of Alice Benden.

First Alice Benden was brought before Master Roberts, of Crambroke, in Kent, on the 14th of October, 1556, by whom she was demanded why she would not go to the church. And she answered, that she could not do so with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For which, with many mocks and taunts, she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days.

Then the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church. She answered; "If I would have so done, I need not to have come here." "Then wilt thou go home, and be shriven of thy parish priest?" And she said, "No," she would not.

"Well," said he, "go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt." Whereunto she answered nothing. But a priest that stood by, said; she saith, she will, my lord. Wherefore he let her go, and she came forthwith home.

On the Saturday following, her husband desired her to go to church; which she refused to do. Wherefore on the Sunday, fourteen days after, he going to the church, came into the company of several inhabitants of the parish; among whom, through his forward talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to Sir John Gilford, who ordered her to prison again: yea, and the more to utter his own shame, they said her husband took money of the constable to carry her to prison, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But she having much more care of his honest and good report, than he had regard of his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his so rude and unnatural doings, chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world should witness against her husband of so wicked an act. Wherefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered that he could not so do, but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison, namely, to the castle of Canterbury, according to the commandment; and afterwards she was placed in still stricter confinement.

This prison was within a court, where the prebends' chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window enclosed with a pale, of about four foot and a half in height, and distant from the same three foot, so that she looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this, her brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being also but rarely used for a prison, and the matter as closely kept, as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand of her being there, until through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he coming there very late in the morning, her keeper being then gone to the church to ring, (for he was a bell-ringer,) chanced to hear her voice, as she poured out unto God her sorrowful complaints, saying the Psalms of David: and there could he no otherwise relieve her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it to her; for neither with meat nor drink could he sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming here. All which time no creature was known to come to her, more than her keeper.

While in that prison she lay only upon a little short straw, between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, halfpenny bread, and a farthing drink, neither could she get any more for her money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus she lay nine weeks. During all which time she never changed her apparel; by which she became at the last a most piteous creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place, she grievously bewailed with a great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself; why her Lord God did with his so heavy justice suffer her to be separated from her loving fellows into so extreme misery.

In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful supplications, rehearsing this verse of the Psalm; "Why art thou cast down, O my soul?" And again, "The right hand of the most high can change all:" she received comfort in the midst of her miseries, and after that continued very joyful until her delivery.

About the 25th of March, 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and go to the church or not, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

To whom she answered, "I am thoroughly persuaded, by the great severity that you have already shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see that you seek my utter destruction," shewing how lame she then was by a cold taken, and for lack of food, while she lay in that painful prison; whereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.

Then the bishop delivered her from that filthy hole, and sent her to Westgate, where, after she had changed her clothes, and for a while kept clean, her skin wholly peeled off. Here she continued till the latter end of April. At which time they committed her to the prison called the castle, where she continued till her martyrdom, which was on the 19th of June.

With this Alice Benden was burned also the other blessed martyrs above named, being seven in number: who, being brought to the place where they were to

suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, undressed themselves joyfully for the fire; and being ready, they all, like the communion of saints, kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with such zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but praise them. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake, where, in the midst of the flames, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord.

Bradbridge's wife had two children, named Patience and Charity: when she was condemned by the bishop to be burned, she said to him, that if he would needs burn her, yet she trusted that he would take and keep Patience and Charity, meaning her two children. "Nay," said the bishop, "by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them."

The Troubles of Matthew Plaise.

To these holy martyrs of Kent above specified, whereof seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought it not out of place to give the examination of Matthew Plaise, a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful christian; who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, the archdeacon, as is to be read and seen in his own writing. The following are extracts from it:—

"Archdeacon.—'What sayest thou to the catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this heresy hath sprung up here in this realm?'

"I said, no man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholic church of Christ.

"'Then,' said the bishop, 'dost thou not believe the creed?'

"Plaise.—'Yes, verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the testament of Christ, with the rest of the scriptures.'

"'Then,' saith he, 'thou dost confess that there is a catholic church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the king and queen of that church, or not?'

"'Well,' said I, 'now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own: neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.'

"'Then,' said he: 'is there no part of that church here in England?'

"Plaise.—'Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Christ saith, Where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.'

"Then the commissary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how Jesus called himself bread, in the sixth of John. So Paul said, 'So often as you eat of this bread unworthily, you eat and drink your own damnation, because you make no difference of the Lord's body.' For thus said Christ, 'The bread that I will give you is my flesh.' Now it is no bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alleged every scripture false, to make up the matter.

"Then I said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them. For thus he saith, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.'

"Commissary.—'What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?'

"I said, 'St. Paul declares it plainly with these words, 'If you had judged yourselves, you should not have been judged of the Lord.'

"Then the archdeacon said, 'he marvelled why I would not say, that he called the bread his body, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.'

"I said, 'you have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.'

"Then he said, 'in that they said it was his body, they did say the truth.'

"I asked wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the truth.'

"Then said the bishop, 'that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said.' For they said, 'Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body: but thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.'

"Then I said, 'I had answered him by the word already, and did believe it also; therefore, if he did condemn me for that, my life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not escape punishment; for God will be revenged upon such murderers.'

"Then the archdeacon began with Moses' rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was done by Moses being but a man, how much more Christ being both God and man, took one thing, and gave to his disciples another?'

"I said, 'his comparison was nothing like, for Moses's rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament, no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.'

"Then said the bishop, 'that mine opinion and faith, was like unto the Capernaites.

"I said, 'theirs was more like their opinion than mine.'"

What became of this Matthew Plaise after, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered; I have no certain knowledge.'

Ten Martyrs burnt in one fire at Lewes.

In the town of Lewes, were ten faithful servants of God put in one fire, the 22nd day of June, of whom six were men, and four were women.

Of which number, Richard Woodman was the first. Concerning whose apprehension, first by his enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bishop Bonner's hands; then of his second taking again by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends, also of his examinations and answers before the bishops; and lastly of his condemnation, here follows, declared by his own words: Richard Woodman, was about thirty-one years of age, and was by occupation, an iron maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and diocese of Chichester. The occasion of his first apprehension was this:

There was one Fairbanke, who sometimes had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine, but that which he then preached, taught and set forth, in king Edward's days; but afterwards, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Fairbanke preached quite contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon, Richard Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton, preach so contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconsistency, how he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Master John Ashburnham, and other justices of the peace in Sussex, and by them committed to the King's-bench, where he continued from June, almost a year and a half; and from thence, was transferred by Doctor Story, into Bonner's coal-house, where he remained the space of a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day when Master Philpot was burned, which was on the 18th of December, he, with four other prisoners, was delivered and set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by means of his father, brother, and others, and so was

sent up again to London to Bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house eight weeks. He was then six times examined, and twenty-six times before, so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Touching the whole discourse, as the matter is something strange, you shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his examinations recorded by himself.

[*A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, &c.*

"Gentle reader, here you shall perceive how the scriptures are partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of God's poor lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands, which was in the year 1555, and the same day that Master Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his coal-house eight weeks, lacking but one day: and before that I was almost a year and a half in the King's bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, and carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners; and then sent to Bonner's coal-house, and many times called before him, as appears by my examinations which I have wrote, which examinations the bishop of Chichester now has, for they were found in my house when I was taken, wherein is contained all the talk which I had before them. Also, there are in London, those who had copies of the same of me, when I was in the coal-house.

"And it pleased God to deliver me, with four more, out of the bishop's hands, he requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church, that was built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of the true church: we all affirmed that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he desired us many times to speak good of him.

"After I was delivered, the papists said that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; the which was the least part of my thought, as they well perceived and knew the contrary within a while. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest in all the country; and I vexed them so, that they with the commissioners complained of me to the lord chamberlain.

"Then within three days after, my lord sent to take me, I being at the plough, right in the way as they were coming to my house, came to them and spake to them, asking them how they did. And they said, 'they arrested me in the king and queen's name, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain.' Which words made my flesh to tremble. But I answered them, 'that I would go with them.' Yet I desired them, 'that they would go to my house with me, that I might break my fast, and put on other clothes,' and they said, 'I should.' Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart; 'Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myself happy. I remembered, how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid, that I should, for then were all my labour in vain.'

"So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loath to forego my wife and children, and goods; for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And so soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as cheerful and glad, and joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This battle lasted not a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself for the time.

"So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to show their warrant, thinking thereby I should have seen why I was arrested, that I might the better answer for myself when I came before their master. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me astonished, and it was put in my mind that I need not go with them unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, 'That is a marvel, that you will come to take a man without a warrant.'

"Then one of them said, 'We have not the warrant here, but it is at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it.' Then I said, 'Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your hazard be it.' So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them brought the constable and many more, thinking to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I suspected they would search it again that night, and I kept abroad; and, indeed there came seven of his men and the constable, and searched my house.

"Then I supposed that they would search all the country for me, and guard the sea-coast, lest I should go over; and then I thought they would not suppose I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife that I would make my lodging in a wood, not more than a bow-shot from my house, as I did indeed, even under a tree, and there had my bible, my pen, and mine ink, and other necessaries, and there continued six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily, as I had need. Yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders; whereupon they left lying in wait for me: for they had searched all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would.

"So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and, at length, I went beyond sea, both into Flanders and in France; but I thought every day seven years before I were at home again. So I returned home as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks; but as soon as I was come home, and it was once known among the priests, they could not abide it, but procurred out warrants against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week.

"My father and brethren, with whom I had some difference about property, informed the sheriff of my arrival, and they sent men to apprehend me.

"They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came runing in, and cried, 'Mother, mother, yonder cometh twenty men.' I, sitting in my bed, heard the words, and suspected straightway that I was betrayed, I stirred out of my bed and whipped on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors before they had been come. My wife, being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other: so the house was beset round straightway, and they bade open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but either I must show myself openly, or make some other remedy.

"Now there was a secret place in my house that was never found, though it was searched at the least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost of twenty men, both by night and by day. Into which place I went: and as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, whereby they came and asked for me; and she said I was not at home? They then asked her, wherefore she shut the door, if I were not at home. She said, because she had been made afraid several times with such as came to search us; and, therefore, she shut the door. 'For it is reported, (saith she,) that whoever can take my husband, shall hang him or burn him straightway; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think

they may do so unto us as well as to him.' 'Well,' said they, 'we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we are the sheriff's men; let us have a candle. It is told us, there are many secret places in your house.' So she lighted a candle, and they sought up and down, in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there talking with my father, and with some that he had brought with him.

"Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and said, 'We cannot find him.' Then he asked them, whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall, for that same place I had told him of myself. For, many times when I came home, I would send for him to bear me company; yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew, and so in the end I was taken."

And thus much touching the cause and effects of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his examinations, as written by himself.

"First, you shall understand, that I was sent from the sheriff's to London, on the 12th of April, 1557, and on the 14th, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. 'My name, (said I,) is Richard Woodman.'

"So after a very lengthy examination he, at last, professed great kindness for me.

"Chichester.—'I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul saith, 'Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide.' Remember you are called to another vocation, for God's sake walk therein. It is not your office to do as you have done. You might do as much good as any man might do in all the country, by your example; and, if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are.'

"Woodman.—'I would not that you should say, that I am out of the church of God, for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, and could win any into the true church, that are out, by any means that I could, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as myself. And where you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching, I cannot deny: for it becomes every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others as far as he can, that desire it of him. And where you have blamed me for reading the scriptures, and leaving my vocation, I left not my vocation in reading the scriptures. For I trust I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the scriptures, was, because the preachers and teachers were so changeable.'

"Chichester.—'No, did you not preach at a fair?'

"Woodman.—'No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in prison, I had leave of the council to go home and pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to sell cattle, and there met some poor men that I had set to work, and they from love asked me how I did, and how I got away from imprisonment. And I shewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And since that, it hath been reported that I have baptised children and married folks, which I never did, for I was never a minister. And if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the apostles, as God forbid I should.'

"Chichester.—'I have heard say the contrary.'

"Woodman.—'I have shewed you the truth, and no man living shall be able to prove the contrary.'

"Chichester.—'You said you did not disallow the true catholic church.'

"Woodman.—'No, that I do not.'

"Chichester.—'Why do you not then go to the church? You come not there, I am informed.'

"Woodman.—'I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not to the church where the most resort. For if I should, I should offend, and be offended. For the last time I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Wherefore, for conscience sake I would not come there. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defence against mine enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death, by God's word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God: wherefore look to it. deliver me not into their hands.'

"Chichester.—'I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter; but I will send for you and talk with you.'

"Then he desired the sheriff's men to tarry dinner with him; but this man, said he, may dine with me also: so we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk pertaining to me for the space of two hours or more; but he conversed with me, how I understood many scriptures, and about bishops' and priests' marriages, and whether St. Paul had a wife or not. I answered, 'It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriage; but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve.' So when he had talked with me of several scriptures, he liked my remarks well. He asked me how I said of St. Paul, whether he were married or not? I answered, 'I can prove by the scriptures that he was never married.'"

"Chichester.—'How prove you that?'

"Woodman.—'I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that St. Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had.'

"Chichester.—'What, had the apostles wives?'

"Woodman.—'Yes, all, save Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul's words, 'Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? if I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you; for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord. Mine answer to them that do examine me is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?' 1 Cor. ix. 1—6. So this text proves that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declares that the rest had wives, and that they had power likewise so to have, but they found no need of it. He also declares, in the seventh chapter of the same epistle, that he that hath no power over his own flesh, may marry; 'For it is better to marry than to burn.' 'Wherefore to avoid fornication,' saith he, 'let every man have his wife.' He saith, 'Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband.' By this place of scripture I understand, that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men. But I think verily, he that can abstain, having power over his own will, doth best; but if he marries he sinneth not.'

"So then he debated the scriptures with me, that a bishop or a priest ought not to have a wife: but I proved by several scriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, which was spoken generally to all men. 'Wherefore,' said I, 'every man may live with a woman, and sin not, in honest matrimony, as well bishops and deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they are true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were in Paul's time. For Paul declares to Timothy, 'that a bishop should be the husband of one wife,' and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their children, and likewise the deacons. This, said I, proves more plainly, that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alleged, that no bishop nor priest might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office,

but if he had a wife before he took the office, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy.

"Woodman.—'I think Paul's meaning in that place, was, that a man that has had two wives might not be made a bishop nor a deacon. But that place makes not that a bishop or a deacon may not marry, after they are made bishops and deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop, when he said, He had power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as the other apostles had. Here Paul declareth, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a bishop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God. Thus have I shewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the scriptures. However, it is a thing which I have little to do with; but as you required me to give you my mind in that matter, so I have done.

"Chichester.—'I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or not, by the scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you shall do well; therefore, gentle Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good understanding. I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and my body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.'

"Woodman.—'Why, my lord, I take God to record, whom I trust to serve, that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in all the world, if I might. And I am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is so, I have talked with a dozen priests at least, since I was delivered out of prison, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I ve asked them; and therefore they have complained to the sheriff and justices, making tales and lies on me, to turn me to displeasure. I promise you, there are as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England I think, the more it is to be lamented.

"Chichester.—'I promise you, I do much lament it myself; for I hear say no less, and it is true what you say. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot; but I will do the best that I can when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now; as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner, our dinner is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you shall have, nor would I you should think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come sit down.'

"I thanked him and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchant-man, one of the sheriff's men, and I, and no more, and we had good cheer, God be praised. We had no talk of the scriptures all the dinner while; but when dinner was done, the bishop said,

"Chichester.—'Now call Doctor Story's man. For the commissioners have committed you to prison: but I will send for you before long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.'

"Woodman.—'If it please you to send for me, I shall be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will shew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Doctor Story, for he is a man without reason.'

"Chichester.—'Well, before you go, how say you to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the more willing to send for you again.'

"Woodman.—'I know not seven sacraments.'

"Chichester.—'Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?'

"Woodman.—'I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God's word, that there are more than two, I stand to be convinced.'

"Chichester.—'If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not:' and so he bade me farewell.

"Then the sheriff's two men, and one of Doctor Story's men, carried me to Doctor Cook, who commanded them to carry me to the sheriff's prison; saying, he shall be called before us again shortly and all his fellows, and we shall dispatch them from troubling the country any more.

"And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am cheerful, God be praised, looking for the judgment of my flesh; for they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God will give them leave; but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Father's will, although I bear never so much touble. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to the Lord's will, so, whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, blessed be his name there for.

"Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can but kill the body; but fear Him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer. For the sheriff, with several other gentlemen and priests, whilst I was at the sheriff's house, said to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times past upon St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such like. 'Wherefore,' said they, 'look well to it, you have a great thing to answer for.' To which I answered, 'I pray that God may lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for heresy,' as I am sure he will not. For he hath set my sins as far from me, as it is from the east to the west: so that I am sure they shall never come near to me any more.' It is their imagination and thought, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure they shall never, by God' grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to lose us asunder, neither for life nor death, for which I praise my Lord God. And no doubt their fall intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. Which death of my body were best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised. I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their faith, by choosing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop saith, he will prove seven sacraments, be you out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already."

The second Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains; and Doctor Story, on the 27th of April.

"After this I was sent for on the 27th of April, to the bishop of Chichester; and when we were in the bishop's hall, we had not tarried long, when the bishop sent for me: and when I came before him, I did my duty to him as much as I could.

"Chichester.—'You are welcome; how do you do?'

"Woodman.—'Well, I praise God, thanking your lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you.'

"Chichester.—'How say you respecting the seven sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? will you deny all saving two?'

"Woodman.—'I say now as I said then. You said there are seven sacraments; and I said, I knew but two; but if you could prove seven by God's word, when I came

before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them; and now I am come to see how well you can prove them.' (With this he was moved to anger, and all his chaplains.)

"Chichester.—'By God and my truth I believe he thinks I cannot prove them. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony?'

"Woodman.—'Why, my lord, St. Paul saith to Timothy, a bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a bishop, of all others, who should be an example to the flock.' Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

"Chichester.—'What! I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day: what, he takes upon him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.'

"Priest.—'So methinks, my lord, he is as stout a fellow indeed, as we have seen.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, I am stout, because I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should bear your sin, which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.'

"Chichester.—'Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?'

"Woodman.—'If thou see thy brother sin, reprove him: if he repent, thou hast won thy brother.'

"Chichester.—'I will never talk with him more. Go call Doctor Story; let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.'

"Woodman.—'No, I praise God, my faith hangs not upon men, but upon God.'

"Priest.—'Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worse for them: but I fear they are the worse for him.'

"Woodman.—'Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged.'

"Chichester.—'I have nothing to do with you; but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said you would declare your mind in any particular manner I would demand of you.'

"Woodman.—'Why, I do not refuse to do so, if you demand it of me.'

"Chichester.—'I am not consecrated yet: wherefore, my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London; for you are now in his diocese.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, my lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabout you go. You accuse me to others, and they go about to kill me.'

"Chichester.—'I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind on the sacraments, and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you how I understand them.'

"Woodman.—'If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and show you my mind: otherwise I would be loath.'

"Chichester.—'Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament or not? How think you by it?'

"Woodman.—'I think it is a holy institution ordained of God in paradise, and so to continue to the world's end.'

"Chichester.—'Lo, now you shall see how you are deceived in that, as you are in all the rest. Come hither, You can read Latin, I am sure.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, I can read Latin, but I understand very little.'

"Chichester—'Come to me; you shall see that St. Paul calleth it a holy sacrament. For these are the words, 'For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great sacrament.''

"Woodman.—'I remember such a saying, but St. Paul calls it not a sacrament. But he saith, 'It is a great mystery.''

"Chichester.—'Where saith he so?'

"Woodman.—'I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these are St. Paul's words, and that he calls it not a sacrament in all his writings.'

"Chichester.—'What! the last day ye were full of scriptures,—here it is written! and there it is written! We can rehearse the scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we are sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place.'

"Woodman.—'I looked, and it was written in the Latin *sacramentum*, and a great *mystery* in the English translation.'

"Chichester.—'I grant it to be a mystery. What is a mystery?'

"Woodman.—'A mystery is unseen: for Paul saith, he speaks concerning Christ and the church. So the great mystery that he speaks of, I take to be the faith of them that are married, which is hid in Christ, which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the church, which is the outward marriage, we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore Paul calls it a mystery. And therefore, if it be a sacrament, it is invisible to us; it is not seen as other sacraments are.'

"Chichester.—'Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, seen as the others are; for is not the marriage seen? are not the man and woman seen?'

"Woodman.—'My lord, I pray you, what is a sacrament?'

"Chichester.—'It is a sign of a holy thing.'

"Woodman.—'Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself present.' (Then his chaplains would have interrupted me.) 'There needs not be a sign of a thing where the thing itself is present. Matrimony is a holy thing itself, and is ended outwardly, and needs no more signs but themselves; wherefore it cannot be a sacrament as others are.'

"Chichester.—'Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. We have an altar, whereof you may not eat. What means St. Paul thereby?'

"Woodman.—'There is no man so foolish as to eat stones, I trow.'

"Chichester.—'What a mocker and scorner you are, to say no man will be so foolish as to eat stones? It is a plain mockery.'

"Woodman.—'Why, my lord, you said I had no learning, nor understanding. Wherefore it becomes you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.'

"Chichester.—'I dare say you know what it means well enough. The greatest fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.'

"There stood some of his men not far off, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

"Chichester.—'Come hither. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?'

"The man.—'My lord, you would not have me eat of this table,' laying his hand upon it. With this answer he made all them in the house to laugh, and I could not refrain, but burst out with laughter and said:—

"'He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I.'

"Chichester.—'He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him. Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?'

"The Man.—'That you would not have me eat this table.'

"These words made them all laugh. Wherewith the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said—

"Chichester.—'He means that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this table. How sayest thou? Dost thou not mean so?'

"The Man.—'Yes, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, my lord, now you have told

him what you mean, he can say so too; and so could I have done, as little wit as I have, if you had said, St. Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the priests.'

"Chichester.—'Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman.—'You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.'

"Chichester.—'I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say.'

"Woodman.—'You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?'

"Chichester.—'I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it so strange to you?'

"Woodman.—'It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone.'

"Chichester.—'It is that altar that I mean.'

"Woodman.—'I understand not the altar so.'

"Chichester.—'No, I think so indeed: and that is the cause that you are deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?'

"Woodman.—'If you will give me leave till I have done, I will shew you how I understand the altar, and where it is.'

"Chichester.—'Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind as much as you will.'

"Woodman.—'It is written, 'That if any two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that ye shall ask, it shall be done for you of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'—Matt. xviii. 19, 20. Agreeing with the fifth of Matthew where Christ says, 'If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' (The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them let me alone.) 'I pray you let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every true man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wheresoever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we are in love and charity: if we are not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer the gift. Say in thy heart, without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the world forgiveness from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I shewed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I understand it.'

"Chichester.—'Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so, no, not Luther the great heretic, who was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.'

"Woodman.—'If he were a heretic, he understood it not so indeed: but I am sure all christians ought to understand it so.'

"Chichester.—'Who shall be judge betwixt us in this matter?'

"Woodman.—'The 12th of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day.'

"Chichester.—'You mean the word shall judge the word. How can that be?'

"Woodman.—'St. Peter saith, the scripture hath no private interpretation. But one scripture must be understood by another.'

"Chichester.—'You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way: and who shall be judge betwixt us then?'

"Woodman.—'The true church of God is able to solve all doubts; to whom I refer it.'

"Chichester.—'I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed.'

"Woodman.—'My lord, I never meant otherwise.'

"Chichester.—'The church of God allows the sacrament of the altar.'

"Woodman.—'What do you offer now upon the altar?'

"Chichester.—'We offer up in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ to pacify the wrath of God the Father.'

"Woodman.—'St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, in the tenth chapter, We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all; and every priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offers one manner of offering, which can never take away sins; and that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you are priests after the order of Aaron, who offered up sacrifice for their own sins, and the sins of the people.'

"Then they made a great laughing, and said; 'This is an heretic, indeed, it is time he was burned.' Which words moved my spirit, and I said to them, 'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For what you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, 'This was the man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honour: but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished.' These words shall you say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counsel."

"Story.—'I can say nothing to him, but he is a heretic. I have heard him talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.'

"Woodman.—'Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself.'

"Story.—'What, are you a preaching? you shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.'

"With those words, one brought word that the abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and ladies. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Dr. Story to my keeper:

"'Carry him to the Marshalsea again, and let him be kept close, and let nobody come to speak with him.'

"And so they departed. Then one of the priests began to flatter me, and said, 'For God's sake remember yourself. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were a great pity you should do amiss.'

"Woodman.—'What a flatterer you are, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the scriptures well; and but even now you said I was an heretic, and despised me. If I be an heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience doth accuse you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.'

"After this, on the 12th of May, I was brought before Dr. Langdale, when we had a long conference, of which the following was a part:

"Langdale.—'What think you of them that have died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before you? You judge them to be damned.'

"Woodman.—'I judge no man. But the 12th of John declares, who it is that judges, and who shall judge at the last day. The father shall not bear the son's offences, nor the son the father's offences; but that soul that sinneth shall die, as saith the prophet. And again, we may not follow a multitude to do evil, as saith the prophet. And Christ saith in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock.'

"Langdale.—'What! you are full of scriptures methinks, and you call for your accusers, as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have

you not to be afraid to talk with me; for I mean no more hurt to you, than I do to myself, I take God to record.'

"Woodman.—'I cannot tell, it is hard trusting to fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but finds they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he never saw before, saying, Be as wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you. And it makes me suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the scriptures.' Then they entered into a long examination respecting baptism, and afterwards about the sacrament of the altar, as it was called.

"Langdale.—'Well, how say you to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman.—'I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ be the altar that you mean.'

"Langdale.—'Did not Judas eat the body of Christ? How say you? Did he not?'

"Woodman.—'Well, how say you yourself? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?'

"Langdale.—'Yea, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ.'

"Woodman.—'Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life. For Christ saith in the sixth of John, 'Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.' If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did eat both his flesh, and drink his blood, and then Judas is saved by Christ's own words. Therefore, now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's body, or else that Judas is saved. Let us see how you can avoid this argument.'

"Langdale.—'Judas is damned, and yet he ate the body of Christ: but he ate it unworthily; and, therefore, he is damned.'

"Woodman.—'Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Christ unworthily?'

"Langdale.—'They are St. Paul's words. 1 Cor. chap. xi.'

"Woodman.—'I desire you, for God's sake, mark my words. If St. Paul speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any such words written in the whole Bible, that ever man did eat the body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest man that ever you heard speak. These are the words of St. Paul, Whoso eateth this bread, and drinketh this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he discerneth not the Lord's body; that is, because he presumes to eat the sacrament of the Lord's body without faith, making no difference betwixt the sacrament and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning, and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whoever eateth the body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is said in the sixth of John.'

"Langdale.—'I will never talk with him more; for he is the most unreasonable man that ever I talked with in all my life.'

After this he was dismissed, and again examined three times: the last examination he thus details:—

"Be it known unto all men, by this present writing, that I, Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, July 16th, 1557, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there sitting with him at the same time the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Doctor Langdale, Master Roper, with a fat priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter follows.

"I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a sop and the devil at the same time; and because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration, and that the body of Christ could not be received by any but the faithful; I was condemned.

"Winchester.—'You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain heresies. How say you now? Do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?'

"Woodman.—'I held no heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.'

"Winchester.—'No. Did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is an heresy.'

"Woodman.—'Is it heresy to say, Judas received no more than bread? I said, he received more than bare bread, for he received the sacrament that was prepared to shew forth the Lord's death, and because he presumed to eat without faith, he received the devil with it, as the words of Christ declare; after he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.'

"Winchester.—'Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or not?'

"Woodman.—'I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese.'

"Chichester.—'I pray you let us hear your faith.'

"Woodman.—'I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe in the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation.'

"Winchester.—'And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar?'

"Woodman.—'I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.'

"Winchester.—'No, hold him a book. If he refuse to swear, he is an anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated.'

"Woodman.—'I will not swear for you, excommunicate me if you will.'

"Winchester.—'I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a strong heretic.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to shew you my mind, how I believe in the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. I will not meddle with any other man's belief on it.'

"Harpsfield.—'Why, I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike.'

"Woodman.—'Yea, I grant you so, that all true Christians' faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself.'

"Harpsfield.—'Well, let us hear what you say to it.'

"Woodman.—'I do believe, that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I coming in faith, as I trust in God I will whensoever I come to receive it, I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and do receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive, mystically by faith, a whole Christ, God and man: this is my belief on the sacrament.'

"Priest.—'What a fool art thou, 'mystically by faith?' thou canst not tell what mystical is.'

"Woodman.—'If I be a fool, so take me. But God hath chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise men as you are.'

"Priest.—'I pray thee, what is mystically?'

"Woodman.—'I take mystically to be the faith that is in us, that the world seeth not, but God only.'

"Winchester.—'He cannot tell what he saith. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it is not the body of Christ before it is received, and whether it is not the body of Christ to all who receive it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee.'

"Woodman.—'I have said as much as I will say, excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary.

Let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.'

"Chichester.—'I am not consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.'

"Then spake the bishop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying: 'We go not about to condemn thee, but to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.'

"Woodman.—'To save my soul? nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already. I praise God for it. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that has saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid.'

"Priest.—'What an heresy is that, my lord, here is an heresy. He saith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?'

"Woodman.—'Yes. I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Ephesians, and there you shall find it, where Paul saith, 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.' Ephesians i. 3, 4. These are the words of St. Paul, and I believe they are most true. And therefore, it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saves, and not you, or any man.'

"Priest.—'What? Faith without works? St. James saith, 'Faith without works is dead,' and we have free will to do good works.'

"Woodman.—'I would not that any of you should think, that I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works.' Yet not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God, as saith St. Paul to the Philippians, ii. 13, 'For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.''

"Winchester.—'Make an end; answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great if you do.'

"Woodman.—'I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, if it be as you say, I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me.'

"Priest.—'All that my lord and we tell thee is truth.'

"Woodman.—'I will believe none of you all, for you are turncoats and changelings, neither hot nor cold, as saith St. John.'

"Winchester.—'What, are we turncoats and changelings, what meanest thou by that?'

"Woodman.—'I mean, that in King Edward's time you taught the doctrine that was sent forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may truly.'

"Winchester.—'He is the naughtiest heretic that ever I knew. I will read the sentence against him.'

"Woodman.—'Will you? why will you? you have no just cause to excommunicate me; and therefore, if you condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had a hundred lives.'

"Winchester.—'Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly.'

"Woodman.—'My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience in all the bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily; then I will argue with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I desire all this people to be witness.'

"Priest.—'Will you? that we shall agree well enough. St. Paul saith so.'

"Woodman.—'I pray you where saith he so? rehearse the words.'

"Priest.—'In the 11th chapter of the first to the Corinthians, he saith: 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.''

"Woodman.—'Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. These are the words you said: good people hearken well to them, 'Whoso eateth of this *bread*, and drinketh of this *cup*, unworthily. He saith not, whoso eateth of this *body* unworthily, or drinketh of this *blood* unworthily: But he saith; whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily (which is the sacrament) eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, because he makes no difference between the sacrament which represents the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true.'

"Winchester.—'Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee.'

"Woodman.—'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged yourself.' Then he read the sentence. 'Why,' said I, 'will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore?'

"Winchester.—'Thou art an heretic, and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated.'

"Woodman.—'I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness, I reject all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will.'

"And so he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have spoken my mind to them, but they cried, 'Away, away with him.' So I was carried to the Marshalsea again."

Extracts from a Godly Letter of Richard Woodman.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son, our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the cross of Christ that you are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

"In my most humble wise I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are cheerful and joyful, for which we praise God, looking daily to be liberated from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father; praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have shewed to God's elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's goodwill and favour towards you, and to all others that hear thereof. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare always, what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, bring forth good things.

"Oh, may not all people well perceive now that this is the time that our master Christ speaks of, that the father should be against the son, and the son against the father, and one brother against another! that the brother shall deliver the brother to death: yea, and that the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name's sake? which I have well found by experience, I praise God therefore, that he hath given me strength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil devised but it hath been imagined against me, and that by my familiar friends, as David saith: but I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true.

"But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice, strangers will they not hear: meaning thereby, that ye should not believe strangers, counting them strangers that go about to subvert the gospel. For I have no distrust, by God's help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own sight, whenever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe, that God who hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace and will alway,

to bear this easy yoke and light burden; which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

"For when I have been in prison, wearing at one time bolts, sometime shackles, other times lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords, that all my body hath been swoln, much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my flesh, sometimes obliged to lie without in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few I say, that durst keep my company for fear of the rulers; sometimes brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometimes called dog, devil, heretic, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers other such like; yea, and even they who did eat of my bread, and who should have been most my friends by nature, have betrayed me. Yet for all this I praise my Lord God, that hath separated me from my mother's womb, all this that hath happened unto me hath been easy, light, and most joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. But in that way which they call heresy, I serve my Lord God, and at all times before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist. I praise God for it.

"Wherefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters, and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and as all other of God's elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this persecution would have been at an end ere this time, now I perceive, God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, that no man should rejoice in himself, but he that rejoiceth shall rejoice in God.

"Wherefore, if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but a perfect love casteth out all fear: which love I have no distrust of, but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ, but by him I trust you shall enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen."

After these examinations, Richard Woodman was judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life; with him also were burned nine others, five men and four women, at Lewes, on the 22nd of June, 1557.

The Martyrdom of Richard Lush.

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burned for heresy, whose affirmations in the certificate are as follow:—

"1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. For denying auricular confession to be made to the priest.

"3. For affirming only to be three sacraments; namely, of baptism, of the Lord's supper, and of matrimony.

"4. For refusing to call the Lord's supper by the name of the sacrament of the altar.

"5. For denying purgatory, and saying that prayer and alms, profit not the dead body.

"6. That images are not to be suffered in the church; and that all who kneel to images are idolaters.

"7. That they which were burned of late, for religion, died God's servants and good martyrs.

"8. For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.

"9. For denying the universal and catholic church; meaning, belike, the church of Rome."

For these assertions he was condemned, and committed to the sheriffs; and also a certificate was directed by the bishop to the king and queen. Whereby we have to understand, that Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Brown, was there burned and executed; unless, peradventure, in the mean season he died, or was made away in the prison.

Simon Miller, Martyr at Norwich.

In the month of July, ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller. This Simon, was of the town of Lynn, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary religion then set forth: he came from Lynn to Norwich, where, standing in the hearing of the people, coming out from their popish service in the church, he began to ask them, where he might go to have the communion. At which words, (many much marvelling to hear and see his boldness,) one that was an evil disposed papist, said, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would bring him where he should be forwarded in his purpose. Upon which he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich, who, after a few words, committed him to prison.

In the meanwhile as he was in examination, he had in his shoe his confession, written on paper; a piece appearing above his shoe, it was seen and taken out. The chancellor, asking if he would stand to the confession of the faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed it. Upon this, he was committed, till the time arrived for examination, when he constantly continued in his purpose, and defence of God's truth; so he was condemned and committed to the fire, about the 13th of July.

Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.

With this Simon Miller also was burned one Elizabeth Cooper, a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish, in Norwich, where she had before recanted; and being greatly troubled inwardly, at last she came to St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service, and there standing up, she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that she ever did it, desiring the people not to be deceived, or to take her doings before for an example, &c. These or such like words she spoke in the church.

Then cried one Bacon, saying, "Master sheriff, will you suffer this?" and repeating the same, urged him to go from the church to her house; at his knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

This good woman being condemned, was at the stake with Simon Miller to be burned, when the fire came to her, she a little shrunk at it, with a voice crying, "ha!" When Simon Miller heard her, he put his hand behind him toward her, and bid her to be strong and of good courage: "For, good sister," said he, "we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper." At this she being, as it seemed, strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which she had begun.

So, at last, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

The Martyrdom of five Men and five Women, at Colchester.

Mention was made a little before of twenty-two who were sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London; who, through a gentle submission, were afterwards released and delivered.

In the number of these twenty-two, was William Munt, of Muchbentley, in Essex, husbandman, with Alice, his wife, and Rose Allen, his daughter; who, coming home again to their house, refrained themselves from the service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, who gave themselves diligently to reading, invocating, and calling upon the name of God through Christ: by which they so fretted the priest of the town, called Thomas Tye, and

others like him, that casting their heads together, they resolved to persecute these godly people.

Therefore Thomas Tye sought out where the persecuted met. For, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, for a twelvemonth and more he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women; but the sequel shewed him to be a false brother.

So partly knowing the places, he further inquired of others about them; and being sufficiently instructed for his purpose, he wrote secretly to Bonner, bishop of London, the following letter.

A Letter to Bonner, Bishop of London, from Thomas Tye, Priest.

"Right honourable lord, after my bounden duty, done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your lordship the state of our parts, concerning religion. And first, since the coming down of the twenty-two heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen's majesty's reign, as they now are at this present. In Muchbentley, where your lordship is patron of the church, since William Munt, and Alice, his wife, with Rose Allen, her daughter, came home, they do not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but do daily allure many others away from it, who before did outwardly shew signs and tokens of obedience.

"They assemble together upon the Sabbath day, in the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, and sometimes in another, and there keep their privy conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say, the lords' commission is out, and they are discharged of their oath. The quest-men in your archdeacon's visitation allege, that forasmuch as they were once presented and now sent home, they have no more to do with them, nor any other. Your officers say, namely, Master Boswel, that the council sent them not home without a great consideration. I pray God, some of our officers are not favourers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

"The ministers of the church are coughed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon, in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and country, in as ample and large manner, as though no honourable lords and commissioners had been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of John Love, of Colchester-heath (a perverse place;) which John Love was twice indicted of heresy, and thereupon fled with his wife and household, and his goods seized within the town of Colchester, to the king and queen's majesty's use. Nevertheless, the said John is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little discomfort of good and catholic people, who daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again: which thing shall come the sooner to pass, through the travel and pains of such honourable lords and reverend fathers, as your lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honour. From Colchester, the 18th of December.

"Your humble bedesman,

"THOMAS TYE, Priest."

When, Judas-like, this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, the storms began to rise against them, and William Munt and his company were forced to hide themselves. But soon after the enemy surrounded the house, and went into the chamber where Munt and his wife lay. Mrs. Munt hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink, for she was very ill. So her daughter, Rose Allen, took a stone vessel in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, and desired her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better catholic people.

Rose.—"Sir, they have a better instructor than I, For the Holy Ghost teaches them, I hope, who I trust will not suffer them to err."

Tyrrel.—"Why, art thou still in that mind, thou naughty hussey? It is time to look upon such heretics indeed."

Rose.—"Sir, with what you call heresy, I worship my Lord God, I tell you the truth."

Tyrrel.—"Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake."

Rose.—"No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it."

Tyrrel (turning to his company).—"Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think it?" "Marry, sir," said one, "prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by."

Then Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back of her hand, till the very sinews cracked asunder.

In which time, he said often to her, "Why wilt thou not cry? Thou young hussey, wilt thou not cry?" To which she always answered, that "she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had more cause to weep, than she, if he considered the matter well." In the end, when the sinews broke, he then thrust her from him violently, using very insulting language. But she quietly suffering his rage for the time, at last said, "Sir, have ye done what ye will do?" And he said, "Yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it."

Rose.—"Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also. For he that set you to work will pay you your wages one day, I warrant you:" and so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded. After searching the house for more company, they found one John Thurston, and Margaret his wife, there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately.

Rose Allen, when she was a prisoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of Tyrrel; and shewing him the manner, she said, "while my own hand was a burning, I having a stone vessel in my other hand, might have struck him on the face with it, if I would: but I thank God, with all my heart, I did it not."

And that Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, another example of a blind harper's hand, burned by Bishop Bonner, is testified by Valentine Dingley, who declared, how Bonner, having this blind harper before him, said, "That such blind abjects, who follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the first that will fly from it."

To whom the blind man said, "That if every joint of him were burned, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fly." Then Bonner signifying privily to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning coal. Which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burned. Amongst the doers of this act was the said Valentine Dingley, who reports it.

But to return. With William Munt and his family, was joined also, in the same prison at Colchester, another faithful brother, named John Johnson, alias Aliker, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, of the age of four-and-thirty years.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote-hall, in Colchester, whose names were:—William Bongeor, glazier; Thomas Benold, tallow-chandler; W. Purcas, fuller, a young man; Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, widow; Helen Ewring, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned before: the sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maiden, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote-hall, as the other four were, in the castle.

There were several examinations of these good men before many justices, priests, and officers.

William Bongeor said, that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remains bread. To this he stood, as also against all the rest of their papistical doctrine: and so had sentence read against him.

Thomas Benold, affirmed the same in effect; and so had sentence also read against him.

W. Purcas of Bocking said, that when he received the sacrament, he received bread for an holy use, that teaches the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other their popish matters; and so also had sentence read against him.

Agnes Silverside, said, that she loved no consecration. This good old woman, being sixty years of age, answered with such sound judgment and boldness, to every thing, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

Helen Ewring answered the same in effect as the other did, clearly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. Against her also was sentence read.

Elizabeth Folks, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament substantially and really, or no; answered that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. At which words the priests' and others were very angry, and asked her again, whether after the consecration there remained not the body of Christ in the sacrament. And she answered, that before consecration and after, it is but bread. Then they examined her of confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c., to all which she answered, that she would neither use nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her. In which time Doctor Chadsey wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. So the sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer in audible voice, praising God that ever she was born, to see that most blessed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ: and Lord, said she, (if it be thy will) forgive them that have done this against me, for they know not what they do. Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, if they did not repent their wicked doings, that undoubtedly the very bar, would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had that day shed innocent blood.

William Munt, of the age of sixty-one years, said, that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he should observe any part of their popish proceedings, he should displease God, and bring his curse upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good father was examined about many things: but God be thanked, he stood to the truth, and in the end he had sentence of condemnation read against him. John Johnson made answer in such sort, as the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest. John Johnson affirmed, that in receiving the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he receives the body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Alice Munt, being examined, said, and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their sentence in like manner.

Rose Allen, the daughter, at the age of twenty years, being examined about auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the popish seven sacraments, &c. answered stoutly, that they stank in the face of God, and she durst not have to do with them for her life, neither was she, she said, any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichrist, and so should have (if they repented not) the reward of antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the see of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or no; she answered boldly, that she was none of his. "As for his see," quoth she, "it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to fly in; for by the grace of God I shall not live in that see, neither will I have any thing to do with it." Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her, and so sent her unto prison again unto the rest, where she sung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again, every one to the prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort in continual reading, and invocating the name of God, ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. In which time the cruel papists left not their mischievous attempts against them. For Bonner, shortly after got a writ for the burning of the good creatures.

The writ being received, the bailiffs appointed the day of the execution to be the second of August, it was agreed among them, that they in Mote-hall should be burned in the forenoon, and those at the castle, in the afternoon.

The second day of August, 1557, betwixt six and seven o'clock in the morning, was brought from Mote-hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town-wall of Colchester, the six forenamed; who being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not suffer them. When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made themselves ready for the fire. And Elizabeth Folks, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who came and kissed her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord, but the wicked men would not suffer her to give it. Therefore taking the petticoat, she threw it away from her, saying, "Farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope, (and so taking the stake in her hand), welcome charity:" being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the striking of the staple, he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder bone; whereat she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers by (who were by estimation thousands) cried generally; "The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them," with such like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus they yielded up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like service, for his mercy's sake, Amen.

In like manner, in the afternoon, was brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for the same, William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allen: which godly constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry, suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people did no less rejoice to see it, than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning.

The Death of George Eagles Martyr.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserves admiration. Which man, as before, in those most bright and clear days of king Edward VI., he had preached the power of the Lord, so afterward in the tempestuous time and fall of the church, he expressed and uttered his manly spirit. For he, wandering abroad into far countries, where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometime abiding in that, certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes for fear living in fields and woods. Often-

times he lay abroad in the night without cover, spending the most part of his time in devout and earnest prayer.

Now when he had profited Christ's church in this sort, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, and especially in Colchester, and the quarters thereabout; his privy enemies lurked and laid wait for him, so that there were spies sent out, who had in commandment, wherever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead.

But when their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain, his adversaries went about another way to compass their nterprize of taking him. For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk, promising the party that took him, twenty pounds. So at length it came to pass, that, being seen at Colchester, he was pursued and taken.

The next day he was carried to London, and was then brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions, and there was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm, in that case provided. For an edict was ordained a little before, that if men should flock secretly together, above the number of six, they should be attached of treason: so his indictment was for treason, adding, "for that thou didst make thy prayer, that God should turn queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed, he prayed that God would turn her heart, in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding, he was condemned for a traitor, although the real cause was religion.

The Martyrdom of Richard Crashfield.

About this time suffered at Norwich, a godly man, and a constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield, whose examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, he penned with his own hand.

"'How say you, sirrah,' said the chancellor, 'to the ceremonies of the church?'

"Then said I, 'What ceremonies?'

"He said, 'do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly.'

"My answer was, 'I do believe so many as are grounded in the testament of Jesus Christ.'

"'Tush,' said he, 'Do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?'

"I said, 'I knew not what it was.'

"Then said he, 'Do you not believe that Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body?'

"'Yes, verily,' said I, 'and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.'

"He said, 'Do you not believe this, that after the words be spoken by the priest, there is the substance of Christ's body, flesh and blood? How say you, do you not believe this? speak man.'

"'I do believe,' said I, 'That Christ's body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, whereof the bread and the wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world.' So then I was remanded into prison until the next day.

"The day following I was brought forth again. Then the chancellor said unto me, 'Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday:' I answered, 'Yes.'

"Then said he, 'How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the crucifix, and make your prayer?'

"I answered, and said, 'No,' rehearsing the commandment of God forbidding it.

"He said, 'Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?'

"I answered, 'What image?'

"He said, 'The brazen serpent.'

"I said, 'Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.'

"Then Doctor Bridges said, 'Wherefore did God command the seraphins and cherubins to be made?'

"I said, 'I could not tell; I would fain learn.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'But how say you to this? can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the crucifix?'

"I said, 'No, I fear the curse of God: for it is written that God curseth the hands that make them, yea and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'How say you to confession to the priest? when were you confessed?'

"I said, 'I confess myself daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.'

"Then the chancellor said. 'Do you not then take confession to the priest to be good?'

"I answered, 'No, but rather wicked.'

"'The singing, and playing on the organs; is it not good and godly?'

"I said, 'I could perceive no godliness in it.'

"Then he said, 'Why, is it not written in the Psalms, that we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?'

"I said, 'Yes, spiritual songs must be had: but yours are of the flesh, and of the spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'Why, is it not written, My house is a house of Prayer?' Isaiah lvi. 7.

"I said, 'Yes. It is witten also, That ye have made it a den of thieves.' Luke xix. 46.

"With that, the chancellor looked and said, 'have we?'

"I answered and said, 'Christ said so.' Then was I remanded to prison.

"The Thursday next following Doctor Bridges was sent to me to examine me of my faith. And he asked me many questions concerning transubstantiation, at last he said:

"'What did Christ give you? Was it bread, or was it not?'

"I said, 'Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.'—1 Cor. xi. 26. St. Paul saith not here as you say; for he saith, 'As often as ye eat this bread.' He doth not say body.'

"What say you to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind on that.'

"I answered, 'I have said my mind on it.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'No, we will have your mind more plainly.'

"I said, 'My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus, the Easter Lamb, hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that one sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only advocate and mediator, and hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.'

"Then Doctor Bridges started up, and said, 'Truth, your words are true indeed. You take well the literal sense; but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice; so likewise we daily offer the self same body that was offered upon the cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.'

"'Do you offer Christ's body?' I said. 'Why then Christ's sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men are liars.'

"He answered and said, 'The church hath power to do it.'

"I answered, 'Why, Christ saith, 'I lay down my life that I may take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.'—John x. 17, 18. Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer

his body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power.'"

This godly young man, not long after his condemnation, was brought to the stake, where with much patience and constancy he entered his blessed martyrdom.

Fryer, and a Sister of George Eagle's.

About the same time and month, one named Fryer, with a woman who was the sister of George Eagles, suffered the like martyrdom at Rochester, by the unrighteous papists, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The Death of Mistress Lewis.

Mistress Joyce Lewis, a gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such like foolishness; she was married to Thomas Lewis of Mancetter, in Warwickshire. In the beginning of queen Mary's time she went to the church, and heard mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr Laurence Sanders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God, the cause of his death: and when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by Master John Glover's house, of whom mention was made before,* a man of blessed memory, and a singular example of unfeigned godliness, she did often resort to him, and desire him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

He perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord. By which godly counsel it happened that she began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with the love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things the which did displease the Lord her God. And because she had learned the mass to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and shewed herself to be displeased. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for the despising of their sacraments.

Immediately, a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop. The summoner that brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the summoner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The summoner refused to take it again, for he thought no man durst have been so bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewis compelled the said summoner to eat the citation indeed, by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away. But immediately after, Lewis with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where Lewis submitted himself, and desiring the bishop to be good to him, excused himself after the best manner he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop, that by refusing of the holy water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At the which words the bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worst, as he said, he gave her one month's respite, binding her husband in one hundred pounds to bring her again to him at the month's end, and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, Mistress Lewis gave herself to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to Master John Glover, who most diligently instructed her with God's word.

When the month was now almost expired, her husband carried her to the bishop, where she was examined, and found more resolved than she was before death was threatened. And to begin with, she was sent to such a loathsome prison, that a maid who was appointed to keep her company swooned in the prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and often examined, at length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced an heretic worthy to be burned. When the bishop reasoned with her, why she could not come to the mass, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Ghost, she answered, "Because I find not these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify, as things most needful for men's salvation; if these things were in the same word of God commanded, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." The bishop answered, "If thou wilt believe no more than is in the scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case." At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelvemonth in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff that was lately chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed. All the time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they that had any spark of godliness or honesty, greatly lamented her case.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ for burning being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom she consulted how she might behave herself, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable to the enemies of God. "As for death," said she, "I do not greatly heed it, when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Saviour, the face of death doth not greatly trouble me." In which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff that they were come to hear her confession; for they would be sorry that she should die without that. She sent them word she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God the most humble praise, that he made her worthy to suffer death for his word. And as concerning the absolution they were able to give to her, being authorised by the pope, she rejected it even from the bottom of her heart. Which when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her resolution will be proved and tried, for although she has now some friends that whisper in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her." And so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was set at nought.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and happy, with a certain gravity, spending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purposely come to her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan, who

* In the account of Robert and John Glover, in page 814, they are erroneously stated to have been of the town of *Manchester*, whereas they were of *Mancester* or *Mancetter*, a village in Warwickshire, about twelve miles from Coventry, and the detailed account of their sufferings, to which the reader was referred, is written, not by a Rev. *Mr. Hitchin, Incumbent of* Manchester, but by the *Rev. Benjamin Richings, Vicar of Mancetter*, who has collected a number of particulars of these martyrs, not recorded by Foxe.—Ed.

never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand, began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, questioning with her how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her; I grant that he died, but that he died for thee how canst thou tell; with this suggestion when she was troubled, they that were about her did counsel her to follow the example of St. Paul, where he saith, "Who loved me, and gave himself for me."—Gal. ii. 20. Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love towards her, especially the Holy Spirit of God working in her heart, that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight o'clock, the Sheriff came to her into her chamber, saying these words, "Mistress Lewis, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, the which is, that you shall live no longer than one hour in this world; therefore prepare yourself. At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as he was, she was somewhat abashed. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, "Mistress Lewis, you have great cause to praise God, who will vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ that he is the only Saviour."

After which she said, "Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he will make me worthy to venture my life in his cause." And thus Master Sheriff departed; and within the space of one hour he came again, with swords and staves; and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, which the sheriff granted at that time, but afterwards he was sore troubled for it when she was dead.

Now, when she was brought through the town, a great multitude of people being present, she being led by two of her friends, was brought to the place of execution; and because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not accustomed to the fresh air (being so long in prison,) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink; and after she had prayed three several times, in which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry, (at the end of the which prayers the most part of the people cried Amen, yea, even the sheriff that stood by her, ready to cast her in the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer, said with the rest of the people, Amen;) when she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." When she had drank, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, especially the women, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the chain she shewed such cheerfulness, that it passed man's reason, being so devoid of any fear, and so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts lamented, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily: for the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such inflammable stuff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This amongst other things may not be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she came at the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, who had a pair of writing tables to note both the names of the women that drank of her cup, and also described her friends by their apparel, for he could not learn their names, and afterwards enquired for their names; and so immediately after process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places; but God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Islington.

I find, that about the 17th day of September, were burned at Islington, nigh unto London, these four constant professors of Christ. Among whom it appears that Ralph Allerton confessed that he coming into his parish of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they should fall unto prayer, and meditation of God's most holy word, and not sit idly; they willingly consented. Then after prayer was ended, he read unto them a chapter of the New Testament, and so departed.

In which exercise he continued until Candlemas, and then being informed that he might not do so by the law, for he was not priest or minister, he left off, and kept himself close in his house. Afterwards, certain men sworn for the inquiry into such matters, came to his house, and attached him for reading in the parish of Welley.

After his examination, he was sent up to the council; and Bonner, by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple heart of this man, that he made him openly at Paul's cross recant his former profession; which yet brought such a bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that except the Lord, whose mercies are immeasurable, had supported and lifted him up again, he had perished for ever. But the Lord gave him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again, even to the death, his most holy name and glorious gospel, wherefore he was again apprehended, and sent to Bonner, before whom he was the 8th day of April, and other times examined.

The following articles were objected against him and confessed by him.

"1. That he was of the parish of Muchbentley, and so of the diocese of London.

"2. That the 10th day of January then last past, when Master John Morant was preaching at St. Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself unto the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

"3. That he did consent and subscribe as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.

"4. That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

"5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth article, last before specified.

"6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and see of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

"7. That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

"8. That he had divers times affirmed, that the

religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good, nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

"9. That he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward VI., was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Ralph and his fellow prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the book.

"10. That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to mass, matins, nor evensong, nor bear taper, candle, or palm, nor go in procession, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

"11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

"12 That he had affirmed, that praying to saints and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, or to worship it.

"13. That the said Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his parish church ever since the 10th day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church."

To all these articles he answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; except to this clause, contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort.

"Except it be proved otherwise by the holy scripture, I do affirm these articles to be true. By me Ralph Allerton."

Other articles were afterwards objected, and when he would not recant, Bishop Bonner pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and so delivered him unto the temporal officers: who reserved him in their custody until the 17th day of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned.

James Austoo, and Margery his Wife.

These two being once delivered into the pitiless hands of Bonner, their examinations were not long deferred. For on the 16th day of July, 1557, they were brought before him. He demanded of James Austoo, amongst other questions, where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament of the altar at Easter?

He answered, "That indeed he had been confessed of the curate of Allhallows, but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he rejected it from the bottom of his heart."

"Why," said the bishop, "dost thou not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Christ?"

"No," said Austoo, "not in the sacrament of the altar; but in the supper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Christ by faith."

Bonner, not well pleased with this talk, asked then the wife, how she did like the religion that then was in England?

She answered, "That she believed it was not according to God's word, but false and corrupted."

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the church and hear mass?

She said, "That she rejected the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church in which there were idols."

After this the bishop objected unto them certain articles, which being read, and their constancy in the faith perceived, Bonner pronounced against them the sentence of condemnation, and delivering them to the sheriff, rid his hands of them.

Richard Roth.

Richard Roth, being apprehended, and brought to the bishop of London, was examined on the 4th of July; the bishop earnestly laboured to induce him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ's church, and that in the sacrament of the altar after consecration, there remained the very substance of Christ's body and blood, and none other. He made only this answer, "That if the scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so persuaded, he would so believe, otherwise not." But at another examination he declared plainly, "That in the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead God, and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline."

The bishop objected against him; "That he was a comforter of heretics; and had written a letter to that effect to some that were burned at Colchester;" as follows:—

A Letter written by Richard Roth.

"O, dear brethren and sisters, how much have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far! and no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O, dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God! O, that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my lord's prison in the day, and in the night I lie in the coal-house, away from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said, that I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I lie still at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we wait patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks; by the which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters in this world, but I trust to see you in the heavens face to face.

"Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters known and unknown. O, be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, saith Christ; for I have overcome death, saith he. Oh dear hearts! seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore, give all thanks to God.

"Oh dear hearts! you shall be clothed with long white garments upon the mount Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which will never forsake us. Oh blessed virgins! ye have played the wise virgin's part, in that ye have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. Oh dear hearts! how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord! for dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"By me, Richard Roth,
"written with my own blood."

This letter he confessed he had written with his blood, having no ink, and that he meant to have sent it to such as were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burned there.

He was (as the rest before mentioned) condemned and delivered to the sheriff, and the 17th day of September they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire, at Islington, for the testimony of Christ.

Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian Women, burned at Colchester, for the sincere Profession of Christ's Gospel.

A little before mention was made of ten that suffered martyrdom at Colchester, at which time there were two women, Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other ten were: but Margaret Thurston was for that time deferred.

Agnes Bongeor was also kept back at that time, because her name was wrong written in the writ.

But when she saw herself so separated from her prison fellows, what piteous moans that good woman made, and how bitterly she wept; what strange thoughts came into her mind; how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and into what depth of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see: which all came because she went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands.

However, in a short time a writ came from London for burning them, which was executed the 17th day of September.

When these good women were brought to the place in Colchester, where they should suffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to the Lord, which being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained; and after the fire had compassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore. Amen.

John Kurde, Martyr.

John Kurde, a shoemaker, of the parish of Syrsam, in Northamptonshire, was imprisoned in Northampton castle, for denying the popish transubstantiation, for which they pronounced sentence of death against him, in the church of All Saints, in Northampton, in August, A.D. 1557. And in September following, he was burned. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles', in Northampton, declared to him, that if he would recant, he was authorised to give him his pardon. His answer was, that "he had his pardon by Jesus Christ."

John Noyes, Martyr.

In the month of September suffered the blessed martyr John Noyes.

Thomas Lovel, chief constable of Hoxton, in Suffolk, and the under constables of Laxefield, and two others, were commanded to be that day before the justices, and high sheriff. And there having commandment of the justices to inquire in their town if there were any that would neglect to come to their service and mass; and further, to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring certificate to the justices, within fourteen days then next ensuing: they therefore took counsel how to attach John Noyes.

So they took him and carried him to the justices next day. The justices and the sheriff cast him into the dungeon, and there he lay some time; and then he was carried to Norwich, before the bishop, where were ministered to him these positions:—

"1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to stir up men's minds to devotion.

"2. Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here on earth.

"3. Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration."

Whereunto he answered, that he thought the natural body of Christ to be only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, &c. For which answers sentence at last was read by the bishop against him.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him as he remained prisoner in Norwich, after christian exhortation, asked him if he feared death when the bishop gave judgment against him, Noyes answered, "He thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty." Then Nicholas required him to shew the cause of his condemnation. Upon which John Noyes wrote with his own hand as follows:—

"I said, that I could not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ, that same body that was born of the Virgin Mary; but that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution. The bishop said, 'That the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God.' So said the chancellor also. Then answered I, my lord, I cannot so believe."

He was sent to Laxefield to be burned, and on the next morning was brought to the stake. The fire in most places of the street was put out, saving a smoke was espied by Thomas Lovel proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the sheriff went, and broke open the door, and got fire, and brought it to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he was to be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers, and then they bound him to the stake; and being bound, John Noyes said, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Matt. x. 28.

When he saw his sister weeping and making moan for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman, a valiant champion in the pope's affairs, brought a fagot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the fagot and kissed it, and said, "Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this."

Then he delivered his psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that book; and the sheriff promised he would, notwithstanding he never performed his promise. Then John Noyes said to the people, "They say they can make God of a piece of bread, believe them not." Then said he, "Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds," and so the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he said, "Lord have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me."

A Letter that he sent to comfort his Wife as he lay in Prison.

"You desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, 'Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you: But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.'—1 Pet. iv. 12—14.

"'For it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing.'—1 Pet. iii. 17.

"'But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's

matters. Yet if any man suffer as a christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? 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.'—1 Pet. iv. 15—19.

"'St. Paul saith, 'Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.'—2 Tim. iii. 12.

"St. John saith, 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.'—1 John ii. 15—17.

"St. Paul saith, 'If then ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.'—Col. iii. 1, 2.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, 'But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.'—Matt. xviii. 6.

"The prophet David saith, 'The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth, and delivereth them out of all their troubles.'—Psal. xxxiv. 17.

"'O fear the Lord, ye his saints: for there is no want to them that fear him.'—Psal. xxxiv. 9.

"'Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate.'—Psal. xxxiv. 21.

"'Oh that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways; I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.'—Psal. lxxxi. 13, 14.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, 'The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household.'—Matt. x. 24, 25.

"St. Paul saith, 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'—2 Cor. vi. 14—18.

"'But as it is written, eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.' 1 Cor. ii. 9.

"'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 Pet. i. 18, 19.

"'Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.'—Acts iv. 12.

"Christ saith, 'Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'—Matt. vi. 31—33.

"So fare ye well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray."

The Martyrdom and Suffering of Cecily Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the Testimony and Witness of Christ's Gospel.

About the 23d of September suffered at Norwich Cecily Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted weaver, in St. Laurence parish in Norwich: she being of the age of 32 years or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, already described, for that she said she would pledge them in the same cup that they drank in. For so saying Corbet took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said to the sacrament of Christ's body. And she said, she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. Yea, said the chancellor, but what is that that the priest holds over his head? She answered him and said, it is bread. At which the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, with many threatening and hot words.

The 23d day of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent; for if she should, she said God would surely plague her. Then, the chancellor told her, he had shewed more favour to her than ever he did to any, and that he was loath to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him if he did, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she would, by God's grace, be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then he rose, and read the bloody sentence of condemnation against her, and so delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs of the city.

This Cecily Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cause. She, a twelvemonth before she was taken, recanted, but never after was she quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted and that she was taken, she had got a letter to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived. But before she exhibited her bill, she was taken and sent to prison. She was burnt the 23d day of September. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said "Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant: but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again by God's grace. And good people, I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved because I offer myself here to death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved through the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me." Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ."

Which being done, she looking on her hand, and seeing it black with the stake, she wiped it upon her clothes, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burned at. Then after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ," and so gave herself to be bound to it. After the tormentors had kindled the fire, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour," and in so saying, she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the

very sinews of her arms yielded, and then they fell, but she gave her life unto the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain. So wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

The Trouble and Disturbance among good Men and Women at Lichfield.

After the death and martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewis, a little above specified, several good men and women in Lichfield, eleven in number, were vexed and in trouble before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing Mistress Lewis, and drinking to her at the time of her death; they were adjudged for heretics, because they prayed and drank with Mistress Lewis, but especially Agnes Penifather sustained the most trouble, for she accompanied Mistress Lewis to her death. Agnes being examined further by the bishop; what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Lichfield, concerning Mistress Lewis after her burning, said, That she being asked by the two priests at her father's house in Lichfield, why she did weep for such an heretic, whose soul they said was in hell; Agnes Penifather made this answer, that she thought the blessed martyr to be in better case than the two priests were.

With which words being charged, and commanded to submit herself to such penance as they should enjoin to her, she refused, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the sheriffs being charged with her under pain of one hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before.

The Persecution in the Diocese of Chichester.

And now from Lichfield to come to Chichester, no little trouble and persecution raged there, as in other countries. For what place was there in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not murder some or other; this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all parts of England, so in the diocese of Chichester, many were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of whom were these:

John Foreman, John Warner, Christian Grover, Thomas Athoth, a priest, Thomas Avington, Dennis Burgis, Thomas Ravensdale, John Milles, Nicholas Holden, John Hart, Margery Morice, Anne Try, John Oseward, Thomas Harland, James Morice, Thomas Dougate, John Ashedon. All these were brought to the stake and burned in the usual way.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

"The bishop's chancellor asked me, 'if I had been with the priest, and confessed my sins unto him?'

"And I said, 'No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, In what hour soever a sinner doth repent and be sorry for his sins, and ask him forgiveness, he will no more reckon his sin unto him, and that is sufficient for me.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'Thou deniest the sacrament of penance.'

"I said, 'I deny not penance, but I deny that I should shew my sins unto the priest.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'That is a denying of the sacrament of penance.'

"'Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar,' said he, 'at Easter?'

"And I said, 'No.'

"'And why have you not?' saith he.

"I said, 'I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.'

"'Why, do we not use it truly?' said he.

"I said, 'No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members: and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.'

"'Why are we none of Christ's members?' said the chancellor.

"I said, 'Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.'

"'What laws are those?' saith he.

"I said, 'These three articles that you swear the people to be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.'

"Then said he, 'Good people take no heed unto his words: for he is a heretic, and teacheth you disobedience:' and so he would no more speak of that matter.

"Then said he, 'How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?'

"I said, 'No, not the same body in substance; for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice, and this is a dry sacrifice.'

"And I said, 'Is the mass a sacrifice?'

"Unto which a doctor that sat by him answered, 'It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.'

"Then said I, 'No, it is no sacrifice: for St. Paul saith, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in no other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.'

"Then said the doctor, 'That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.'

"Then said I, 'That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and if is your sacrifice, it is none of mine.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'He is a heretic, he denieth the sacrament of the altar.'

"Then said I, 'Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of our Lord?'

"And he said, 'Yes.'

"Then said I, 'I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread is not God, nor the bread that is yonder in the pix, is no God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.'

"Then said I, 'The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men, and now you also kill the servants of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.'

"'Well,' said the chancellor, 'have him away.'"

At Another examination of Spurdance, before the bishop at his house, the following passed.

"The bishop said, 'Sirrah, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of holy church?'

"And I said, 'I believe Christ's catholic church.'

"'Yea,' said he, 'in Christ's church, of which the pope is the head? dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?'

"And I said, 'No. I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he take them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, 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.—Luke xxii. 25, 26. How is it then, that the pope will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master King Henry's time, that we should to the uttermost of our power,

never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country, more than a bishop hath in his diocese.'

"'Yea,' said the bishop, 'what of that? We were then in error and sin, now we are in the right way again, and therefore thou must come home again with us, acknowledge thy fault, and become a christian man, and be sworn unto the pope as our supreme head. Wilt thou be sworn to the pope? How sayest thou?'

"Then I said, 'No, I warrant you, by the grace of God not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the scripture that the pope is head of the church.'

"'No!' said he; 'Yes, I think; for as the bellwether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of sheep, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a queen bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the hive: even so the pope, when we be gone astray and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordained our head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast wandered long out of the way like a scattered sheep, hear therefore that bellwether, and come home with us to thy mother the church again.'

"Unto whom I answered, 'My lord, all this is but natural reason, and no scripture: but since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by scripture, you answer me not, as I thought you would.'

"'Ha,' said he, 'I see well you are stout, and will not be answered: therefore you shall be compelled by law, whether ye will or not.'

"'My lord,' said I, 'so did your forefathers treat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise, you have a law which is tyranny, and by that would ye force me to believe as you do: but the Lord I trust will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.'

"Then said he, 'when were you at church and went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church.'

"And I said, 'Never since I was born.'

"'No,' said he! 'how old are you?'

"And I said, 'I think about forty.'

"'Why,' said he, 'How did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?'

"I said, 'As you do now.'

"'And even now,' said he, 'you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.'

"'No more I did,' said I, 'since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Then said a doctor that sat by, 'he is a very anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.'

"'No, sir, you say falsely,' said I, 'for I am no anabaptist: for they deny children to be baptised, and I do not.'

"'Well,' said the bishop, 'why dost thou not go to the church, and do the ceremonies?'

"And I said, 'Because they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught: but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to morrow, you would say that false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in you.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Thou art a stubborn fellow, and an heretic, and a traitor.'

"'No,' said I, 'I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service to the imperial crown of England, than you.'

"'If you had done so good service,' said he, 'you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.'

"'So am I,' said I, 'There is no man alive (I thank God) that can accuse me justly that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and a body, and my soul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give God my soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I must do the laws and commandments of God; and whosoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for losing of my soul, but must rather obey God than man.'

"And he said, 'Why dost thou not these laws then? are they not agreeable to God's law?'

"And I said, 'No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.'

"'Yes,' saith he, 'that I can.'

"'Then,' said I, 'if you can prove by the word of God that you should have any graven images made to set in your churches for laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have such ceremonies in your churches as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.'

"'Then,' said he, 'it is a good and decent order to furnish the church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table to furnish the table before the meat shall come upon it, so are these ceremonies a comely decent order to be in the church, among christian people.'

"'These,' said I, 'are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For, St. Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.'

"'Well,' said he, 'if you will not do them, seeing they are the laws of the realm, you are an heretic and disobedient: and therefore come home again and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do so?'

"And I said, 'No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual laws were never more truly set forth than in my master King Edward's time, and I trust unto God I shall never forsake them while I live.'

"'Well, then have him away,' said the bishop.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Mary's servants, and was taken by two of his fellow servants, who carried him to one Master Gosnal, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison, and afterwards was burned in the month of November.

The Martyrdom of three Witnesses of Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester, were three faithful witnesses of the Lord's Testament, tormented and put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November: John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibson.

Which three were produced before Bonner, bishop of London, the 5th day of November, 1557, and had by him and his officers the usual articles administered to them.

John Hallingdale being demanded by Bonner, whether he firmly believed that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said King Edward VI., nor at that present did believe, that in the sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else. And further, John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for heretics, were no heretics at all, because they did preach truly the gospel: upon whose preaching he grounded his faith and conscience, as he said, according to the saying of St. John, in Revelations xviii. 24, where he saith, that "the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth," was found in the Babylonical church, by which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head. Then Bonner read the bloody sentence of condemnation.

Upon the same day was produced before the bishop, William Sparrow, and had laid to him the usual articles. He answered with constancy and faithfulness, and finally

said, that the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are nought and abominable, and that the mass is nought and abominable. The bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation upon him, and delivered him to the secular power.

With these two, suffered also Richard Gibson, who was accused to Bonner, for that in the prison he was never confessed, nor received at the popish altar: so he was called for, and sustained sundry conflicts and examinations as to his faith and religion. First he seemed to make a certain submission. He was not delivered from prison till the day of his burning. The articles first objected and administered unto him by the bishop, were these:—

"1. That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter, in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, hath behaved himself otherwise than became a faithful christian man, and a good subject of this realm of England, in words and deeds in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners in the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul, offending especially in the articles following. By reason whereof the said Richard Gibson was, and is of the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions underwritten, according to the order of the law.

"2. That the said Richard Gibson hath irreverently spoken against the pope, and see, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the articles of the christian faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics, and also liked all their heretical and erroneous, damnable and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and see of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained both by words, and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and infamed of heresy and errors condemned by the catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

"5. That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed, kept, and used now here in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's word and commandment.

"6. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books, commonly called the books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this realm of England, in the time of King Edward VI., were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

"7. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may be once out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any taper or candle, nor receive at any time ashes, nor bear at any time palm, nor receive pax at mass time, nor receive holy water nor holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholic church, here observed or kept commonly in the realm of England.

"8. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive the absolution of his sins at his hands, not to receive of him the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after such form as is now used within this realm of England.

"9. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that prayer unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure, and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said sacrament of the altar, nor in anywise to adore and worship it."

Such were the charges against him, but the greatest matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confession, and for not receiving the sacrament of the popish making, and upon these he was condemned to be burned.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion, against falsehood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Master Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the twelfth day after their condemnation, viz., on the 18th of Nov., burnt in Smithfield, in London. And being brought to the stake, after their prayers made, they were bound with chains, and wood set unto them, and after wood, fire, in which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good reader, Amen.

The Martyrdom of John Rough, Minister, and Margaret Mearing.

In this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ, John Rough, a minister, and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was born in Scotland, who, because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of seventeen years, in despite, and the rather to displease his friends, profess himself into the order of the Black friars at Sterling, in Scotland; where he remained the space of sixteen years, until such time as the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland, got him out of his order, that, as a secular priest, he might serve him for his chaplain.

Rough remained in the earl's service one whole year: during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth, and thereupon he was by the governor sent to preach in Ayr, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry VIII. At last weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined not to tarry any longer there. And therefore, he came first to Carlisle, and from thence to the duke of Somerset, then lord protector of England, and by his assignment had appointed him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent, as a preacher, to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle. From whence, after he had there, according to the laws of God, and also of this realm, taken a countrywoman of his to wife, he was called by the archbishop of York, that then was, to a benefice in the town of Hull, where he continued until the death of that blessed and good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he fled with his wife into Frizeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring for his living, in knitting of caps, hose, and such things, till about the end of the month of October before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again to

England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived in London. Where, hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself to them, and afterwards being elected their minister and preacher, continued most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end, such was the providence of God, who disposeth all things to the best, that on the 12th of December, he with Cuthbert Simson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's head in Islington; where the congregation had then proposed to assemble themselves for their godly and accustomed exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simson unto the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord, and therefore after sundry examinations, they sent the said Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they sent to the bishop of London.

Bonner now minding to make quick despatch, did within three days send for this Rough, and in his palace at London, ministered unto him many articles, as follows:—

"1. That thou, John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness in the catholic church: and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the said sacraments, but especially the sacrament of the altar, affirming that in that same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ: and that confession to the priest, and absolution given by him, as the minister of Christ, for sins, is not necessary or available in any wise.

"2. Thou hast disliked and reproved the religion and ecclesiastical service, as it is now used in this realm, and hast allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of King Edward VI., and so much as in thee hath lain, hast by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English service and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and unto the truth, condemning utterly the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.

"3. Thou hast in sundry places within this realm commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar, affirming that in the sacrament there remaineth, after the words of consecration, material bread, and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

"4. Thou hast in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward VI., and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the said communion, and used the same in private houses out of the church, and entertain opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

"5. That thou in sundry places of this realm hast spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolic see, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same, disliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it, and by thine example hast induced others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.

"6. Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part of such Englishmen as have fled out of this realm for religion, and hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and helped them, and hast been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm."

Upon these, and other similar articles he was examined, and was faithful and consistent in his confession of the truth, concluding with these words:—

"That their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife were lawful. And touching the service then used, he utterly detested it, saying, That if he should live so long as Methusalem, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass and other service, being as it was then."

Upon which words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church, and after condemning him as an heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who taking him into their charge and custody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching Master Rough, this is further to be noted, that he said, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal; and being before Bonner, he affirmed that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very antichrist: for there he saw him carried on men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him: yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garments. "Hast thou," said he, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father, the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort," and with that flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard, and after making speedy haste to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six o'clock in the morning.

Margaret Mearing, Martyr.

In the company of John Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the register makes mention, was at one time and day brought with Rough forth to examination: where the bishop having no private matters to charge her withal, did on the 18th of December object against her those common articles. To which she answered:—

"That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church. That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. That she was baptised in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works. That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it. That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time: but she said that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true christian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there were no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said, That she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichrist's church. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same: and further said, That she had not come unto the church by the space of one year and three-quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same in these idolatrous days."

These answers being then registered, they were again propounded against her on the 20th of December, and there being demanded if she would stand to her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church." After which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her to the sheriffs, she was with John Rough carried to Newgate. From whence they were both together led to Smithfield, the 22d day of the same month of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

The Suffering of Cuthbert Simson, Deacon of the Christian Church in London.

Next after the martyrdom of John Rough, minister of the congregation above mentioned, succeeded in like martyrdom the deacon also of that godly company or congregation in London, named Cuthbert Simson, being committed to the fire, in the year of our Lord 1558, the 28th day of March.

This Cuthbert Simson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, insomuch that he never ceased labouring, and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the popish religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution.

A true Report how he was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the Council, the 13th day of December, written by himself.

"On the Thursday after I was called before the constable of the Tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley: they commanded me to tell whom I desired to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, the space of three hours.

"Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then I was loosed, and carried to my lodging again On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again, before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. I answered as before. Then the lieutenant swore I should tell. Then they bound my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow broke.

"Then they racked me twice. Then I was carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks after he sent me to the high-priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hands I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring God of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shewed unto us. Sing hosanna to the Highest with me. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the world forgiveness, and I do forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection."

Now, this further is to be noted, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cuthbert Simson, gave this testimony of him to the people, saying, "I say unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken, &c."

With Simson was likewise apprehended, and also suffered, Hugh Foxe and John Devenish. Who, being brought to their examinations with Simson, before Bonner, bishop of London, the 19th day of March, had the usual articles ministered to them by the officer.

They all answered, "That the church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone. That in Christ's catholic church there are but two sacraments, that is, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they will speak against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the see of Rome. And they all refused to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome to be lawful and good."

These three blessed witnesses of Jesus Christ, Simson, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were together apprehended at Islington, so all three together suffered in Smithfield, about the 28th day of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord, in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, Giver of all grace, and Governor of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Nichol.

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith; but yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his saints, to the shedding of their blood, and perverting of their religion; for then he sleeps not from the murdering of the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally; as in these miserable days of queen Mary, we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honest, good, simple poor man, one William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of antichrist, and on the 9th day of April, A.D. 1558, was butcherly burned and tormented at Haverford-West, in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state, and gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever, Amen.

This William Nichol was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was we know not, but this we are sure, he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruel and tyrannical conduct. The Lord give them repentance, if it be his blessed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

Immediately after William Nichol, succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, on the 19th of May, A.D. 1558, whose names are these:—William Seaman; Thomas Carman; and Thomas Hudson. The said William Seaman was a husbandman, of the age of twenty-six years, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, who was sundry times sought for by the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he was taken and brought before his persecutor. Who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and worship it? William answered, denying it to be a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore he would not receive it. After which, Sir John Tyrrel sent him to Norwich, to Hopton the bishop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him; and delivered him to the secular power, who kept him to the day of martyrdom.

This said William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three children very young: and with the young children his wife was persecuted out of the town of Mendlesham, because she would not go to hear mass, and all her corn and goods were seized and taken away.

Thomas Carman (who, as is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning, and was apprehended for it) being a prisoner in Norwich, was about the same time with the rest examined and brought before the bishop, who answered no less in his master's cause than the other; and, therefore, had the like reward that the other had, which was the bishop's condemnation, and delivered also to the secular power, who kept him with the other until the day of slaughter.

Thomas Hudson was of Hailes in Norfolk, thirty years of age, by his occupation a glover, a very honest poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, and bearing so good a will to the gospel, that he in the days of king Edward VI., two years before queen Mary's reign,

learned to read English, in which he greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion. For when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church, he then avoiding all their ceremonies of superstition, absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion offered. At last he returned to Norfolk, to his house at Hailes, to comfort his wife and children, who were troubled because of his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his fagots to hide himself in, where he remained all the day, instead of his chamber, reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his wife like an honest woman, being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town, named Berry, who was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very evil man, and inquired of Hudson's wife for her husband. She answered, as not knowing where he was. Then Berry rated her, and threatened to burn her, for that she would not betray her husband where he was. After that, when Hudson understood it, he waxed every day more zealous, and continually read and sang psalms, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, and the constables understanding the same, went to catch him.

Now when Hudson saw them coming, he said; "Now mine hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome. You are they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God; and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's sake." For his desire was, and he ever prayed, if it were the Lord's will, that he might suffer for the gospel of Christ. Then they took him, and led him to Berry the commissary, who was vicar of the town, and Berry asked him first, where he kept his church for four years before. To which Hudson answered that "Wherever he was, there was the church."

"Dost thou not believe," said Berry, "in the sacrament of the altar? What is it?"

Hudson.—"It is worms' meat; my belief is in Christ crucified."

Berry.—"Dost thou not believe the mass to put away sins?"

Hudson.—"No, God forbid; it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet." At which words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a madman, and said, "Well, thou villain, thou: I will write to the bishop and trust to it, thou shalt be handled according to thy deserts." "Oh, Sir," said Hudson, "there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lords and many Gods." With that Berry thrust him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar standing by, said "I pray you, Sir, be good to the poor man." At which words Berry was more mad than before. Then he asked Hudson whether he would recant, or no. Hudson said, "the Lord forbid; I had rather die many deaths than to do so."

These three christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were condemned, were carried out of prison on the 19th day of May, A.D. 1558, to the place where they should suffer, which was without Bishopsgate, at Norwich, called Lollards' Pit. And being all there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake, and standing all three with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudson came forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him; for some thought he would have recanted, others judged rather that he went to ask further delay, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him as they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him. For alas, good soul, he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last, according to his old mercies, sent him comfort, and then rose he with great joy, as a man new changed even from death to life, and said: "Now I thank God I am strong, and heed not what man can do unto me." So going to the stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, the death together, and were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, who be praised therefore for ever, Amen.

After this commissary Berry made great stir about others who were suspected in the town of Hailes, and caused two hundred to go on their knees to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments.

The Martyrdom of three Godly Persons burnt at Colchester.

Thou hast heard (good reader) of the three that were burnt at Norwich, whose blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the papists. For immediately after, even the same month, upon the twenty-sixth day, was seen the like murder also at Colchester of two men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed to the slaughter; who were brought forth the same day, to a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth, whose names were, William Harris, Richard Day, and Christiana George.

These three good souls were brought unto the stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their prayers unto the Lord.

At the last, being settled in their places, and chained to their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like constant christians triumphantly praised God, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice to his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles: his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

In the month of June, came out the following proclamation, short but sharp, from the king and the queen, against wholesome and godly books, which under the false title of heresy and sedition, were wrongfully condemned in the proclamations.

Proclamation by the King and Queen.

"Whereas divers books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and are daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors. The king and queen's majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without showing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

"Given at our Manor of St. James's, the 6th day of June. "John Cawood, Printer."

The taking certain Godly Men and Women praying together in the Fields about Islington.

Secretly in a back close in the field by the town of Islington, were collected and assembled together a certain company of godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty, men and women. Who there sitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, first comes a certain man unknown

to them; who looking over to them, stopped and saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the company asked the man, if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold to sit there. Yea, said he, for that you seem to me such persons as intend no harm, and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, comes the constable of Islington, with six or seven others, accompanying him in the same business, one with a bow, another with a bill, and others with their weapons likewise. Which six or seven persons the constable left a little behind him in a close place, there to be ready if need should be, while he with one with him, should go and view them before. Who so doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had; and so going a little forward, and returning back again, bade them deliver their books. They understanding that he was constable, refused not to do so. With that comes forth the rest of his fellows, who bade them stand, and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them, and so were they first carried to a brewhouse but a little way off, while some of the soldiers ran to the justice next at hand. But the justice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women, being of the number of forty persons, escaped away from them, some in the close, some before they came to the brewhouse. For so they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, and with some more, with some less, in such sort as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-seven, Sir Roger Cholmley and the recorder taking their names on paper and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their names, he sent to Newgate. The number of them that answered, and that were sent to Newgate, was twenty and two.

To whom word was sent by the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they should all be delivered; of these two and twenty, thirteen were burnt. In Smithfield seven, at Brentford six. In prison two died in Whitsun-week.

Seven of them who remained, escaped with their lives, although not without much trouble, yet, as God would, without burning.

The first seven were brought forth to examination before Bonner, and so having their condemnation, were burnt in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Brentford.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of these who were apprehended at Islington, seven first were produced before Bonner, the 14th of June, to make answer to such articles and interrogatories, as should be ministered unto them.

Articles.

"1. That you, being within the city and diocese of London, have not, according to the common custom of the catholic church of this realm of England, come to your own parish church, nor yet to the cathedral church of this city and diocese of London, to hear devoutly and christianly the matins, the mass, the evensong, sung or said there in the Latin tongue, after the common usage and manner of the church of this realm.

"2. That you have not come to any of the said churches to pray, to go in procession, or to exercise yourselves there in godly and laudable exercises.

"3. That you have not conformed yourselves duly to all the laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies of any of the said churches.

"4. You have not been confessed at due times and places to your own curate, of your sins.

"5. You have not received at your said curate's hands (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

"6. You have not at due times and places reverently and duly received the sacrament of the altar of your curate.

"7. You have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of Christ.

"8. You have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed, expressed or declared, in anywise, that you without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the faith and religion now observed in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

"9. You have not made any signification that you do indeed approve, or allow in anywise the common service in Latin, here observed and kept in the church of this realm of England.

"10. You have not believed, nor do believe at this present, that the service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the church of this realm, is good and lawful, and not against the word of God.

"11. You have in times past, liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so do like, allow, and approve at this present, the service in English, the books of common prayer, the books of communion, and the religion set forth and used in the time of king Edward VI., especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said king Edward.

"12. You have in times past been very desirous, and so are at this present, that the said English service, the said book of common prayer, the said book of communion, and the said religion and faith so set forth and used in king Edward's time, might now again be restored, set forth and used, and yourself freely at your liberty, without any restraint or hindrance to use it, and also in all points and things to do therein, as you did, especially in the latter days of Edward VI.

"13. You have of late been charitably sent to from me the bishop of London, and also by mouth exhorted, that where of late you did leave your churches, and went in the time of divine service into the fields and profane places, to read English psalms, and certain English books, you would leave off that, and being out of prison, and at your liberty, come into your own parish churches, there to hear matins, mass, and evensong, after the common order of the churches of this realm, and to make due confession of your sins to your own curate, and receive at his hands (as of the minister of Christ, having therein sufficient authority) absolution of your sins, hear mass, receive the sacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the belief of the catholic church, and observe all other the rites and customs of the said catholic church used in this realm of England, as well in going in procession after the cross, as also otherwise generally.

"14. You being so required, have refused, and do refuse so to do, saying, amongst other vain and light words, that forasmuch as you were imprisoned for the space of six weeks, not knowing wherewith you were charged, your petition should be and was, that you might first answer to your former cause, and then you would be ready to answer me the said bishop to all that by me should be laid to your charge."

After faithfully and courageously answering to all these articles, they were remanded to prison till the day of condemnation, on which day the bishop dissevering them one from another, proceeded with them severally, beginning with Reinald Eastland, who there declared that he had been uncharitably treated since his imprisonment. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions; he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf, &c., and so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him was called in John Holiday, who likewise being advertised to renounce his heresies, as they called them, and to return to the unity of their church, said, that he was no heretic, nor did hold any heresy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholic faith, he likewise persisting in the same, the sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like sentence, Henry Pond, because he would not submit himself to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or

spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry, but that he did hold the truth of God, and no heresy, &c.

After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewise denied to be of the pope's church, and spoke his mind of the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints is idolatry, and that the service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying, that whatever he and such others now-a-days do, all is heresy; for this he was condemned with the same sentence, and so by the secular power was sent away.

Then Robert Southam, after him Matthew Ricarby, and last of all Roger Holland were severally produced.

This Roger Holland, with his fellows, standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were altogether condemned, the sentence being read against them, and so all seven by secular magistrates being sent away to Newgate, the 17th of June, not long after, about the 27th of the month, they were taken to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel. Whose particular examinations came not to our hands; saving only the examinations of R. Holland, which here follow as we received them of certain, who were present at the time.

Register.—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou art entered into the book of contempt?"

Holland.—"I never meant but to submit myself to the magistrate, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii." and so he recited the text.

Chadsey.—"Then I see you are no anabaptist."

Holland.—"I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the anabaptists agree on this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those who must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings."

Bonner.—"I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your friends, or any other can say."

Holland.—"I may say to you, my lord, as St. Paul said to Felix, and unto the Jews. It is not unknown to my master whom I am an apprentice with, that I was of this your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of Edward's reign; having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing some penance also for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he could after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me or not; so that swearing, and all other vices I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could have them absolved for money. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash-wednesday, though I had used ever so much wickedness at night. And although I could not in conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or gambling all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God has opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life. And now to your antiquity, unity, and universality I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reason with; but the truth I trust I have, which needs no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the church, though the numbers were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias's time, when he thought there was none but he, that had not bowed the knee to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: and I trust there are seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them, as Daniel was in his chamber, secretly to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray to God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigns. Moreover, in our church have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you shew? yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your masses are younger, as that mass of Thomas à Becket the traitor, wherein you pray—that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand only a few words, the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady's Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams, which you defend with fagot and fire, to quench the light of the word of God: which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather in the church to have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity? The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand; neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving the sacrament in one kind only, your purgatory, your images, &c. As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?"

Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed; but, said the bishop, "these thy words are very blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and thou art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away."

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth again to be examined, Doctor Chedsey said, "Holland, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before."

Holland.—"I consider thus much—that out of the church there is no salvation, as the ancient doctors say."

Bonner.—"That is well said. But you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?"

Holland.—"I mean that church which hath Christ for her head; which also hath his words and his sacraments according to his word and institution."

Chedsey.—"Is that a testament you have in your hand?"

Holland.—"Yea, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation. It is your own translation; it is according to the great bible."

Bonner.—"How say you? How do you know it is the testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of it has made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions."

Holland.—"No, the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the testament. And what a true exposition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said,

'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.'"—Psal. xci. 13.

Then said the bishop—"Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the scripture. Would you then that the ancient and learned, as there be some here as well as I, should be taught of you?"

Holland.—"Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But, my lord, I think some of the old doctors say,—If a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, though they be never so great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the church."

Bonner.—"That is very well said. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church."

The last examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there excommunicated, save Roger. Now the bishop, hoping to win him with fair and flattering words, began after this manner:

Bonner.—"I have divers time called thee to my house, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it appears to me thou art of good memory, and of a very sensible talk, but something overhasty, which is a natural failing to some men. And surely they are not the worst natured men. For I myself am now and then hasty, but mine anger is soon past. So, I have a good opinion of you, that you will not cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics, as is reported to me. And as I mean thee good, so play the wise man's part, and come home like the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome; and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer with, that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the body, so shalt thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they are worse (putting his hand to his cap for reverence sake) than hogs. For they know the church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would, I think, believe me. But, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you. Well, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remains the body of Christ really and corporeally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day?"

Holland.—"Your lordship saith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out which ascended into heaven; and the scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine."

Bonner.—"I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, that thou wouldst talk to no purpose this seven years. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament?"

Holland.—"My lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful servants; notwithstanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and, notwithstanding all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions and ceremonies, more than to the word of God."

Bonner.—"If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantic heretic."

Holland.—"I beseech you all to bear witness with me, for you shall do so before the judgment seat of God, what I speak; and you, my dear friends (turning to his kinsmen) I pray you shew my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a christian man. I say and believe, and am fully persuaded by the scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ, in his human nature, sits at the right hand of his Father, yet, by faith I say, his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry."

Bonner.—"I thought so much, how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently does he speak of the blessed mass?"

And so he read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned. All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he should depart, he said, "My lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words." The bishop would not hear him, but ordered him away.

Then Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel, and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without licence, and if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the mean season, he spake still to the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; adding, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

On the day they suffered, a proclamation was made, that none should be so bold to speak a word to them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with other cruel threatening words, contained in the proclamation. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise still prayed for the people, and the restoring of his word. At length Roger embracing the stake, and the reeds, said these words:—

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry."

And so he ended his life, looking up to heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

The Martyrdom of six, who suffered at Brentford.

Not long after the death of the seven godly martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, were six other faithful witnesses of the Lord's true testament, martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the 14th day of July, 1558, which six were of that company that were apprehended in a close hard by Islington, (as above specified) and sent to prison, namely, Robert Mills; Stephen Cotton; Robert Dynes; Stephen Wight; John Slade; and William Pikes.

These six martyrs had their articles ministered to them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor. At which times, though they were severally examined, yet they had all one manner of articles ministered to them, and the same articles that were ministered to John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company.

They answered, that they had not, and would not attend the churches where there was mass, and that as

their rites, customs, and ceremonies are against the word of God, so will they observe and keep no part of the same.

That they will not come to church, nor allow their religion, so long as the cross is crept to, and worshipped, and images are in the church. That there are not seven sacraments, but only two sacraments, namely, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they do not allow the popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language, which the common people understand not. And that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in king Edward VIth's days, they would with all their hearts do so.

When these good men were produced before Bonner's chancellor, and had the articles administered to them, and they had made answer to them, the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again on the eleventh day of July after, at St. Paul's church. And when they came, he required of them whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. They all answered, That they would not go from the truth, nor relent while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o'clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment, condemned these good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety till the day of their death.

The next day after was sent a writ to burn them at Brentford, which accordingly was accomplished, the 14th of July; they being brought there, made their humble prayers to the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, to which they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they suffered, and to whose protection I commend the gentle reader, Amen.

The Scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.

In the godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at Islington while there congregated together, for their exercise of prayer and reading, was Thomas Hinshaw, a young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years, apprentice in St. Paul's churchyard, who, with the rest, was carried to the constables of Islington, and there every one of them searched, and led forthwith to the chief justice, Master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey, in London, and by him, Thomas Hinshaw was sent to Newgate, and there remaining prisoner about eight weeks, at last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was sent to Newgate again, where he remained three weeks following. Which time being passed, he was sent for again before the bishop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talk to little purpose. The next day after, also, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him to their will, in the afternoon the bishop going to Fulham, took him with him, where immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night with bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling Thomas Hinshaw a peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or not, &c. To which Thomas answered, that he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield being in a mighty rage, told the bishop. The bishop fumed and fretted, that scarcely for anger being able to speak, he said, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured:" so he sent for a couple of rods, and caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where Thomas, without any force, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of Bonner, so long as the cruel bishop could endure with breath, and till for weariness he was obliged to cease. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left off.

Now, after this scourging, Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding, sustained many conflicts and examinations. At last being brought before the bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory.

The articles were:—"Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, &c. Whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or not. Also, what he thought of the service set forth in king Edward's time, in his latter days, and in especial, what he thought of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament."

In all his answers he kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies.

Not long after his examination, he fell sick of a burning ague. The sickness endured a twelvemonth or more, so that in the mean time queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered, and thus escaped death.

The History of Richard Yeoman, Curate at Hadley.

This Richard Yeoman had been Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man, of seventy years, who had many years dwelt in Hadley, well versed in the scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his desire. But as soon as Master Newall had got the benefice, he drove away Yeoman, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion. Then he wandered a long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, earnestly to give themselves to prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial, with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things, to sustain himself, his poor wife and children.

At last a justice of Kent took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the scriptures, and in carding wool which his wife spun. His wife also went and begged bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were pampered at Jezebel's table.

At the last, parson Newal perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night time and seized him, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

After this they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale, whom they had previously taken, pinioned and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to the gaol at Bury, where they were bound in irons; and because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conver-

sation, steadfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ, set forth in king Edward's time; for which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was sent forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy king, Edward VI., and from that he would not vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, "I reject him," said he, "and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing that appertains to him." The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice. When he continued steadfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burned, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

The History of John Alcock.

There was also in Hadley a young man, named John Alcock. This young man, after the martyrdom of Doctor Taylor, and talking of Richard Yeoman, used first in the church of Hadley to read the service in English. At length, after the coming of parson Newall, when the parson came by with procession, he would not once move his cap, nor shew any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man worked, and asked "What has he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?"

"He is a heretic and a traitor," said the parson, "and despises the queen's proceedings. Wherefore, I command you, in the queen's name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming."

"Well," said Rolfe, "he shall be forthcoming, proceed you in your business, and be quiet." "Have him to the stocks," said the parson.

"I am constable," said Rolfe, "and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming." So the parson went forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

After this Rolfe brought him to the parson, who at the first asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"

"I say," said he, "as you use the matter, you make a shameful idol of it, and you are false idolatrous priests, all the sort of you."

"I told you," said the parson, "he was a stout heretic."

So after long talk, the parson committed him to prison, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him, and so came the young man no more again to Hadley; but after long imprisonment in Newgate, and after many examinations and troubles: because he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with evil keeping and sickness, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr for Christ's truth, which he heartily loved, and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill. For the papists would in all things be like themselves: therefore they would not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

Thomas Benbridge, Martyr.

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, although he might have lived a pleasant and gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ he had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy present pleasures with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore, manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For which cause, he being apprehended as an adversary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before Doctor White, bishop of Winchester.

The usual articles were objected against him, to all which he answered as became a christian man, for which he was condemned, and brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff. Where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points, and prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Doctor Seaton wanted him to recant, and he should have his pardon: but when he saw it prevailed not, the doctor desired the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge standing at the stake, with his hands together, in such manner as the priest holds his hands in his memento, Doctor Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: to whom he said, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then said one that stood by, "Sir, cut out his tongue."

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, but he shrank not at all. Then it came on the other side and took his legs, and the stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat made him to cry, "I recant:" and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stept to the fire, and helped to take him from it; who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also, of his own authority, took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again; for which he was sent to the Fleet. But before he was taken from the stake, Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe to them, as to the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But Master Benbridge made much ado ere he would subscribe them, so that Doctor Seaton desired them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart, he subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison, he wrote a letter to Doctor Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, to which he had subscribed: for he was grieved that ever he subscribed to them. He was the same day seven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

The Martyrdom of four, burned at Bury St. Edmunds.

In this year, which was the last of Queen Mary's reign, Doctor Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Doctor Spenser his chancellor, there were wrongfully put to death four christian martyrs: John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley.

The examination of these persons, before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, was partly upon these articles following:

First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, "How is it that you go not to church?"

John Cooke said, "I have been there."

Sir Edward said, "what is the cause that you go not thither now in these days?"

John Cooke said, "because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and (said he) the vengeance of God will come upon all them that maintain it."

Sir Edward said, "O thou rank traitor if I had as

good commission to cut out thy tongue, as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it cut out."

Then he commanded the constable to have him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, "how is it that you go not to church?"

Robert Miles answered, "because I will follow no false gods."

Then the bishop commanded him aside, and called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him "how it chanced, that he would not go to the church?"

He said, "that his conscience would not permit him so to do."

Then Sir Edward said, "how dost thou believe?"

Then said Lane, "even as it is written in God's book."

Then Sir Edward commanded him to say his belief, and Lane being somewhat abashed, said his belief, but he missed unawares, 'born of the Virgin Mary.'

Then Sir Edward said, "what! was he not born of the Virgin Mary?"

"Yes, (said Lane,) I would have said so."

"Nay," said Sir Edward, "you are one of Cooke's scholars," and so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them. So they appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ, innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of queen Mary.

The Martyrdom of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver.

Master Noone, a Justice in Suffolk, hunting after good men to apprehend them, had understanding of one Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife, of Grosborough, to be at Grosborough together, a little from his house, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into a hay loft to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by searching it with pitchforks, at last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury against the assize, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. And among other things Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her persecution, to Jezebel; and so in that sense calling her Jezebel, for which Sir Clement Higham, being chief Judge there, adjudged her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man thirty-six years of age, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a weaver of shredding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Uxford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty, and dwelt at Grosborough, where they were taken, in Suffolk. Her husband used husbandry. These two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined.

The Examination of Driver's Wife, before Doctor Spenser, the Chancellor of Norwich.

First, she coming into the place where she was to be examined, with a smiling countenance, Doctor Spenser said, "Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?"

Driver.—"Whether I do or not, I might well enough, to see what fools you are."

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Driver.—"Wherefore? I think I need not tell you: for you know better than I."

Spenser.—"No, by my troth, woman, I know not why."

Driver.—"Then have you done me much wrong," said she, "thus to imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done."

Spenser.—"Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words of consecration are spoken?"

At those words she held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great priest that stood by asked her why she answered not the chancellor. With that Driver's wife looked upon him austerely, and said, "Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master; but if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spoke never a word more. Then the chancellor bade her make answer to that he demanded of her.

Driver.—"Sir," said she, "pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the scripture."

Spenser.—"Why, what scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

Driver.—"I have, I thank God, read God's book."

Spenser.—"Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?"

Driver.—"It is the Old and New Testament. What do you call it?"

Spenser.—"That is God's book, indeed, I cannot deny."

Driver.—"That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there: and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper: and therefore seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you shew me what a sacrament is."

"Spenser.—"It is a sign." And one Doctor Gascoine being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Driver.—"You have said the truth, Sir, it is a sign indeed: and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we agree: for I have granted your own saying." Then stood up Gascoine, and made an oration with many fair words, to little purpose, but offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, "yes," and said, "I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform what he spake and promised."

Gascoine.—"Very well. When he said to his disciples, 'Take, eat, this is my body,' he was able to perform that he spake, and God uses not to lie."

Driver.—"I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?"

Gascoine.—"Those are the words. Can you deny it?"

Driver.—"No, they are the very words indeed. I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave to them?"

Gascoine.—"No, it was his body."

Driver.—"Then was it his body that they eat over night?"

Gascoine.—"Yea, it was his body."

Driver.—"What body was it then that was crucified the next day?"

Gascoine.—"It was Christ's body."

Driver.—"How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor! such doctrine! Are you not ashamed to teach the people that Christ had two bodies? In Luke xxii. 19. it is said, '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.' Saint Paul says, 'do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come;' 1 Cor. xi. 26, and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people." With that, Gascoine held his peace, and made no answer. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor asked her what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Driver.—"I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said, it was a sign, and I said, that was true, confirming it by the scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now you come and ask me again, of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the scriptures."

Spenser.—"Thou liest, naughty woman, I did not say that it was a sign."

Driver.—"Why, masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will you eat your own words? Are you not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?"

Then after much more, they were unable to answer, she then said, "Have you no more to say? God be honoured. You are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father, many a time; yet, notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof." So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power, and so she went to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Alexander Gouch, Martyr.

At which time Alexander Gouch also was examined, chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. And because his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remains, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be supreme head of Christ's church, for these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipswich, the 4th of November, 1558.

These two godly persons, being come to the place where the stake was set, being in their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, the sheriff, was very much offended with them, and desired the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayers, they kneeling upon a broom fagot; when one of the bailiffs commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the stake," yet they continued in prayer. Then Sir Henry sent for one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end.

Then Gouch stood up and said to the sheriff, "I pray you, master sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here."

Then said the bailiff, "Come off, have them to the fire."

Then Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, master sheriff, and master bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?"

"Away, (said Sir Henry,) to the stake with them."

Then they being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, "O (said she) here is a goodly neckerchief, blessed be God for it."

Then several persons came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, "Lay hands on them, lay hands on them." With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

Three Persons burned at Bury.

Although our history hastens to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she died not so soon, but that some were burned before it, and more would have been burned soon after, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whose names were these, Philip Humfrey, John David, Henry David.

Concerning the burning af these three, here is to be noted, that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, sued out a writ for the burning of these three godly and blessed martyrs, notwithstanding that the queen was not known to be past remedy of her sickness.

The Martyrdom of a Godly Woman, at Exeter.

Although in such an innumerable company of godly martyrs, who in sundry quarters of this realm, were put to torments of fire in queen Mary's time, it is hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, burned under the queen's reign, in the city of Exeter.

During her examination she spoke with great boldness and said, Do you not damn souls, (said she) when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks and stones, the work of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned, if they confess not all: when God's word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not work altogether against God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy-water and holy-bread to affright devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? and yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul. No, no one of you hath saved me. Farewell you, with your salvation."

At length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power. The indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she was consumed; she lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee my Lord God, this day have I found that which I have long sought," But such outcries and such mockings were never seen upon a poor silly woman: all which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not, (said she:) God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband, to my earthly husband: from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children: And if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman, God is my most faithful friend."

Then she was delivered to the sheriff, and innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still; "God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner." And so while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death,

and consumed it was with the flames and fire; and so ended this mortal life as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see to as any man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient of her words and answers; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, when money was offered her, she said, she would take none; for she said, "I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery; while I am here God hath promised to feed me." Thus was her mortal life ended. For whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Martyrdom of three Men at Bristol.

In writing of the blessed saints who suffered in the bloody days of queen Mary, I had almost passed over the names and story of three godly martyrs, who with their blood gave testimony likewise to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol. The names of whom were these; Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benion, Thomas Hale.

First, Richard Sharpe, weaver of Bristol, was brought the 9th day of March, A.D. 1556, before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded to recant, and the twenty-ninth of the month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation; some time after, upon Sunday he came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, came to the choir door, and said with a loud voice; "Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol, (and pointed to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. Afterwards he was apprehended by night, and carried to Newgate, and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ, and said, it was an idol, and therefore was condemned to be burned. He was burnt the 7th of May 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday in the night before Easter, A.D. 1557, came one David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth of his door. Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do you with it. Who being committed to the watchman, was carried to Newgate, and brought before the chancellor, and committed by him to prison, and after condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar was an idol. He was burned the 7th of May with Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion, a weaver, at the command of the commissioners, was brought by a constable the 13th day of August, 1557, before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore he was condemned to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the month, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, confessing the articles of our christian faith.

The Martyrdom of five Christians, who suffered the last of all other in the time of Queen Mary.

The last that suffered in queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burned about six days before the death of queen Mary, whose names follow hereunder written. John Corneford, of Wortham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Harst, of Ashford; Alice Smith; Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman,

These five, to close up the final rage of queen Mary's persecution, for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists. Which papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary; yet such was the implacable spite of that generation, that some there are that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, made all haste home to dispatch these, whom he had in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received; saying, moreover, that we receive another thing also besides Christ's body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, 'The things that are seen, are temporal,' &c.; also for saying that it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and St. John forbidding it, saith, 'Keep yourselves from idols,' also for confessing that we should not pray to our lady, and other saints, because they are not omnipotent.

For these and other such articles of christian doctrine, these five were committed to the fire.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers, which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

Among such young women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Smith, here mentioned, or else to be Agnes Snoth, (for they were both burned,) that when she was brought to be executed, she, being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they, hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said "No."

"Then, (said she,) I die a christian woman, bear witness of me," and so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were first baptised.

The Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, who were to be burnt, but by the death of Queen Mary escaped.

Besides these martyrs, there were many in other places of the realm imprisoned, of whom some were but newly taken and not yet examined, some began to be examined, but were not yet condemned, others were both examined and condemned, but for want of the writ escaped.

Others there were also, both condemned, and the writ also brought down for their burning, and yet, by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom were John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury.

These two good men, and faithful servants of the Lord, had remained in prison at Salisbury the space of two years and more. During which time they were often called to examination by the bishops and priests. All the examinations I thought not necessary here to insert for the length of them; neither did I think it good to leave no

memory at all of them, but to express some part, not unworthy to be rehearsed.

The Examination of Richard White.

The bishop of Salisbury, at that time, was Dr. Capon; the bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brookes. These, with Dr. Geffery the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them.

Gloucester.—"Is this the prisoner?"

Chancellor.—"Yea, my lord."

Gloucester.—"Friend, wherefore camest thou hither?"

White.—"My lord, I trust to know the cause: for the law saith, 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word must be established.'"

Dr. Capon.—"Did not I examine thee as to thy faith when thou camest hither?"

White.—"No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollard's Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I require to know mine accuser."

Geffery.—"Thou shalt confess thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do."

White.—"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe; and St. Peter saith, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.' 1 Pet. iii. 15. Who shall have the examination of me?"

Gloucester.—"I will oppose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporeal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, and that suffered for our sins?" At these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White.—"My Lord, what is a sacrament?"

Gloucester.—"It is the thing itself which it representeth."

White.—"My Lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a prince, cannot be the prince himself."

Gloucester.—"How many sacraments findest thou in the scriptures, called by the names of sacraments?"

White.—"I find two sacraments in the scriptures, but not called by the names of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine gave them the first name of sacraments."

Gloucester.—"Then thou findest not that word sacrament in the scriptures?"

White.—"No, my Lord."

Gloucester.—"Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?"

White.—"I am sure the words are true; but you play by me as the Devil did by Christ; for he said, 'If thou be the son of God, cast thyself down; for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.' Matt. iv. 6.—'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.' Ps. xci. 13. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself; and even so do you cite the scriptures."

Gloucester.—"Declare thy faith upon the sacrament?"

White.—"In Christ are two natures, a divine and a human nature; so likewise in the sacraments of Christ's body and blood there are two natures, which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine. The internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So is there an external receiving of the same sacrament and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me by faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying myself wholly unto my salvation. If this be true, believe it; and if it be not reprove it."

Gloucester.—"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration there is the natural presence of Christ's body?"

White.—"My lord, I will answer you if you will answer me to one question. Is not this an article of our belief, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?' If he be come from thence to judgment, say so."

Gloucester.—"No. But if thou wilt believe the scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time."

White.—"As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place."

Gloucester.—"St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. 8. 'Last of all he was seen of me also, as one born out of due time.' Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in heaven."

White.—"St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven; like as he was seen of Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine saith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and said, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ, as he witnesseth, 1 Cor. xv. 8. For there he only says he saw Christ, but concerning the place he says nothing. Wherefore this place of scripture proves not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time."

Gloucester.—"I told you before he would not believe. Here are three opinions, the Lutherans, the Œcolampadians, and we the catholics. If you the Œcolampadians have the truth; then the Lutherans and we the catholics are out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Œcolampadians and we the catholics be out of the way. But if we the catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Œcolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics."

White.—"My lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the scriptures."

Gloucester.—"Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error. Away with him to the Lollard's Tower, and dispatch him as soon as you can."

Then John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery the bishop's chancellor, to be condemned. The high-sheriff was one named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the sessions, was charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise at the same time, to see the execution of death ministered to them.

Not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White, and John Hunt, but the under-sheriff receiving the said writ, said; "I will not be guilty (quoth he) of these men's blood," and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; and Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth: and so were set at liberty.

A Chapter or Treatise concerning such as were scourged and whipped by the Papists in the true cause of Christ's Gospel.

And thus through the merciful assistance and favourable aid of Christ our Saviour, thou hast as in a general register (good reader) the history, if not of all, yet of the most part, or at least, not many I trust omitted of such good saints and martyrs as have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison for the testimony of Christ's true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute first given out by king Henry IV, unto this present time, and especially under the reign of queen Mary.

Now after this bloody slaughter of God's good saints and servants, let us proceed to treat somewhat of such

as for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax, who were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for their faithful standing to Christ and of his truth.

The Scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax.

After the first recantation of Doctor Crome for his sermon on the tenth chapter to the Hebrews, wherein he proved very learnedly by the same place of scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all. For which sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and other of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For which the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

But Bishop Bonner with his champions were not pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had him home with them, and so handled him, that they made him come to the cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witness of his recantation, which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the generation of vipers procured all the chief of the council to be present.

At this time, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, in the month of July, one Richard Wilmot, an apprentice in Bow-lane, aged eighteen years, was sitting at his work in his master's shop, when one Lewis a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the shop.

One asked him what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic Dr. Crome had recanted before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoice in the same, began to speak to him, saying, that he was sorry to hear these news. For (said he) if Crome should say otherwise than he had said, then it is contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall accuse him before God.

Lewis answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's word written, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently by the scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot answered, by the scriptures of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he wills all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it was never merry since the bible was in English: and that he was both an heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English, (meaning Cromwell) and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered, that he thought it pleased God to raise up Cromwell from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, that he might do that which all the bishops in the realm never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests in less estimation among the people.

Lewis asked why so?

Wilmot said, because their doctrine and living was not according to his word.

Then said Lewis, I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the truth, and our fathers believed their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our fathers followed their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed those people our forefathers believed; as they taught, and as they did think, so did the people think; but for all this, Christ calls them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, commanding the people to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch. Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests and learned men, have been commonly resisters of the truth, from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Saviour Christ and his disciples, in the new law. We must take heed therefore, that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commands us. For Almighty God has given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, to which he wills all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

"Marry, Sir," said Lewis, "you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books, and so would your master if he were wise." And with that, in came his master, and a young man with him, who was servant with Mr. Daubney in Watling-street.

His master asked what the matter was.

Lewis said, "that he had a knavish boy here for his servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his house."

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what was the matter.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master asked him what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He said, "that he trusted he had said nothing, whereby either he or Master Lewis may justly be offended. I pray," said Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

"Marry," said Lewis, "this he said, 'that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sunday next, he would be sorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience.' And more he saith, 'that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching: for,' saith he, 'they are hinderers of God's word, and persecutors; and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor) in setting forth the bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years.'"

"Then," said Wilmot, "that in many things he made his tale worse than it was." His master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, "that either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them."

A young man standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part to Lewis; and confirmed all the sayings of the other.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairefax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the morrow Wilmot and Fairefax were sent for, to come to the Lord Mayor.

Sir Roger Cholmley, who was with the mayor, asked him, "what say you to Dr. Crome's sermon made at the cross the last day, heard you not that?"

Wilmot.—"Yes; and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley.—"How so?"

Wilmot.—"They expected that he should have recanted his doctrine that he had taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley.—"Yea, Sir, but how say you now to him? for he recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the cross again, how think ye in that?"

Wilmot.—"If he so did, I am the more sorry to hearit."

Cholmley.—"But what say you? was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot.—"No; I suppose it was no heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul an heretic that preached such doctrine, but God forbid that any christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think."

Cholmley.—"Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?"

Wilmot.—"I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said, "that it was a pity that his master suffered him to do so, and that he was not set better to work; and, in fine, said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester and Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm, for which he saw no other remedy but he must suffer."

At length through entreaty, he granted them thus much favour, that they should not die, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this public punishment released, as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall, before the wardens and the company. At length it was granted with a condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

Then were they sent before the masters the next day to the hall, both their masters being also present, and there were laid to their charge the heinous offences by them committed, how they were both heretics and traitors, and had deserved death for the same, and this was declared with a long process by the master of the company, whose name was Master Brookes, declaring what great labour and suit the mayor and the wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail, and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great suit and also charge. For, saith he, the company hath promised to the council for this their mercy and favour shewed towards them, being of such a worshipful company, a hundred pounds, notwithstanding we must see them punished in our hall within ourselves, for those their offences. After these and many other words he commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward one after another, and in the midst of the hall, where they used to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet tied to it.

Then came two men, disguised in mummer's apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods until the blood flowed.

Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, in which we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him." To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

The Scourging of Thomas Green, as written by himself.

"In the reign of Queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Doctor Story, by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men; he asked me where I got the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I got the book from a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more. Then he said, It was no heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollard's-tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

"I was not in the Lollard's-tower two hours, when Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-house, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks, and he took him out, and put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after he came and said, let us shift your hand and your leg, that you may not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

"And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my leg in the stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days.

"Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I got the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman.

"Then Story scoffed at me and said, then there was, 'brother in Christ, and brother in Christ,' and reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I had the book from him in Newgate. I said no, and told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me how I did; so falling in communication, he shewed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

"Then he called for Cluny, and bade him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming; and so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I ate my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth: I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there standing, there were two brought which I took to be prisoners.

"Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself, said she, would set it on fire. So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

"After this being again brought forth, Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

"Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, so they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then interfered my lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said of the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in

reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

"Moreover he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, as for the mass I cannot understand it; but in the new testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again. And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always.

"Then the chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all other, he brought Chrysostom and Jerome for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the new testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

"Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So was I sent to the coal-house; where I had not been a week, before there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called Salt-house, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

"In the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping me, Story asked me if I would go to my master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before: but let me alone, quoth he, I will find him out if he be in England. And so with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways."

Doctor Story commanded that he should have an hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so intreated, that he had not so many, Story saying, "if I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

The Scourging of James Harris.

In this society of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris of Billericay, in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years: who being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, was straitly examined. In which examinations he was charged with not having come to his parish church for the space of one year or more. He confessed, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

After this and such like answers, Bonner persuaded him to go to confess and be absolved. The lad consented to go. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, quoth the priest, sayest thou nothing? what shall I say? said Harris. Thou must confess thy sins, said the priest. My sins, saith he, are so many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the priest told Bonner what he had said, and he out of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry-tree, most cruelly whipped him.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Colingborough, was brought to Salisbury to the chancellor, Doctor Geffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped by two catchpoles. The sight made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny shewed upon such a simple poor man, for they who saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature, but what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

Besides these, many others also suffered the like scourging and whippings in their bodies, for their faithful standing in the truth. It would be too lengthy to recite the details of more. Of whom it may be said, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, "Who departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."

Treatise of such as being pursued in Queen Mary's time, were in great danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preserved.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, who disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, famine, with burning of hands, with plucking off beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, &c.

Yet notwithstanding some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously, by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, were safely delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by quitting the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About the time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, several good men were in prison in various quarters of the realm, amongst whom was William Living, with his wife, and John Lithall, of whom something remains now to be touched.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithal, Minister.

It happened that certain books were in the custody of John Lithall; so the constable of the ward of Southwark, with others of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who breaking up his doors and chests, took away all his books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, when he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avales and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all the night, with such careful watch, that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Avales bursting out upon him, cried, "Stop the traitor, stop the traitor."

And so John Avales came running to him, with others that were with him, saying, Ah sirrah, you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than he. For you, said he, are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your neighbour's blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer therefore to God. But he said, Come on you villain, you must go before the council. So was Lithall brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor.

Among a great deal of other matter in the examination of Lithall by this chancellor, the following passed between them, as recorded by Lithall himself:

"Chancellor.—'You boast much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore, the effect how you believe.'

"Lithall.—'I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephe-

sians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.'

"Chancellor.—'Faith cannot save without works.'

"Lithall.—'That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.'

"Chancellor.—'Keeper! have this fellow to prison.'

"Then John Avales, and Cluny, the keeper, had me into Paul's, and would have me see the apostles' mass."

"Lithall.—'I know none the apostles had, and therefore, I will see none.'

"Cluny and John Avales.—'Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.'

"Lithall.—'I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore, I will not.'

"Then they pulled me with great force, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me strength, his name be praised for it.

"Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rod, or witness the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spit on me, and said, 'fie on thee heretic; and others said, it was a pity I was not burned already.'

"Then they carried me to Lollard's-tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

"Then I offered the keeper certain money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks; and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore, I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my conscience: and though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money, than for any other affection, and within four or five days my wife got leave of the chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In the which time, my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance: the bishop, as they said, at that time being at Fulham, sick. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of the Lollard's-tower to his own house, and said as followeth:

"Chancellor.—'Here are some of thy neighbours which have been with me to entreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter.'

"Lithall.—'I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbours for their good report.'

"Chancellor.—'If thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee.'

"Neighbours.—'If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods.'

"Chancellor.—'I will require no such bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a-piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.'

"Lithall.—'Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the scriptures, that the church of God did bind any man for the profession of his faith? which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith.'

"Chancellor.—'Lo, where he is now? I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, 'That a man is justified by works.''

"Lithall.—"St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of faith, and shewed no works of faith: But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the holy scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences. 'I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name. I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts.' Isaiah lxv. 1, 2. And when the gaoler asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house.' Acts xvi. 31. Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book nor the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, 'So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.' Heb. ix. 28.

"Chancellor.—'With vain glory you rehearse much scripture, as all the sort of you do; but you have no more understanding than sheep.'

"Then they made the bond and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also; and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore, I would not set to my hand.

"Chancellor.—'It is a pity that thou hast so much favour shewed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes, I will discharge thee.'"

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of the chancellor, pretending for favour of his sureties, to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do that they would.

William Browne.

William Browne, parson of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, made a sermon after the burial of our good king Edward, and in his sermon he said, "There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were so, saith he, they are all traitors that so do, because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or yet unto the realm, that so do." For this preaching, the bailiffs took men with them to the parson's house, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen they kept him until it was day. After a while he got his liberty, but because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for his life and conscience.

Elizabeth Young.

Elizabeth Young, coming from Emden to England, brought with her certain books, and circulated them in London; for which she was brought to examination thirteen times, before the inquisitors of heretical pravity.

She was first brought before Hussy, who examined her of many things; First, where she was born, and who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young.—"Sir, this is but vain talk, you have not put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came here for."

Hussy.—"Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?"

Elizabeth.—"To keep my conscience clean."

Hussy.—"When wast thou at mass?"

Elizabeth.—"Not these three years."

Hussy.—"Then wast thou not there three years before that?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, nor three years before that."

Hussy.—"How old art thou?"

Elizabeth.—"Forty and upwards."

Hussy.—"Twenty of those years thou didst go to mass."

Elizabeth.—"Yea, and twenty more I might, and yet come home as wise as I went, for I understand it not."

Hussy.—"Why wilt thou not go to the mass?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, my conscience will not suffer me: for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience."

After this she was twice examined by Doctor Martin, who used her very ill and insulted her, and then she was brought before the bishop of London, and Sir Roger Cholmley and others.

Then said the bishop, "why wilt thou not swear before a judge? that is the right trade of the anabaptists."

Elizabeth.—"My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine."

"No;" said the bishop; "and why?"

Elizabeth.—"My lord, Christ saith, 'That whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil,' and moreover, I know not what an oath is; and therefore, I will take no such thing upon me."

Cholmley.—"Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman's clothes; twenty pounds, it is a man."

Bonner.—"Think you so, my lord?"

Cholmley.—"Yea, my lord."

Elizabeth.—"My lord, I am a woman."

Bishop.—"Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked."

Cholmley.—"I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man."

Then Doctor Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Elizabeth.—"No, my lord, I will not swear; for I know not what an oath is. But I say, that I am a woman, and have children."

Bishop.—"That know not we; wherefore swear."

Cholmley.—"Lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine: and so he laid his hand upon the book."

Elizabeth.—"So will not I mine."

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, concerning swearing.

Elizabeth.—"My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not."

Bishop.—"I dare swear that thou dost not."

Elizabeth.—"My lord, St. Paul saith, 'that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue which is unknown.'"

After this she was brought before the bishop's chancellor, who required of her what age she was of.

Elizabeth.—"Forty years and upwards."

Chancellor.—"Why, thou art a woman of fair years: what shouldest thou meddle with the scriptures? it is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the scriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it to you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if you find any thing therein that is not fit for a christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it."

Chancellor.—"Well said; but who shall judge between thee and me?"

Elizabeth.—"The scripture."

Chancellor.—"Wilt thou stand by that?"

Elizabeth.—"Yea, sir."

Chancellor.—"Well, go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for thee anon again."

Then he called me again and said, now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him.

Chancellor.—"Woman, dost not thou believe, that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporeally, and substantially?"

Elizabeth.—"These words, really and corporeally, I understand not: as for substantially, I take it, you mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that I do not believe."

Chancellor.—"Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, can you give me belief or faith?"

Chancellor.—"No, God must give it thee."

Elizabeth.—"God hath given me no such faith or belief."

Chancellor.—"I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and will not believe."

Elizabeth.—"You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God."

Chancellor.—"Christ saith, 'For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.'" John vi. 55.

Elizabeth.—"Christ preached, saying, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.' John vi. 53. And the Capernaites murmured, at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, 'This is an hard saying; who can hear it?' Christ understood their meaning, and said, 'Doth this offend you? What, and if ye shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.' John vi. 61—63. I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that?"

Chancellor.—"O, God forbid! Would you have me to interpret the scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, who have studied scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghost given unto them."

Elizabeth.—"Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever."

Chancellor.—"When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, when I receive the sacrament which Christ did institute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often (I say) as I receive it, I believe, that spiritually, and by faith I receive Christ. And of this sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith."

Chancellor.—"Why, did not Christ take bread, and give thanks, and brake it, and give it unto his disciples, saying, 'Take eat, this is my body.' Did he give them his body or no?"

Elizabeth.—"He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, 'Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or else the wine that was in the cup?"

Then was he very angry, and said: "Dost thou think that thou hast an hedge-priest in hand?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, I take you not to be an hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor."

Chancellor.—"So me methinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me."

Elizabeth.—"No, sir. But Christ said: 'This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me;' but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul saith, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.' 1 Cor. xi. 26. Then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?' But if he shall not come before he come to judgment, then how is he here present in your sacrament of the altar?"

Chancellor.—"What say you concerning prayer for the dead? is it not meet that if a man be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God?"

Elizabeth.—"There is no christian man that will commend his friend nor his foe to the devil. And whether it be good to pray for him when he is dead or no, I say not, but sure I am, that it is good when he is alive."

Chancellor.—"Then thou allowest not prayer to be

good for them when they are dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I never heard in the scriptures of purgatory, but in the scripture I have heard of heaven and hell."

Chancellor.—"Why, you have nothing but the skimming of the scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the new testament, that a priest shall take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day."

Elizabeth.—"Sir, that could never be found in the bible nor testament, as far as ever I could hear."

Chancellor.—"Whom dost thou hear read either the bible or testament, but a sort of schismatics, and hedge-priests (who have brought into the church a communion which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) who have deceived the king and all the nobility, and all the whole realm?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, it is a vile name you give them all."

Chancellor.—"Where are all the hedge knaves now, that they come not to their answer?"

Elizabeth.—"Answer! why, they have answered both with the scriptures, and also with their blood; and then where were you that you came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's word, it was for their disobedience."

Chancellor.—"No, I pray you? did you not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and beheaded?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded?"

Chancellor.—"No? did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?"

Elizabeth.—"Then he died not for God's word."

Chancellor.—"Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the sabbath written in the scripture, by the name of the sabbath? For the right sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday. Or where canst thou find the articles of the creed in the scripture by the name of the articles? Or where canst thou find in the scripture, that Christ went down into hell?"

Elizabeth.—"What place or part in the scripture can you find to disprove any of these things!"

Chancellor.—"Thou hast read a little in the bible or testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor that hath gone to school thirty years; I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying; 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.' And so would we gather you together in one faith, and you will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the scripture, and therefore thou art damned."

Elizabeth.—"I do believe all things written in the scripture, and all things agreeable with the scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ, and shall I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?"

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church; for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wheresoever they be scattered abroad."

Chancellor.—"Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?"

Elizabeth.—"Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins."

Chancellor.—"Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?"

Elizabeth.—"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, not at all."

Chancellor.—"Hast thou not said that the mass was wicked, and the sacrament of the altar most abominable?"

Elizabeth.—"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.—"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir."

Chancellor.—"Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?"

Elizabeth.—"I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language."

Chancellor.—"Did my lord send for you by name, and would you not go to mass?"

Elizabeth.—"No, sir, I will never go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God."

Chancellor.—"Understand it? Why, who the devil can make thee to understand Latin, thou being so old?"

Suit was afterwards made by her friends for her, and after giving sureties she was liberated.

Elizabeth Lawson.

In the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, was dwelling an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about sixty years of age. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that she was carried to Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time, Sir John Sylliard had her home to his house, he being high-sheriff that year, where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, she was sent to prison again, with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her son and many more, whereby she would often say: "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded our queen that now is. At which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither the temporal, nor yet spiritual authority would discharge her without sureties.

William Wood, of Kent.

The examination of William Wood, in the parish of Stroud, in Kent, before Doctor Kenall, chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Doctor Chedsey, the mayor of Rochester, and Master Robinson the scribe, the 19th day of October, and in the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rochester, written by himself.

Robinson.—"You are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you? have you received, or have you not?"

Wood.—"I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it."

Kenall.—"Thou heretic, what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And at this word they all put off their caps and made low obeisance.

Wood.—"There are three causes that make my conscience afraid that I dare not receive it. The first is, Christ delivered it to his twelve apostles and said, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c., and ye eat and drink it up all alone. The second cause is: you command it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. The third cause is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I had rather speak five words with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; by which the people be ignorant of the death of Christ."

Kenall.—"Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these, Take, eat, this is my body? Wilt thou deny the scripture?"

Wood.—"I will not deny the holy scriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, God calleth those things that are not, as though they were; and Christ saith, I am a vine; I am a door. St. Paul saith, The rock is Christ. All which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood."

Robinson.—"You make a very long talk of this matter; learn, Wood, learn."

Kenall.—"Nay, these heretics will not learn: Look how this heretic glorieth in himself: Thou fool, art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?"

Wood.—"I think you would be loath to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away. And where you mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, 'The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise,'—1 Cor. iii. 18, 19."

Kenall.—"Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a priest, This is my body, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity, and quality as he did hang upon the cross?"

Wood.—"I pray you, master chancellor, give me leave, for my instruction, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after."

Kenall.—"It is some wise question, I warrant you."

Wood.—"God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, Thou son of man, take a rasor, and shave off the hair of thy head and of thy beard, and take one part and cast into the air, take the second part and put it into thy lap, and take the third part and cast it into the fire: and this is Jerusalem. I pray you, master chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it not Jerusalem?"

Kenall.—"It signified Jerusalem."

Wood.—"Even so this word of Christ, This is my body, is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural, and real body in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or inclosed in the sacrament; but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, 'As often as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup, you do shew the Lord's death till he come.' 1 Cor. xi. 26. What should the apostle mean by this word, till he come, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporeally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he hung on the cross, as you say? but St. Paul saith, You do shew the Lord's death till he come. This proves that he is not here, as you would have us to believe."

Doctor Chedsey.—"I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality."

Kenall said—"Yes, he is here present in quantity and quality."

Chedsey.—"He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality."

"Yes," said Kenall.

"No," said Chedsey.

"I will prove him here in quantity and quality," said Kenall.

"I will prove the contrary," said Chedsey,

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sore one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face, so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment seat, and Doctor Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood.—"Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves how he is there."

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that delivered St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the pharisees and sadducees, did even so deliver him at that time out of the mouths of the papists, by means of the contention of these two doctors; blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath promised to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midst of temptation he can make a way for his to escape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another.

The Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England, from extreme Calamity and Danger of Life, in the time of Queen Mary.

Whatever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's hand in defending and delivering any person out of thraldom, never was there any example wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly shewed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the escape of our sovereign lady, now queen, then lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

First here is to be noted, that queen Mary before she was crowned, would go no where, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this, upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyat as before mentioned, the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the lady Elizabeth, at that time living in her house at Ashbridge, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her sick in bed, and very feeble and weak of body. When they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies to declare to her grace, that there were persons come from the court, who had a message from the queen.

Her grace was right glad of their coming; however, being very sick, and the night far spent, she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort there in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, in what state soever she were. The lady in waiting being alarmed, went to shew her grace their words, but they, hastily following her, came rushing into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At their coming so suddenly into her bed-chamber, her grace being not a little amazed, said to them, "Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?"

They made answer, that they were sorry to see her in that case. "And I (said she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night." They answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the 7th day of that present month. She said, "No creature more glad than I to

come to her majesty, being sorry that I am not in a state at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves see, and can testify."

"Indeed we see it true," (said they,) "that you say; for which we are very sorry. But we let you understand, that our commission is such, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead." She being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore; but yet she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so peremptory. "Yes, verily," said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendy, demanded of them, whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they required her to prepare against the next morning at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring that there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their worships.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case, that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was to behold the unreverend dealing of these men, but especially the bodily fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Albans, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master Dod's house, at Myms, where also they remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen, to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that state. But especially a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there straightways shut up, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, Sir F. Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, who were attendant to the doors. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion. Which he firmly denied, protesting he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels, but being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen other of the council, came to her grace from the queen's majesty, and charged her with Wyat's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless. They not being contented with this, charged her grace with the business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country; which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared to her that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

At which, she being alarmed, said, that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady to her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a loyal woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had charged her, and desired them, therefore, to request of the queen her sister, that she being a loyal woman in thought, word and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place, protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented to any such kind of matter as they laid to her charge: and therefore, in fine, desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

The lords answered, that "there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go to the Tower." Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came four of the lords of the council, the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who, guarding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, except that for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, there were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women, to give attendance upon her, that none of her own household should have access to her grace.

At which time there was a hundred of northern soldiers in white coats, watching and guarding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certain lords watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council, one was the earl of Sussex, came and certified her grace, that she must go to the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarries for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex) kneeling down, told her grace that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a loyal man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer to the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, but she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they remained till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine of the clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, "if there is no remedy, I must be contented," desiring the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not. She said, "she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, who in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not." In the mean time commandment was given in all London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean time she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the Tower.

After all this, she took her barge with the two lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own; her gentleman usher, and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same, so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof; for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there staid again a while. At landing she first stopped and refused to land at those stairs, where all traitors and

offenders customarily used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords that she should not refuse; and because it rained he offered to her his cloak, which she refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone."

To whom the same lord answered again, "That if it were so, it was the better for her." At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this," said she. It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. "And if it be," said she, "for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace, who the next day were released of their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being, said, "Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely." She then replying, answered again, "It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me." With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace. At that time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rocks, by which all storms should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep guard and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, "My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And, further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and, therefore, let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen; for just dealing is always answerable:" whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two days, commandment was brought, that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young was then her chaplain, and because there was none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass was stopped for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two A B C's provided, and delivered them, so that upon the A B C's they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the A B C in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleyson, set the priest, making as though he could answer no farther.

It would make a pitiful and a strange history, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out that knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord-chancellor, ruler of the roast, who then within five days after came to her, with many other of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge, betwixt her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within a while, well advising herself, she said, "Indeed, I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never was in it in all my life. And as for any that hath recommended me thereunto, I do not remember."

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, "That she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. "But, my lords," said she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going to Dunnington castle, I do remember that Master Hobby and my officers, and you Sir James Acroft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to my own houses at all times?"

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, "Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters." She then said, "My lords, you do sift me very narrowly; but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all."

At their departure Sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. "But I assure your grace," said he, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which the Lord knoweth is very strange to me. For I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial."

That day some of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought it to the outer gate of the tower, the common soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief to the gentlemen. Wherefore they required to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the tower. Who, coming before his presence, declared to his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such persons as they were who received it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order that her viands might at all times be brought in by them who were appointed thereunto. "Yes, sirs," said he, "who appointed you this office?" They answered, "her grace's council." "Council," said he, "there is none of them who hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, that as she is a prisoner, she shall be served with the lieutenant's men, as the other prisoners are." Whereat the gentlemen said, "that they trusted for more favour at his hands, considering her personage;" saying, "that they mistrusted not but that the queen and her council would be better to her grace than to do so;" and therewith shewed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress.

At this he swore by God, striking himself upon his breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion whereof, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet to her, and that it might no more be delivered to the common soldiers of the tower, which being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And there were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors, to bring in her provision once a day. All which was done, the warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and so guarded them both in and out.

After this sort, having remained a whole month in

close prison, and being very ill at ease, she sent for the lord chamberlain and Lord Chandos, to come and speak with her. She requested them, "that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well." They answered, "that they were sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had got commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break." Furthermore, she desired of them, "if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into the queen's lodging." "No; nor yet that," they answered, "could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council." "Well," said she, "my lords, if the matter be so hard, that they must be sued for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me;" and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort, but only God.

The next day the Lord Chandos came again to her grace, declaring, that he had sued unto the council for further liberty. Some of them consented, others dissented, because there were so many prisoners in the tower. But, in conclusion, they all agreed that her grace might walk into those lodgings, on condition that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out at the windows into the garden, till her grace were gone out again. Thus her grace, with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise there for.

During this time, a little boy, a man's child in the tower, was accustomed to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting to him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire, sent by him to her grace. The child said, I will go and know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but four years of age. "This same is a crafty boy," quoth the lord chamberlain. "How say you, my lord Chandos?" "I pray you, my lord," quoth the boy, "give me the figs you promised me." "No," quoth he, "thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtney." The boy answered, "I will bring my lady, my mistress, more flowers." Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, saying; "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers." At which she smiled, but said nothing, understanding what they had done.

The 5th day of May, the constable of the tower was discharged of his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which so sudden charge was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred soldiers in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the lady Jane Gray's scaffold were taken away or no. Answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Benifield was, and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. "Well," quoth she, "God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, who am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain."

On Trinity Sunday, being the 19th day of May, she was removed from the tower, to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of sixty, and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict manner as they were in the tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her gaoler; and he kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers," said she, "good Lord deliver me."

After her grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the queen. Which at last was permitted: so Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he straitly observed) when she was weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's majesty. She answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. "For," said she, "if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had ere this, if it could be proved against me. For I know myself to be out of danger of it, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him."

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, was not permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a sorrowful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. No wonder that she hearing, upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a milk-maid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milk-maid as she was, saying that her case was better, and life more happy than was hers.

After these things, she was to be removed to Hampton Court, Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberlane, guarding and waiting upon her; the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her clothes about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon she desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, was not suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under an hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormer's, and so to Colebrook, where she stopped all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colebrook certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, who had not seen her grace so long season before: notwithstanding, they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town; to both their and her grace's no little heaviness, who was not suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men

were taken from her, saving her gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and guarding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton Court, the doors being shut upon her, and she guarded with soldiers, as before, and was there a fortnight at the least, before any had recourse unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who honourably treated her grace. Stephen Gardiner the bishop of Winchester also came and kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt, but that her majesty would be good to her. She made answer, "that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word or deed: and besides this, in yielding I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my sovereign." And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again to her grace, and kneeling down declared that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

"Nay," quoth the lady Elizabeth, "it may please her to punish me as she thinks good."

"Well," quoth Gardiner, "her majesty desireth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale ere you be set at liberty."

Her grace answered, "that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty; and this that I have said, I will stand to, for I will never belie myself."

A week after the queen sent for her grace, at ten o'clock at night, to speak with her: for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the sudden sending for, and thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, because she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

When she was conducted to the queen's bed-chamber where her majesty was, her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty, as ever did any, and desired her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the queen answered, "you will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth; I pray God it may so fall out."

"If it doth not," said the lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you still persevere in your truth, probably you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished."

"I must not say so (if it please your majesty) to you."

"Why then," said the queen, "perhaps you will to others."

"No, if it please your majesty, I have borne the burden and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning, but for ever, as long as life lasts:" and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he shewed himself a friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day week was released by Sir Henry Benifield her gaoler, as she termed him, and his soldiers, and so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen ushers, Master Gage: and thus narrowly was she looked to all queen Mary's time. And this is the history of her highness's imprisonment.

The Death of Queen Mary.

But of this matter enough, and too much. Now let us return where we left before, which was at the death of queen Mary. After whose decease succeeded her sister, lady Elizabeth, to the right of the crown of England. Mary being long sick before, upon the seventeenth of November, at three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth, her sister.

As touching the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation to her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king's majesty, her husband, who was gone from her. To whom she answered again, "Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierces my oppressed mind;" but what that was she would not express to them.

Afterward she opened her mind more plainly to Master Rice and Mistress Clarentius, who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought for king Philip's departing from her. "Not that only (said she,) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart, &c." And here an end of queen Mary and of her persecution.

Of which queen this may be truly affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that shall succeed her; that, before her, was never read in history of any king or queen of England since the beginning of the kingdom, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning, so much christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives were spilled within this realm, as under queen Mary for the space of four years, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

When she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long God went with her, and by means of the gospellers brought her to the possession of the realm. But, after that, she breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy to the pope, God's blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her reign.

She would needs bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the utmost of her ability: and yet God stopped her of her will.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland? King Edward the third, by princely puissance, obtained Calais to England, which had been kept by the English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, who lost Calais from England again. The affairs of queen Mary have had no great good success. But never was any woman

more disappointed than queen Mary was in her hope of children, for which she was so desirous, and of which the nation was so often in expectation, from the accounts which were given out from the court, and yet how was all the realm deluded? And, in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the Catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion was so goodly as they pretend? If their masses 'Ex opere operato,' be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass, that all the popish church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after all these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her popish zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens. Whereupon God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things she desired), then he bereft her of that, which, of all earthly things, should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity: but now the Omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to a castle come down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; she seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband; she neither had children by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here, (christian reader) the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor remove her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off, who in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her throne which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, we scarce find equalled in any other king or queen since the Conquest, save only in king Richard III.

And thus much in the closing up of this story, I thought to insert, touching the unlucky and rueful reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forsomuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be advertised and learned what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

And now to enter on the time and history of queen Elizabeth. In whose advancement and this her princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed what felicity and blessed happiness this realm hath received, in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been many kings and rulers over this realm, yet I could never find in our English chronicles what may be written of this our noble and worthy queen: whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign hitherto (reigning now twenty-four years and more) has been so quiet, that as yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is spotted and polluted with no drop of blood.

Also I let pass the coronation of this our most noble and christian princess, which was the 15th of January, 1559. To pass over also the triumphant passage and honourable entertainment of our most dread sovereign, through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations and verses, as the like has not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. These, I say, with many other things to let pass, we will now begin with the conference at Westminster between the popish bishops, and the learned men who had been exiled to Germany in the days of Mary.

The Conference at Westminster, the last day of March, upon certain Questions or Articles of Religion proposed, and the breaking up of the same, by the Papists' defaults, at the first beginning of Queen Elizabeth.

So it pleased the queen's most excellent majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion, amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian concord (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (being also one of the same privy council) and required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also, they declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possible might be agreed upon. And then after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine persons, that is to say, five bishops and four doctors. The names of whom here follow under written:—

The Papists.	*The Protestants.*
Bishop of Winchester,	Bishop of Chichester,
Bishop of Lichfield,	Dr. Coxe,
Bishop of Chester,	Mr. Whitehead,
Bishop of Carlisle,	Mr. Grindall,
Bishop of Lincoln,	Mr. Horne,
Dr. Cole,	Mr. D. Sands,
Dr. Harpsfield,	Mr. Gest,
Dr. Langdale,	Mr. Aelmer,
Dr. Chedsey.	Mr. Jewell.

Who were content, at the queen's majesty's commandment, to shew their opinions, and, as the said archbishop termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing, although he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. The matter which they should talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions, hereunder specified.

1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and the administration of the

sacraments. 2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification. 3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the bishops would, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions on the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also nine men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner, and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, many of the nobility and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, whereupon (the court of parliament consequently following) some laws might be grounded; they made earnest means to her majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobility and others of her parliament house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last day of March, at Westminster church. At which day and place, both for good order and for the honour of the conference, by the queen's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented to by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which themselves had by the archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's council somewhat strange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and according to the former order, delivered it to the other part; and so the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed by his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked by the privy council if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, "No." So the other party was permitted to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a written book, which, after prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church builded upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. The copy of which their protestation here followeth according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their preface also before the same.

"Forasmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent majesty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

"Seeing that Christ is our only master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breadth, and against which (as the apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest that we will affirm nothing against the same.

"And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the head, in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

"And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe not many years past (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the same), we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and shew some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they have before professed, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's most excellent majesty, we shall in these disputations be treated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most holy scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholic church we understand not the Romish church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be sought in the holy scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

"It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

"By these words, 'the word of God,' we mean only the written word of God, or canonical scriptures.

"And by the custom of the primitive church, we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ, in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

"This assertion above written, hath two parts. First, that the use of the tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

"The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

"The first part is most manifestly proved by the fourteenth chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter. In which chapter St. Paul treats of this matter purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaks not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any impartial reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the

church or congregation. For of praying he saith: I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my understanding; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my understanding. And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer) 'thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And 'how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?' And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludes, that 'all things ought to be done to edification.' Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul, and the ancient doctors Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies, which shall follow afterwards.

"Upon this chapter of St. Paul, we gather these reasons following.

I. "All things done in the church or congregation, ought so to be done that they may edify the same.

"But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

"Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

"The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

"The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First, by this similitude. 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle; so likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken, for ye shall speak into the air.' 1 Cor. xiv. 8, 9. That is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

"And afterwards in the same chapter he saith, 'how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.' 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17.

"These are St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood, doth not edify. And therefore, both the parts of the reason being thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. "Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For, saith Paul, 'if there be no interpreter (to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue,) let him keep silence in the church.' And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

3. "The minister in prayer or administration of sacraments, using language not understood by the hearers, is to them barbarous and an alien, which by St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

4. "It is not to be counted a christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent to it by saying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of assent.

"But St. Paul affirms, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as beforesaid.

"Therefore it is no christian common prayer, where the people understand not what is said.

5. "St. Paul would not in his time, suffer a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now amongst christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. "Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue, in common prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

"But St. Paul says the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus. 'If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.' And so shortly to conclude; the use of a strange tongue in prayer and administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

"To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the scriptures and otherwise.

7. "In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the 2d Book of Chronicles, chap. xxix, it is written, that Hezekiah commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Christ saith) must pray, in spirit and in truth.

8. "The final end of our prayer (as David saith) is that the people may tell the name of God in Sion, and his praises in Jerusalem.

"But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand, therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

9. "The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is 'I will pray with the spirit, I will pray with the understanding also,' common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues.

10. "The administration of the Lord's supper and baptism, are as it were sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

"But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

11. "It is not lawful for a christian man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer.

"The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. Which is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

"Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the scriptures, joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

"Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church; it is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

"For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith, 'upon the Sunday assemblies are made both of the citizens and country people, whereat the writings of the apostles and the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow these honest things. After this, we rise altogether and offer prayers, which being ended (as we have said) bread and water are brought forth. Then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen.'

"These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, declare plainly, that not only the scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lord's Supper were done in a tongue understood.

"The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes 'Amen,' sometimes, 'Lord have mercy upon

us,' sometimes, 'and with thy spirit,' and, 'we lift up our hearts unto the Lord,' &c. Which answers they could not have made, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue understood.

"And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæsarea. 'As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say, that our customs and usages in all churches be uniform, and agreeable. For in the night the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God, and at the last, rising again, go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers songs and prayers passing over the night; at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.'

"If you will fly from us henceforth for these things, ye must fly also the Egyptians, and both the Lybians, ye must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and those that dwell beside Euphrates; and to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms are had in honour."

The following is the testimony of St. Ambrose, written upon the fourteenth chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians, upon these words: "If thou bless or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?"

"That is," saith Ambrose, "if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not, Amen. That is as much as to say (true) that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them who do answer, Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth."

Afterward upon these words, "If one that believe not or unlearned," he says: "For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be reverenced, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they seeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with many vanities. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none who can understand, or of whom he may be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues, (not understood,) because it is a shame to open it."

"Then there are the testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, 'He that occupieth the place of the unlearned, &c.'

"It is the layman," saith he, "whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man, who hath no ecclesiastical office. How shall he answer Amen to the prayer that he understandeth not?"

And again Jerome says:—"This is Paul's meaning, If any man speaketh in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not without fruit and profit to himself, but he is not profited that heareth him."

And in the end of his commentatory upon the epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus:—"That Amen signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying. 'But if thou shalt bless in spirit, who supplieth the place of the ignorant, how shall he at thy prayer answer Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?' Whereby he declareth, that the unlearned man cannot answer, that that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said."

And again Chrysostom says:—"In prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priest's limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all after one way prostrate themselves upon the earth, and all again after one way rise up together. Now, when 'the peace' is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for, 'and with thy spirit,' is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him."

"Hereby it may appear, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

"Dionysius describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord's supper, saith, 'That hymns were said by the whole multitude of the people.'

"Cyprian saith, 'The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer saying, 'Lift up your hearts:' that while the people answer, 'We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,' they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other than of the Lord.'

"St. Augustine saith: 'We ought to understand what this should be, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chattering of birds. For owls, and jays, and ravens, and magpies, and other such like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.'

"The same Augustine also saith, 'There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them, and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, may hang upon God.'

"To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ: 'We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and audible voice, which may be heard by the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teacheth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, 'Truly, if thou only bless or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say, amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And again, in the epistle to the Romans, he saith, 'With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken by the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, neither will we when we know it, rest, and leave it unrevenged.'

"Out of the constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

"First, That the common prayer and ministration done with a loud voice, so as may be heard and understood by the people, is a mean to stir up devotion in the

people, contrary to the common assertion of Eckius and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

"Secondly, That Justinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may be understood of the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing as must be answered for at the day of judgment.

"Thirdly, That this emperor, being a christian emperor, doth not only make constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threateneth revenge and sharp punishment to the violators of the same.

"These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common prayer and ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly at this day, and upon what ground these, that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loath to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

"The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen."

(Signed by)	John Scory,	John Jewell,
	Richard Coxe,	Robert Horne,
	David Whitehead,	John Aelmer,
	Edmund Grindall,	Edmund Gest.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was very acceptable to the audience; some of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such cavilling, yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this conference, and that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and agreed upon by both parties, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same: and that done, the other party should likewise bring theirs. And being read, each of them should deliver to the other the writings. And in the meantime, the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same: and as soon as they might possibly, to send the book touching that first assertion to the other party, and they should receive of them that writing which Mr. Horne had there read that day, and upon Monday it should be agreed what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition. Thus both parties assented, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The Order of the Second Day's Conference.

The lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk, and all the council being set, the bishops on the one side, and the protestants, that is, the late banished preachers on the other side, thus began the lord keeper:—

"My lords and masters, I am sure you remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it, which was, that you appointed that on both sides you should bring in English writing, what you had to say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin my lords."

Winchester.—"I am determined for my part that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question."

Lord Keeper.—"Will you not then proceed in the order appointed you?"

Winchester.—"I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition; and we should suffer prejudice, if you permit us not to treat of that first, and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded."

Bishops.—"We are so determined."

Lord Keeper.—"I know not what you would do for your determined order: but you ought to look to what order is appointed you to keep, which you by this means do break, and little regard."

Winchester.—"Since our adversaries party, if it please your grace and honours, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if you permit us not the like." At this Doctor Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being very desirous to have spoken, said to the bishop of Winchester; "I pray you let me speak, (which was permitted him): we are not used impartially, since you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, insomuch, as that which you take for the information of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose, for that which Master Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration of himself, and ex-tempore, that is, with no fore-studied talk."

At these bishop's words the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, since that they all well knew, that Master Cole spake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, and that in the same places which the bishops' informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done ex-tempore, for that Master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon, this statement of the bishop of Lincoln was the worse taken, notwithstanding, he went onward complaining, and said, "We are also evil ordered as touching the time, our adversaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in nowise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers, as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want now impartial using."

Lord Keeper.—"Take you heed that you deceive not yourselves, when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that you complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you."

Lichfield.—"Let us suffer no misorder or injury herein, but be heard with that impartiality, that is convenient and meet we should have here."

Lord Keeper.—"I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which you are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then did we understand that Master Cole had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say, and upon that impartiality among us, I judge you were asked in the end of Master Cole's rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was it you would have him say, and you granted it. Then, whether you would that he should say any more in the matter, you answered, 'No,' whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed, without all good impartiality or plain dealing, yet pretended that you had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used yourselves."

Bishops.—"We had indeed more to say, if we might have been fairly heard."

Lord Keeper.—"Give me leave I say, and look what gains you should have if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of impartial using, how you should use those other men? For many who are here present, were then away, so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark you whether it had not been more fit that you had pro-

vided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, since, to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do with the matter, you were of both sides, (I am sure) warned at one time. Howbeit, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first, so that when the day cometh, that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day you shall have time to read this your first writing, which you would now so fain read." To this order all the council willingly condescended.

Lichfield.—"Nay, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time."

Lord Keeper.—"For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience." At which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides. "Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly."

Lincoln.—"We cannot read them both at one time; for their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if so be it be so long as their last was, and then our answer would require no less time after the first question."

"Lord Keeper.—"I have shewed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time, when it cometh thereunto. Therefore, you need not to be therein so curious, and we granting you thus much, and yet you will obey no orders; I cannot tell what I shall say unto you."

Lincoln.—"We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation. For, first it was appointed us by my lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin, and then had we another commandment, that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last, we are desired to bring forth our writings in English."

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council were much surprised, and many murmured at such a wrong report of the order which was plainly given. Whereupon, the lord keeper answered; "I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, since I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing what you had to say for your purpose."

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said; "We so understood the order, my lords."

Lord Keeper.—"How likely is that, since that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to treat of the second question."

Lichfield.—"We were appointed this day by your honours, to bring in what we had to say in the first question."

At which saying, the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to his report.

Lord Keeper.—"The order was given, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that you should yield the same to these men, (meaning the protestants) as soon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs, and this day you should treat of the second question, and of the third, if that you had leisure enough. This was the order, my lords, except my memory much fail me." The same all the council affirmed.

Lincoln.—"We were desired then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also."

Lord Keeper.—"Ah! sirs, if you be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined."

Archbishop of York.—"You are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order given for you to treat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and shew what you have to say in the second question."

Lord Keeper.—"Go to now, begin my lords."

Lichfield.—"It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin."

Chester.—"We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin."

Lichfield.—"They must first speak what they can bring in against us, since we are the defending part."

Chester.—"So is the school manner, and likewise the manner in Westminster-hall is, that the plaintiffs part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer."

Lichfield.—"I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin."

Lord Keeper.—"The order was given that you should begin."

Lichfield.—"But then we should do against the school order."

Lord Keeper.—"My masters, you enforce much the school orders. I wonder much at it, since divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change."

Carlisle.—"We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the possession of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to allege against us, and so we to maintain and defend our cause."

Lichfield.—"Yea, even so must the matter be ordered."

Chester.—"When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it. Therefore must they begin."

Lichfield.—"And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to shew first what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose."

Lord Keeper.—"Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, since it was determined you should begin."

Lichfield.—"We heard of no such order."

Lord Keeper.—"No; yes, and in the first question you began willingly. How cometh it to pass that you will not now do so?"

Chester.—"Then had we the affirmation, which since that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin."

This the protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

Lord Keeper.—"If you have any thing to say, my lords, to the purpose, say on."

Lichfield.—"A particular sort of men can never break an universal church, which we now maintain; and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we."

Protestants.—"We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof."

Lincoln.—"Yet would you overthrow all catholic order."

Horne.—"I wonder that you so much stand who should begin."

Lincoln.—"You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them."

Lichfield.—"Yea, even so we be driven to do now."

Lord Keeper.—"Nay, I judge if you mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered equally to you both."

Horne.—"Indeed, my lords of the queen's most honourable council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your honours, and they then having the pre-eminency, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first: now again why do they not the like?"

Lichfield being angry that Horne should so straightly speak against them, went quite from the matter, saying, "My lord keeper of the great seal, and you the rest of the queen's most honourable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majesty herself, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or can do no otherwise but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church; they, or we."

Lord Keeper.—"Stop! you now go from the matter, and make questions of your own."

Lichfield yet not straying from his digression, said thus; 'We must needs go to work, and try that first, what church they be of. For there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you which of these churches are you of?"

Horne.—"I am of Christ's catholic church."

Lord Keeper.—"You ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise new questions, of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; you ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter."

Lichfield.—"Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will search a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal."

Winchester.—"Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter."

Chester.—"Otherwise, my lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people."

Winchester.—"Therefore, I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing."

Chester.—"I am sorry, my lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no fairness if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should for their parts, give us place."

Lichfield.—"Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any fairness is used."

Aelmer.—"We give you the place, do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore, I pray you begin."

Bishops.—"A goodly giving of place, I assure you; yea, marry, you give place." Such words they used, with more scoffs.

Lord Keeper.—"If you make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."

Winchester.—"Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over. I pray you, my lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hindrance or let to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do if we gave over to them, which in no wise we may, or will do."

Lord Keeper.—"Let us then break up, if you be thus minded." With these words the bishops were straightways rising. But then said the lord keeper, "Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How is it, my lord of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?"

Winchester.—"No, surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do."

Then the lord keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter, who being enquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the other in order, and first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of; and likewise answered Lichfield, Coventry, Dr. Cole, and Dr. Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, "My lords, I say not that I will not read it, if you command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your honours not so to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not so."

Lord Keeper.—"How say you to it, my lord of Carlisle?"

Carlisle.—"If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read."

Lord Keeper.—"So would you make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you."

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind; who said, "If it please your honours, I judge that my lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given them to speak, which my lord misliketh."

Lord Keeper.—"How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such assembly and audience; think you that there can be continued answering one another? when should it after that sort have an end?"

Lichfield.—"It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth."

Lord Keeper.—"But how say you, my lord abbot, are you of the mind it shall be read?"

Abbot.—"Yea forsooth, my lord, I am very well pleased withal." Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

Lord Keeper.—"My lords, since you are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart, and because you will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us."

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge, good reader, where the fault was, and consider withal what these papists are, from whom if ye take away their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? why would they not, or durst they not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? Who first being gently and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being secondly (as appeared by the lord keeper's words) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refuse so to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all saving one) (which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them as more earnestly than others, so also some other more indiscreetly and irreverently than others.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion, and great study on both parts employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn the doctrine which before, in queen Mary's time, had been established. But especially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the papists' side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practised to come by; yet notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the residue that there were left could do the less; and in very need, God be praised, did nothing at all in effect.

Although in this parliament there was some diversity of judgment and opinion between parties, yet notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the hopes of the papists were frustrated, and their rage abated; the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion was revived again; the supremacy of the pope abolished; the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

EMBROIDERY

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title. In whose rooms and places, first for cardinal Poole, succeeded Doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, succeeded Doctor Young; instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London; for Hopton, Thurlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feasie, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed Doctor John Parkhurst, in Norwich; Doctor Coxe, in Ely; Jewell, in Salisbury; Pilkenton, in Durham; Doctor Sands, in Worcester; Master Downam, in Westchester; Bentam, in Coventry and Lichfield; David, in St. David's; Ally, in Exeter; Horne, in Winchester; Story, in Hereford; Best, in Carlisle; Bullingham, in Lincoln; Scamler, in Peterborough; Bartlet, in Bath; Gest in Rochester; and Barlo, in Chichester, &c.

A brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre in France, A.D. 1572.

Here, before the closing up of this book, in no case should be unremembered the tragical and furious massacre in France, wherein were murdered so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it shall the less need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief mention of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first for brevity sake to pass by the massacre by the Romish catholics in Orange, against the protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smoke, with sword and weapon sparing none, the carcases of some they threw to dogs, &c. which was A.D. 1570, in the reign of Charles IX. Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rome, where, the protestants being at a sermon without the city walls, upon the king's edict, the Roman catholics in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above forty at least; many more they wounded. This example at Rome, stirred up the papists in Dieppe to practise the like rage also, against the christians there returning from the sermon; whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided with weapons for their own defence in time of need. All which happened about the same year aforesaid, A.D. 1570. But these, with such like, I briefly pass over, to enter now into the matter above premised, that is, briefly to treat of the horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before in any civil dissension amongst the very heathen. In a few words to touch the substance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the Roman catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways: The one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king so meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned, between the prince of Navarre, and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chiefest protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that should marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent thereunto. She being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she after much ado, at length being won to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly after fell sick, and within five days expired, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only that a certain apothecary boasted, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and smells confected by him.

After this, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, prince of Navarre, Conde, with divers other chief men of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris. Where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the 18th of August, 1572. Which marriage being celebrated and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon, upon a high stage without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, she being then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the 22nd of August, the admiral coming from the council table, by the way was struck with a discharge from a pistol, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watch-word, at the commandment of the prince, upon which watch-word given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who being wounded with many sore wounds, was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being first struck off, was embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his arms, and so drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the city, and there hanged him up by his heels, to the greater show and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the history writeth, above ten thousand, men, women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown into the river: so that not only the river was all stained therewith, but also whole streams in certain places of the city did run with the blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword instead of protestants.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen: in which cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was showed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch that within the space of one month, thirty thousand at least of religious protestants are numbered to be slain.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he with his cardinals made such joy at Rome, with their procession, with their firing guns, and singing of Te Deum, that in honour of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope, with great indulgences, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity these Roman catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France, there was no less rejoicing upon the 28th day of the said month, the king commanding public processions to be made throughout the whole city, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; where the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting together to the church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against

the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

And in very deed, to man's thinking it might appear no less after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope; many fled out of the realm; such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen; so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France. But such is the admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most faileth, there he most showeth his strength and help, as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the very small remnant of the gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his goodness so wrought, that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion of those in Rochelle. Who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and the slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly with valiant hearts (the Lord so working) thought to stand to their defence against the king's power, by whose example certain other cities hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices of the merciless papists, who intend nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to captains Strozzius and Guardius to see to Rochelle. After this he sent a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochelle-men to receive him for their governor under the king. Great consultation being had, at length the Rochelle-men began to condescend upon certain conditions; which being not easily granted, and especially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, who had submitted themselves, thought it better to stand to the defence of their lives and consciences, and to adventure the worst. Whereupon a great siege and battery began to be laid against Rochelle, both by land and sea, which was A.D. 1572, about the fourth day of December. It would require another volume to describe all things, during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the king's party, and the town of Rochelle; briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, A.D. 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in most forcible wise to the assaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there assembled, amongst whom was also the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, accompanied by his other brother, duke Alençon, Navarre, Conde, and other a great number of states besides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered against one poor town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord stood on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape. During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides, it would require a long treatise. To make short, seven principal assaults were made against the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make. In all which assaults the pope's side had always the worst. Concerning the first assault I find it written, that within the space of twenty-six days, there were discharged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city: but such was the courage of them within, not of the men only, but also of the women, armed with spits, fire, and such other weapons as came to hand, that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers: and of the townsmen there were slain and wounded only to the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the second assault, the adversary attempted to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster then they came. No better success had all the assaults that followed: whereby consider, gentle reader, with thyself, in what great distress these good men were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities also, during these seven months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty sustained them.

And especially at the siege of Sanser; which city was terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great cannons, and field-pieces, having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gunshots flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their walls shaken, their houses rent down; yet not one person slain nor wounded with all this, save only at the first, a certain maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was struck down, and died.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp, what number was slain, may be conjectured by this, that 132 of their captains were killed.

To close up this tragical story, concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege: thus it fell out that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was A.D. 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou the king's brother was proclaimed king of Poland. Whereat great joy was in the camp. By occasion whereof the new king, more willing to have peace, entered into negotiation with them of Rochelle: who, as he showed himself not ungentle to them, so found he them again not unconformable to him. Whereupon a certain pacificatory agreement was concluded between them upon certain conditions. Which agreement the new Polish king soon preferred to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. The king also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal consent, under form of an edict, was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing twenty-five articles. In which also were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them the benefits of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate sent down from the king, by his herald at arms, Bironius, in the king's name caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, the 10th day of June, A.D. 1573.

The year next following, 1574, for two things seemed fatal and famous, viz. the death of Charles IXth., the French king, also most of all for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in histories. Touching the king's death, although Richard Dinothus saith nothing, for fear belike, because he, being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known: but another history, (whom the said Dinothus doth follow) bearing no name, saith thus: That he died the 25th day of May, upon Whitsun evening, being of the age of twenty-five years.

The constant report so goeth, that his blood gushing out at divers parts of his body, he tossed in his bed, and casting out many horrible blasphemies, laid upon pillows with his heels upward and head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth, that in a few hours he died. Which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK.

And thus to conclude, good christian reader, this present history, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for the largeness of the volume, I here stay for this present time, without further addition of more discourse, either to over-weary thee with longer

tediousness, or overcharge the book with longer prolixity, having hitherto set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath surpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings and proceedings of the church and churchmen. Wherein may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the trials and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable histories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how; the older the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth, giveth still new matter of writing books and volumes. Insomuch, that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the said compass of this queen's reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius or Polyhistor, whom Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto. But of these incidents and occurrences more may be said hereafter, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the meantime, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee, gentle reader, in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space, so employ thyself to read, that by reading thou mayst learn daily to know that which may profit thy soul; may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all spiritual knowledge more and more, to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be all glory for ever and ever, Amen.

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APPENDIX I.

CONTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS ON ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY IN PARIS, AND IN OTHER FRENCH CITIES.

Of the coming of the Queen of Navarre to the City of Paris, with her Sickness and Death there.

THAT noble and virtuous lady, Jane de Albert, queen of Navarre, before she could be drawn to come to Paris to solemnize the marriage of her son, the prince of Navarre, with the sister of Charles IXth, then king of France, received letters upon letters from the said king, to accompany the prince her son in that solemnity: now, whereas she had some doubts touching her son's marriage with one of another religion, the king assured her that all things should be so wrought, as should give her good satisfaction and content: promising that he would get a dispensation from the pope to that end. But when the queen understood that the king was minded to have this marriage solemnized at Paris, she would by no means hear of it: "For I will not," said she, "put any confidence in that so mutinous people, being the sworn enemies both of myself and mine."

Still the king persisted in his suit for the obtaining of the same at her hands. And also having intelligence by some of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began a little to waver, he solicited her yet once again to come, assuring her that all things should be carried in such a peaceful sort, that she should have no cause to complain. At length the queen came from Rochelle to Blois, in the month of March 1572, with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides, especially from the king and his brethren, &c. who yet, when all was done, could say to his mother, "Now, madam, have I not quit myself well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net."

In April following, were the articles concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarre with the king's sister. In the beginning of May the king invites the queen of Navarre again to come to Paris, for preparing the things fitting for this marriage; which she accordingly yielded to, and departing from Blois on the sixth of the said month, came to Paris on the fifteenth of the same. She immediately after became suddenly ill and died in a few days, with some suspicion of being poisoned.

The Death of the Admiral at Paris, and the Massacre of the Protestants.

After the death of the queen, certain princes were solicited by the king to give their attendance at Paris for the solemnizing the marriage of the prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother), according to the ceremonies which were thereto appertaining. Among the rest, letters were directed to the admiral by the king himself, to come to this marriage; which were delivered unto him by Cavagues: wherein the king assured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Parisians, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered against him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bare him, and therefore wrote unto the mayor of the city, to look unto it at his peril, that the admiral had no wrong offered him by the citizens, either at his entrance or continuance in the city. For of all the cities in that kingdom, it is the most superstitious, and easily moved to sedition; and therefore the admiral, being of a contrary religion, could expect but ill welcome at his coming thither; especially because at his solicitation, the cross of Gastines was removed out of the street of St. Dennis.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou wrote unto the mayor also, and likewise to the rest of the magistrates, to the same effect; but especially to their servants, some whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be short, they endeavoured to take all rubs out of his way, that he might with the less mistrust fall into the same.

The admiral, not thinking any perils, resolved to take his journey to Paris: although he lacked not sundry advertisements from his own followers, and others his well wishers in the kingdom, who honoured him much, desiring him, that although he had no sinister opinion of the king, of his mother, or any of theirs, yet at the least, he was to take into his consideration the place whither he went, and amongst what enemies he was now to venture himself. But he, always leaning upon the testimony of a good conscience, and being confident in God's providence, not moved by these advertisements, took his journey to Paris with very few attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received by the king, and of his brethren, and of the queen-mother, with others also.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister being solemnized on the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, 1572, and all the triumphs and feastings accompanying the same being finished, the admiral de-

termined to take his leave at court, and so to return homewards; the deputies of the reformed churches brought him their request on a sudden, to present the same to the king, in regard of many wrongs the said churches had sustained; and therefore they instantly besought him, that he would not leave the court till some order might be taken for redress thereof.

This, with other impediments, were the occasions of detaining him still there.

Mauravell coming to Paris whilst these feasts lasted, having presented his service first to the king and his mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise; after some speech had with the king and queen-mother, one called Chaill, had a command to direct him to the house whence the blow should be given: who left him with a woman in the said house, which woman was forbidden not only to ask his name, but also so much as to enquire for what cause he was lodged there.

On Friday, the twenty-second of August, in the morning, he trimmed up his harquebus, watching secretly the admiral's coming.

The admiral, at his going forth out of the Louvre, meeting the king coming out of a chapel which is before the same, passing thence to play at tennis, he scarcely had gone an hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended on by some twelve or fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the window of a lodging (where Villemur, tutor to the duke of Guise usually lay) he was shot with an harquebus charged with three brass bullets, one of which took off the fore finger of his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus wounded, he willed some of his followers to enter that house, and to inquire who it was that had done that, or who set him on work to do it: and then to advertise the king thereof, giving him to understand how well his commandment was observed.

Now whilst they were busy to force open the door, the murderer fled out by a back way, escaping thence out of the gate of St. Anthony; where one attended him, holding a Spanish gennet, brought out of the duke of Guise's stable, whereon he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty: for, flying thus in some fear, he fell off his horse twice or thrice.

A gentleman seeing the admiral hurt, came to support his left arm, binding up the hurt thereon by his handkerchief; and thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was distant from thence some twenty paces. In his passing a gentleman said, it was to be feared the bullets were poisoned: to which the admiral replied, "All must be as it pleaseth God."

The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game, where he was playing till then with the duke of Guise, and, throwing away his racket, as it seemed in an anger, with a sad and heavy countenance withdrew himself into his chamber, the duke of Guise following him within a little while after.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with many other of the protestant religion, having notice of the admiral's hurt, complained to the king of this untimely accident; entreating they might have leave to depart out of the city, seeing they could expect little safety there. The king made his moan to them of the mischance that had happened, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all his accomplices, as should give the admiral and all his friends content: only he willed them to stay, promising ere long to provide for their security.

The surgeons and physicians were presently sent for, amongst whom was Ambrose Pare, the king's surgeon, a man very expert. He began first with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, in regard the scissors were not sharp enough to cut it off at once; besides, he was fain to stop and open the wound thrice, then he came to the left arm, making incisions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience, whilst those which stood by and saw him so mangled, could not refrain from tears. Captain Monins held him with both his arms about the middle, and Cornaton held his hands. He, seeing them astonished, exclaimed, "My friends, why weep you? I think myself happy to be thus handled in the cause of God." And anon, casting his eyes upon a minister called Merlin, he said, "Here ye see, my friends, God's blessings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to pass by the will of my Heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty that he is pleased to honour me so far as to suffer any thing for his holy name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perseverance."

Then looking upon the said minister, who wept over him. "Oh, Master Merlin, (saith he,) what, will not you comfort me?" "Yes, sir, (saith he,) for wherein may you take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honoured you in esteeming you worthy to suffer rebuke for his name's sake, and true religion?" The admiral replied; "Alas, if God should deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blessed be his holy name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me, his poor and unworthy servant." "Be of good cheer, sir, (then said another unto him,) for seeing God hath spared your more noble part whole, you have cause therein to magnify his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather than of his displeasure, seeing he hath preserved your head and understanding safe."

Then said Merlin, "Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath smitten you; therefore, for the present, cease to think on the malefactor." "I assure you, (said the admiral,) I do freely forgive him from the bottom of my heart, and those also that are his abettors; being fully persuaded that none of them all could have done me the least hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itself to God's children, but an assured passage to an eternal rest and life?"

Now as the said minister declared how the evils which happen to the children of God in this present life, do often incite and quicken them up to pour out their prayers into the bosom of the Almighty, the admiral presently with a loud voice and ardent affection, prayed thus:

"Lord God, and heavenly Father, have pity upon me for thy goodness and mercy's sake; remember not, Lord, the sins of my past life, nor the offences which I have committed against thee; for if thou narrowly mark our sins, the looseness of our behaviour and disloyalties in transgressing thy holy commandments, Lord, who shall stand? Who is able to bear the weight of thy displeasure? I renounce all idol gods; I acknowledge thee to be the only true God, and worship thee alone, O Eternal Father, in thine eternal son, Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for his sake, that thou wouldst give unto me thy Holy Spirit, and therewithal the gift of patience. I put my trust in thy free mercy: for therein consists the stay and prop of all my hope, whether I die now at this present, or live for the time to come. Behold, Lord, here I am, do with me as it pleasest thee; having this confidence in thee, that if I now depart hence, thou wilt receive me into the blessed rest of thy kingdom. If it please thee to lengthen out my days here on earth, O heavenly Father, give me grace that I may spend the residue thereof in setting forth the glory of thy holy name, and in maintaining, to the utmost of my power, thy pure worship and service. Amen."

Having ended this prayer, Merlin asked him, if it pleased him that the minister of Christ should now pray with him and for him. To whom he said, "Yes; with all my heart: I pray you to begin." Whilst Merlin pronounced the prayer, applying the same to the present occasion, the admiral, with his eyes looking up to heaven, expressed the ardency of his affection, in consenting thereunto. Prayer being ended, Merlin began to propound unto the admiral the examples of the martyrs, showing that from Abel to Abraham, and subsequently hitherto, whosoever carried themselves in any degree of

faithfulness in the House of God, felt at one time or other the smart of afflictions in divers kinds. The admiral answered, that when he called to mind the sufferings of the patriarchs and martyrs, it much comforted him, and helped him somewhat to allay the sharpness of his afflicted estate.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral, (as you heard before,) about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and other of the lords, went to visit the admiral.

The king with tears seemed to be exceeding sorry for that which was to come to pass, promising him, with one blasphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him in the Louvre, for his greater security and safety. Whereupon the admiral, after some discourse made to the king in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favour as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the motion made by the king, Mazilles his chief physician was called, the king demanding of him, whether the admiral might safely be removed thence into the Louvre or no? his answer was, that it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to request a guard of soldiers to be assigned by the king unto him, for his better security. The king answered, he liked that device well, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's safety as his own, and would preserve him no less then the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of brass wherewith the admiral was hurt, that he might see it, asking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewise touching the dressing of his arm. Now as Cornaton shewed the bullet, having his sleeve all bloody, (because he was appointed to hold the admiral's arm, while it was in dressing) the king asked if that were of the admiral's blood? and whether so much blood issued out of his wounds? adding (after Cornaton's answer) he never saw man in his life shew greater constancy and magnanimity of spirit than the admiral did.

Then was the queen-mother desirous to see the bullet, saying, I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when the duke of Guise was killed before Orleans, the physician told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death though it were poisoned.

Then Cornaton answered, we have foreseen that, madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if peradventure any such thing should be.

The Saturday before the admiral was slain he began to be somewhat cheered, so as the surgeons and physicians gave out, that they would warrant the admiral's life; because his arm, having lost but little of its strength, would soon be healed. This news was brought to the king, who seemed to entertain the same joyfully. The new married wife came also to visit the admiral. But all this was but a shew before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armour in the city, and many torches lighted every where, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whose lodgings were nigh to the admiral's, rose, and went out, asking some of their acquaintance the reason why there were so many up in arms at that hour of the night: they answered, that the king much desired to see a castle assailed and defended, devised only in sport, to give him content. They passing yet further came to the Louvre, where they likewise saw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the said gentlemen was about to speak, a Gascoine soldier struck at him with a partizan, and then they fell upon the rest. The noise hereof spreading, the queen-mother said, seeing it is not possible to retain the fury of the soldiers any longer from breaking out, let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled, said she.

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him,) was not much moved thereat; trusting (as he often used to say) upon the king's favour, whereof he had large experience. Also he knew that when the Parisians should understand how much the king disliked their folly, though they had an intention to do him some mischief, yet would they be quieted as soon as they saw Cosseins and his guard.

This Cosseins was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral's lodging, wherein the old proverb was verified, "That the wolf was set to keep the sheep."

About break of day, August the 24th A.D. 1572, being St. Bartholomew's day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, perceiving that there were some who came on a message from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; presently Cosseins fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he died. Then with his harquebusiers rushing into the house, killing such as they met, others fled. Cornaton, awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber by), ran thither, causing the Swiss and other officers to fortify it. Cosseins hearing that, cried to him to open it in the king's name, and he so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and gained the stairs. The admiral, and those that were with him, taking notice how they shot off pistols and guns, finding themselves inclosed in their enemies' hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their sins.

The admiral rising out of his bed, and putting on his night gown, commanded Merlin, the minister, to make the prayer. He also, calling earnestly upon Jesus Christ, his God and Saviour, commended his spirit into his hands. He that testified these things and made report thereof, coming into the chamber, and being asked by the admiral what that tumult meant; "Sir," saith he, "God is now summoning us to look to our end." The admiral seeing what would be the issue, answered, "I have long since expected death; save yourselves if it be possible, for you cannot secure me; I commend my soul into the hands of the merciful God." Those who were present and escaped, have affirmed, that the admiral was no more affrighted at death, which he saw present before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood thereof at all.

Forthwith, every one in the chamber getting up to the top of the house, and having found a window near the roof, saved themselves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next room to the admiral, were slain, others miraculously escaped. In the mean while, Cosseins having made his way, caused certain Swiss of the duke of Anjou's guard to enter into the house.

Besine, Cosseins, and Sarlabour, with their targets in one hand, and their naked swords in the other, broke open the admiral's chamber door, and Besine (which was afterwards slain himself by one Bertoville upon the way, after he had escaped out of prison) coming towards the admiral, holding the point of his sword to his breast, said thus, "Art not thou the admiral?" "I am the man," said he, with an undaunted courage, as the murderers afterwards confessed. Then beholding the naked sword, "Young man," said the admiral, "Thou oughtest somewhat to respect my years, and my infirmity of body, but it is not thou that canst shorten my days." Besine desperately thrust the admiral through the body with his sword, and then smote him therewith on the head; the rest had every one a blow at him, so as he presently fell down wounded to death.

Whilst this mischief was enacting, the duke of Guise being below in the base court, with other Romish catholic lords, cried to the murderer above, "Besine, hast thou done?" "It is done," saith he. Then the duke replied, "Monsieur, our knight (meaning king Henry's bastard) will not believe it unless he see it with his eyes, throw him down out of the window."

Then Besine and Sarlabour, lifting up the body of the admiral, cast him down unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, exposed to all sorts of scorn and mocks of the multitude, some trampling on him with their feet. Now because the blow which Besine had given the admi-

ral on his head, had so covered his face with blood issuing thence, that his visage could not be discerned, the duke of Guise stooping down, took his hankerchief, and wiping his face therewith, said, "It is he, I know him well enough:" and giving this poor dead body a spurn on the head with his foot (whom all the murderers in France feared whilst he lived) he passed thence, encouraging his soldiers, saying, "We have made a good beginning; now let us go on to the rest, for the king hath so commanded, the king hath so commanded," repeating it over twice.

An Italian of the duke of Never's guard cut off the admiral's head, and brought it to the king and queen-mother, which being embalmed was sent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorrain, being there at that time. The common people on the Monday following, cut off his hands, and then in this woeful plight being dragged up and down three days in the channels throughout the streets, he was at the last carried out of the city to a gibbet in Mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the feet, from whence some that were well disposed, going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the body of the admiral; the which they interred so secretly, that the papists do what they could, they could never find it out, but it lay buried still; so as they were fain to make a body of straw, and hung that up instead of the body itself, rather than none at all.

This Sunday morning all that were popishly affected, took liberty to kill and spoil; it being credibly reported, that the number of the slain that day and two other days following, in the city of Paris, and in the suburbs, did amount to above ten thousand; counting lords, gentlemen, presidents, counsellors, advocates, lawyers, scholars, physicians, merchants, tradesmen, women, and children. The streets were covered with dead bodies, the river was dyed with blood, the gates and entrance into the king's palace painted with the same colour: but the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied. But going from house to house with their associates, where they thought to find any Huguenots, they brake open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomsoever they met, sparing neither sex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men and children, which were discharged into the river, which was covered in a manner all over with the slain, and dyed red with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from sundry parts thereof.

One of the massacrers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but instead of being moved to compassion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and so cast it all wounded and bleeding into the river.

To proceed on further and fully to relate all the tragical acts committed in this massacre at Paris, to set down the thundering of guns and pistols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the slain, the roarings and horrible blasphemies of these murderers and devils incarnate, were enough to cause the paper whereon they should be described, either to blush or weep.

Not to stay the reader therefore any longer in this, having many things of the like nature to present unto thy view, we will pass from the dolorous city of Paris, to other cities in France, and set before thee, as in a glass, a company of horrible and rueful spectacles.

Massacres committed at Meaux in Brie.

Let us begin then with those of Meaux in Brie, which is not above a day's journey from Paris.

The poor protestants in this city were destined to drink this cup of martyrdom, after their brethren and sisters in the city of Paris. Therefore, on the same Sunday, the 24th of August, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a post was sent to Meaux with letters, accompanied with a seditious fellow called Le Froid. Being come thither, the packet was presented to Monsieur Louis Cosset, the king's attorney there. Upon the receipt whereof, this attorney hasted hither and thither in his own person, to advertise such cut-throats as had had their hands in pillaging and robbing those of the protestant religion in the first, second, and third troubles, with command that they should be ready to come from their houses armed, at seven o'clock, and then cause the gates of the city instantly to be shut.

The time prefixed being come, which was about supper time, the gates were shut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in sundry parts of the city. Thus was that night passed, not without uproars and strange events.

On the next day, Monday, about three o'clock in the morning, these good catholics began to pillage the houses of the protestants of the best things they had, which continued till eight o'clock, they loved their trade so well. But the principal of all the spoils were conveyed into the court and house of Louis Cosset; yet these were only the beginning of sorrows.

After robbing and spoiling, they commenced shutting up the protestants in prison: which being filled, the murderers having Cosset for their captain (who usually carried in each hand a pistol ready to discharge), went into the prison on Tuesday, the 26th of August, about five or six o'clock at night, with swords, daggers, and butchers knives.

Nigh to this prison there was a great court, enclosed on every side, with walls and a very strong gate. In a corner whereof is a large pair of winding stairs, containing five and twenty or thirty steps, by which they go up to the judgment hall to the seat of justice. Into this court were the murderers assembled; which done, Cosset went up into his seat. Then they had a scroll or bill, containing the names of the prisoners there imprisoned; who were called over one by one to the number of two hundred and upwards, as some of the murderers have since reported, when they impudently made their brags of these their horrible impieties and injustices.

Then the attorney laughing, began to call for the first man named in the bill; who being brought forth, and seeing naked swords before him, falling down and craving forgiveness of his sins at the hands of God, was suddenly butchered by five or six.

One Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, being called forth, and seeing many of his companions massacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon these murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut asunder the points, and then gave him five or six stabs with a dagger into his body; and so this good man wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his spirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, a man zealously affected to religion, who had been sheriff of the city in the first troubles, having by his endeavours chased the mass out of Meaux for a time, was mortally hated by these seditious papists; and therefore they were not contented simply to kill him, but first cut off his nose, ears, and other parts, then giving him many small thrusts into divers parts of the body, they forced him to and fro among them, as if he had gone through the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, from the loss of blood that issued from all the parts of his body, he fell with his face to the ground, and calling upon the name of the Lord, received infinite gashes and wounds after he was dead.

By this time it grew late; therefore these bloodsuckers, having almost wearied themselves in worrying these poor lambs and sheep of Christ, deferred the execution of the rest till after supper, as well to take some breathing and refreshment, as also to murder the residue with the greater alacrity. For inasmuch as the blood of the slain was reeking yet upon the swords and arms of the murderers, (their sleeves being tucked up) which something hindered their proceeding; after they had drank wine to their fill, they meant to return and make themselves drunk with blood also! which that they might shed the more freely, they took with them butchers, great axes, wherewith they smite down their oxen, and in the presence of this honest attorney felled these poor prisoners

one after another, who called upon God, and crying so loud for mercy, that all the city in a manner rung thereof. This massacre lasted from nine o'clock at night till it was midnight. And as there yet remained many prisoners alive, they deferred this their bloody business till the next day.

But this may suffice to have been said as touching this massacre at Meaux in Brie; we will now pass on to the city of Troyes in Champaign, and there take notice, as it were by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

Persecution of the Faithful at Troyes, in Champaign.

News coming to Troyes of the massacre executed at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king were sent to the bailiff of Troyes, with commandment diligently to make search for all those of the protestant religion, from house to house, and to imprison as many as they could meet with.

In this city there was a merchant called Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent nature. This Belin was at the massacre in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day; from whence he was sent with letters from the king dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Troyes, to cause all these persecutions to cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. On the 3rd of September he came to Troyes with these two letters (which had been first published in Paris) with commandment to deliver them to the foresaid magistrates, to be proclaimed there also.

But at the first entrance into the city, he began to enquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Huguenots there as they had done in Paris; which was his language through the streets till he came home. But even some of the papists, who were not so cruelly minded, demanded of Belin the contents of the king's letters, whereof they had some inkling before. But he, like a madman swelling with choler, sware that whosoever said they contained any thing tending to pacification, lied. Hasting therefore to the bailiff's house, at Troyes, after he had delivered him the packet and whispered somewhat in his ear, he put him on to see this execution done. Now that the same might pass the better for lawful, the help of the executioner of Troyes was requested, whose name was Charles.

Yet he, shewing himself more just and humane than the rest, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act tending to so great cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates. If they had such sentence to show against any of the prisoners, he was ready to do justice; otherwise he would not presume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life: and so with these words he returned home to his house.

Now although this answer, proceeding from such a kind of person, whose office and custom it was to shed blood, might somewhat have assuaged and taken off the rage of the most barbarous tiger in the world; yet the bailiff slighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this he sent for one of the gaolers of the prison who kept those of the protestant religion; but he, being sick of a tertian ague, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure.

The bailiff, telling him at large what Belin had signified to him in private, as also, that on a sudden all the protestant prisoners must be put to death, that so the place might be purged of them: This, he said, you must not fail to do. But, said the bailiff, that the blood may not run into the streets, you shall cause a trench to be digged in the midst of the prison, and at the two ends thereof set certain vessels to receive the same.

But this De Bures for some considerations, as namely thinking the king's letters, (whereof he had had some intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no haste to perform his charge, acquainting no man with aught that had passed between the bailiff and him; no, not Perennet the keeper, who then lay sick in his bed.

The next day, Tuesday, which was the 4th of September, the bailiff came into the prison about seven or eight o'clock, and calling for Perennet asked of him with a smile, Perennet, is it done? Perennet knowing nothing more or less, asked of him what? Then saith the bailiff, Why, are not the prisoners dispatched? and therenpon was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told Perennet what his purpose was, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof; telling him by all means not to forget to make the said trench. At which words, this Perennet standing amazed, though otherwise he was a fellow forward enough of himself to commit any outrages against the protestants, certified the bailiff, that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing lest in the time to come justice might be followed against him by the parents or allies of the prisoners. No, no, said the bailiff, fear not, I will stand between you and all harm. Others of the justices have consented thereto besides myself, and would you have better security than that?

Within a while after, the gaoler coming into the court of the prison, where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, caused every one to resort to his cabin or hole, because, said he, the bailiff will come by and by, to see whether the keepers have done as he commanded them: which they did. Then began these poor sheep to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayer. Perennet instantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath, to execute the same; but approaching nigh to the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing one upon another, having no courage to commit such a barbarous cruelty, and so returned to the gaoler's lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But instead of laying this to heart, as an advertisement and warning sent them from above; as if of set purpose they meant to resist the checks of their own consciences, and so kick against the pricks, they sent to the tavern for sixteen pints of the best wine, Troyes measure, with sheep's tongues and other viands, and intoxicating their brains with wine, they drew a list or catalogue of all the prisoners; which they delivered to Nicholas Martin, one of their confederates, who was to call them forth as he saw their names set down in the scroll; and thus as they came forth they massacred them.

Ludot, one of the prisoners, being called forth as his turn came, presented himself before them with a cheerful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the stroke of death from these desperate blood-spillers, he prayed them to forbear a little, till he had put off his doublet, which he was wont to put on when any tumult grew in the city: and having himself unlaced it, presenting his naked breast unto them, he received the blow, and fell down dead.

But poor Meurs escaped not so cheap; for his turn being come, he was no sooner in their sight, than one of them let drive at him with the point of his halbert, repeating the same often, to have killed him, yet could not. The poor man seeing himself thus dealt with by the caitiff, and no end made, took hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himself pointing to the seat of the heart, cried to the murderer with steadfast voice, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and so finished this life,

However, in this massacre, these two just mentioned are for brevity's sake only named, yet by that which immediately follows, you may perceive there were not a few who suffered in this tragedy.

The massacre being ended, the murderers made a great pit at the back of the chapel of the prison, into which they cast the bodies one upon another, some of them yet breathing, so, that one called Maufere, lying in the midst of them, was seen to raise up himself above his fellow martyrs in this pit, upon whom they forthwith throwing earth, stifled him, being but half dead. But because the order which the bailiff set down was not observed, namely, the making of a trench in the prison, to receive the blood which was shed, it ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and thence through a

channel into a river nigh thereto, that it was turned into the colour of blood. Which some of the papists themselves taking notice of, being ignorant of the fact, were so terrified therewith, that they ran along the street, crying, and pointing at every one they met, to behold this horrible and lamentable spectacle. Whereupon many hastening to the prison, could conjecture no other but that the prisoners had slain one another.

This was presently noised through the city, so that some went to inform the lieutenant and bailiff thereof. But it was as if they had run to the wolves to tell them the sheep were devoured.

Whilst this savage cruelty was committed in the prison, one Bartholomew Carlet, a cooper, prisoner there for debt (who of all the troop of the murderers in Troyes was one of the principal), having in the former troubles exercised most notorious cruelties against those of the protestant religion, was called in by these murderers to be one of their associates; who executed his part in so bloody a manner, that (as himself afterwards often acknowledged) he with his own hands slaughtered thirty of these poor innocents: so far was he grown past shame or common honesty. But this his cruel work was so pleasing to certain of the popish religion at Troyes, that for a recompence thereof they paid his debt, and set him free out of prison; which was done by making a collection for him in certain parishes.

The next day after, which was the 5th of September, this worshipful bailiff of Troyes, that he might apply the plaister when the parties were dead, causes the king's letters, which he had received the 30th of August before, to be published in all the corners of the city, with sound of trumpet. The bailiff was present in person at the publication, and as the notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the same jeeringly, and not with a full and audible voice, as matters of such consequence ought to be read.

Of the Massacre at Orleans.

It now remains that we proceed unto the city of Orleans, and to take notice whether the papists there were less cruel than those of Paris. But, saith the historian, when I call to mind what hath been the report of those that were present at that time in Orleans, it causeth the hair to stand upright on my head: Yet forasmuch as it is convenient that posterity may be acquainted with the fury of these monsters in nature, we will commit that to writing whereof we have credibly been informed.

On Saturday, the 23rd of August, letters were sent from the king to Orleans, unto Sieur de la Renic, president of Dijon, to prevent all disorders, murders, &c. with command, that he should advertise the citizens, how the admiral was hurt, as also to assure the protestants that ere long such justice should be executed on the actors, as all France should take warning thereby not to attempt the like.

This was carefully performed by the Sieur de la Renic the same day, who caused those of the best rank of both religions to be present at the publishing of the king's mind. The faithful, thinking themselves secure, were quiet, and on the sabbath day assembled in the place appointed for their meeting, to the number of three hundred persons, men, women, and children.

But on the same day, towards night, came a new order to the justice, mayor, and sheriffs of the said city, by which they were enjoined to be up in arms, and to gather to them what strength they could; with express charge to make havoc of those of the protestant religion. To this purpose the captains of twelve companies were appointed to be the leaders to the rest, divided into forty-eight squadrons.

One of these blood-suckers, called Texier, came with a small troop to a counsellor's house of Orleans, whose name was Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli, inviting himself and his company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, and all of them risen from the table, Texier bade him deliver his purse. Dechampeaux laughing thereat, thinking that he had been but in jest, this cruel and unthankful guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, to cut off and root out the protestants there. Dechampeaux, seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief: who, to requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had had, embrued his hands in the blood of his host and neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the city, and afterwards himself with his troop pillaged the whole house.

The 26th day of August following, the murderers began the execution about the ramparts, after such a strange manner, that he who had but a spark of humanity left in him, out of compassion would be moved to abhor and detest it. In these quarters there were many of the protestant religion. All the night long was heard nothing but shooting off of guns and pistols, forcing open of doors and windows, fearful outcries of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying of dead bodies to and fro; the street swarming with unwonted exclamations of those of the common sort, with horrible blasphemies of the murderers, laughing horribly at their furious exploits; some crying, "Kill them all, and then take the spoil;" others, "Spoil not, but kill all."

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break these and the like jests upon the poor sufferers: "Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers, and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can." Yea, some of them, who in times past had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were slaughtering the poor innocents, durst sing unto them, in scorn, the beginning of the forty-third psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others striking them said, sing now, "Have mercy on me O God," which language they used to this poor people in Paris and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages no way daunted the courage of the faithful from dying steadfast in the faith.

Touching the multitude of the slain, the murderers boasted that in this city they caused more than twelve thousand men to perish: also an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upward. But, as some of themselves have since reported, there were eighteen thousand murdered, besides women and children. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them of their clothes, and either drowning or else burying the dead bodies in pits, namely, such as dwelt about the walls. They were armed also with knives and poniards: in like manner with javelins and partizans, wherewith they murdered these poor, meek, and harmless creatures.

On Tuesday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of one that was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous; who opening a casement, and understanding that they had somewhat to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the first greeting, they told him he must die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with such constancy and affection, that the murderers being astonished, and by a secret celestial power restrained, contented themselves only with taking his purse, in which there was fifteen crowns, and so left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following, certain scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might see his library, into which having brought them, one asked this book of him, and another another, the which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He, prostrating himself upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his own house, whence he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted on the body of a certain shoemaker, newly wounded, lying gasping

for breath. At which sight, starting back as one somewhat appalled, he prayed them to kill him there; yet they would not, but constrained him to pass on forward. Being come to the schools of the civil law, at least, said he, let me die before this place, where I have taught so long; but they furiously repulsing him, more than before, made him go further with them, where at length they knocked him down.

A rich burgess of the city, called Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed of all, was at that time deadly sick. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him; but seeing him in that case spared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, an apothecary, who brought him physic, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day there came one to the lodgings of him that was sick, who was wont heretofore to visit him. Now as he was entering in, he met the mother of the sick party at the door, going unto mass, and coming up into the chamber, he stabbed the said sick man with a dagger in many places, and so killed a dying man. Then, with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went down stairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to visit him that was sick, this fellow saluting him passed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

A cook, having hid himself three whole days, was forced by hunger to come forth, for want of food. But whilst he went about to escape one death, he fell into the talons of these lions, who devoured him, and that forthwith.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut presently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having none about him, being taken by them out of his house, calling for pen and ink he wrote a letter to his wife, willing her forthwith to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the murderers deprived him thereof and his life together, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his widow a round sum of money, yet she could not obtain at their hands the body of her dead husband.

But to fill up the measure of their cruelty, that those of the protestant religion might taste thereof to the utmost, the papists were not content to be murderers themselves, but constrained such of the protestants as through fear had revolted, to play the murderers also. Thus placing these wicked revolters into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with weapons fit for the purpose, they pressed them to march on before, and to give the first onset, crying to them, "Smite them, smite them; are they not of your brethren and holy sisters?" And if they refused to do as they were commanded, their turns were like to be next.

The massacres committed at Bourges and la Charite, are the rather passed over in silence, because the history requires at this time to touch only upon such things as are most remarkable, and shall after follow.

Yet one thing ought not to be forgotten, which fell out in the city last-mentioned. There was one John Sarrazin, of the age of seventy years and above, who, for a long time, had exercised the office of a deacon in the reformed church; which office he so faithfully performed, that he was esteemed a father of the poor. This good old father was set upon on Tuesday night, in his own house, the 4th of September, 1572, and struck at with swords by these furious murderers; when he, with a venerable and smiling countenance, looking upon them said, "My friends, what will ye do with me? Have I ever offended any of you? If I have, let him speak." But nothing could prevail with these savage monsters to soften their stony hearts. For with a more than brutish rage they fell upon this grey head and poor withered carcase, who, to fence off the blows, crept under his bed, where one of these rake-hells, his next neighbour and godson, gave him such a thrust with his sword into the belly, that his bowels issued out.

The poor man, seeing himself thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, said, "Ah, godson, do you use me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good." He languished of this hurt two days and two nights: during which time, as we have learned from his wife, who gave her attendance on him all the while, he ceased not, with great zeal, to call upon God, thinking himself happy to have suffered that outrage for his name, and so, not long after, yielded up his spirit into the hands of God that gave it.

The horrible Massacre of the Faithful at Lyons, in France.

On Wednesday, the 27th of August, in the year 1572, about six of the clock in the morning, Sieur Mandolet, governor of Lyons, was informed of the massacre at Paris; and within an hour and a half after, a soldier, passing through the streets, made it known to the people that the admiral, and all the protestant princes were slain. By and by the gates of the city were shut, and guards of soldiers placed here and there.

But lest the protestant should be moved with such an unwonted and an unexpected shutting up of the gates, (as in the time of open war,) the Roman catholics caused it to be reported, that all was done to secure the protestants. To which report some gave too much credit, (for besides the ordinary guard of the governor, and that of the citadel, with the three hundred harquebusiers of the city, which amounted to about a thousand,) there were gathered to them many besides of the city, with arms likewise; with command that if they descried any of the protestant religion coming abroad, though but with their swords girt unto them, forthwith to cut them off with the rest also. But they, having inured themselves to an incredible modesty and patience, gave not the least appearance of defending themselves, seeing a tempest now nigh at hand which they knew could not arise without a special providence of God.

The day following, notwithstanding all these fair shews, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the papists, who had sucked the blood of many of them in the first troubles. For albeit they found no more passage for them out of the city than they did the day precedent, they might not now either freely go out or come in upon their necessary occasions: if they presented themselves in the streets, they were clapped up in prison; for which cause they were obliged to keep their houses. Night being come, they made a privy search in their dwelling houses; some they rifled, others were ransomed, and the rest imprisoned. Many of them never coming thither, were either killed in the corners of the streets with daggers, or else cast into the river; whereof some (who were living when this history was in writing) were saved by swimming, being carried down with the current of the stream, half a mile beneath the city.

On Friday after there was a proclamation, with sound of trumpets, in all the chief places of the city, the sum of which was this, "that those of the protestant religion were to appear before the governor at his house, there to be informed what the king's pleasure was concerning them." The greater part, being but too credulous, feared not to make their appearance at the place assigned, whence soon after they were committed to various prisons. The night following there were heard from all parts of the city lamentable cries and shriekings, not only of such as were massacred in their houses, but of others half wounded to death, whom they haled to the river.

From that time forwards, there were such murders and outrages committed throughout the city, that it seemed hell was set open; and the devils, in the likeness of men coming from thence, ran roaring to and fro in the streets.

On Sunday, which was the last of this month of August, about eight o'clock in the morning, the rest, who were not massacred the Friday before, were made an end of then.

About one o'clock the same day, commandment was given, that under every ancient, twenty-five armed men, with twelve porters, should be gathered to conduct them

to St. George's gate, which is by the archbishop's house, in which were more than three hundred and fifty prisoners; in which place the great massacre was to be executed. The keys of the archbishop's house, wherein so many prisoners were inclosed, were delivered to this murderous crew; who joyfully offered themselves to perform so horrible a business; which the ordinary executioner refused, and common soldiers abhorred to undertake, when the same was first propounded unto them, they answering peremptorily they would never do it.

The executioner alleged, "That if according to the course of justice sentence of death had been denounced against them, he knew what he had to do; but for this their purpose," he told them, "he thought they might have but too many executioners in the city to satisfy their desire." The soldiers answered, "They thought it more than inhuman, to cut the throats of such as never offended them. But if the prisoners had made any insurrection or sedition in the city, they then might have some colour of reason to do it; otherwise they meant not to stain the honour of their profession (which is accompanied with nobleness of spirit) with so villanous an act, more befitting butchers than soldiers."

But Mandelot and his accomplices were not so scrupulous; for within three hours' after, Le Clou, captain of the harquebusiers of the city, came with an enraged troop, &c., the greater part whereof were furnished with short swords and hangers.

As soon as Le Clou entered into the great court, he gave the prisoners to understand, with a loud voice, "That they must die;" and turning him towards his slaughtermen, he said, "On, on, go in, and to your work:" but first he forgot not to demand the prisoners' purses for his booty, which when he pocketed up, he got into a gallery, there to satisfy his hellish lust in taking a view of this rueful spectacle.

The murderers began to fall upon the poor prisoners, with such barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in so furious a manner, that within less than an hour they were all cut in pieces; not so much as one escaped their hands. All these for the most part were massacred kneeling on their knees, and lifting up their eyes and hands to God for mercy, whilst they had their hands and fingers cut off.

The Death and Martyrdom of Francis le Bossu, together with his two Sons.

Among all those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, and gave their lives for his truth, a certain merchant of hats and caps, called Francis le Bossu, well deserves to be set in the first rank, with his two sons; for whilst he stood in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared therewith, and spirting as it were in his face, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently: using this speech, "Children, we are not to learn now that it hath always been the portion of believers, to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers; as Christ's simple sheep, by ravening wolves: if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not these drawn swords terrify us, they will be but as a bridge whereby we shall pass over out of a miserable life, into immortal blessedness. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked, let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which is here gone before us, and let us make way for them that shall follow after."

When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children as if by the bond of nature (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, though with the loss of their own lives; who, when the massacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious assault, these impudent creatures went up and down the city, shewing their white doublets all besprinkled with blood; boasting, that some had killed a hundred, some more, some less. Forthwith the great gates of the archbishop's house were set wide open for all comers; of whom surely there was none (were they of the devoutest Romanists) but must needs have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to see so hideous a slaughter. And, indeed, some of them were heard to say, when they beheld this so inhuman and cruel an act, "That certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, that had done this."

The next morning, which was Monday, the first of September, the remainder of the corpses, which were cast into the water, were put into great boats, which being rowed over to the other side of the river Saon, were all cast on shore there; the corpses being also spread upon the ground nigh to the abbey of Esnay, like dung upon the earth. The monks would not allow them to be buried in their church-yard, esteeming them unworthy of burial; fearing also, that so many put together would be a means to infect the air, and therefore gave them a sign to have them thrown into the river.

Now as the multitude were dragging them in thither, an apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the grease that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the most corpulent bodies presently sought out, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that commodity being gotten thence, was sold by these merchants for three shillings the pound. And then not knowing how to wreak their malice any further upon them, after many derisions and scorns which the standers by, but especially the Italians, had done to these poor despised carcases, they were tumbled into a great pit, and the rest thrown into the river.

Those of Dauphiny, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating upon the water, some dismembered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their bodies, so as some among them had no human shape remaining. Yea, so great a number of these mangled corpses presented themselves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place began to make an outcry, as if the enemies had been at their gates.

Not many months after, when all these bloody tragedies were ended, the pope sent a legate to the king, called cardinal Ursin. This legate was received with great solemnity at Lyons, and the streets hung with tapestry. Now having heard mass at St. John's church, and returning by the same door which he went in at, the greatest number of the murderers attended his coming there, and as he passed by, they all kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate, not knowing the reason why they kneeled so before him, one of the principal agents kneeling there amongst them, told the legate that they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. When the legate perceived that to be the cause, he absolved them all with making the sign of the cross.

Persecution at Angiers, in France.

As soon as the massacre was begun at Paris, a gentleman of Paris, called Monsoreau, obtained a passport, with letters to massacre those of the protestant religion at Angiers. Who, being disappointed of his prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, called John Mason, surnamed de Launay, Sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at his entrance into the house, he saluted her and kissed her, as it is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers, and asked her where her husband was? She answered him, that he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monsoreau, having lovingly embraced La Riviere, said unto him, "Do you know wherefore I am come? the king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall know by his letters." After which words he shewed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, "That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but seeing you seek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into his hands."

Having made a short prayer, he willingly presented his

body to the murderer, who shot him with his pistol, and he shortly died.

Not long after the king sent Puygaillard, who drowned nine or ten, and amongst others the wife of this minister, de la Riviere, above named, who expressed a singular constancy of faith even to her last breath.

This minister and martyr formerly mentioned, surnamed Launay, was the eldest son of Sieur de Launay, a man exceeding rich and wealthy, but an obstinate papist. When the old man saw how his son was inclined to be a professor of the gospel, he threatened to disinherit him unless he would abjure, promising on the contrary to bestow great matters upon him, and to marry him honourably if he would be ruled by him. All which his son refusing, his father's love was turned into hatred; insomuch that the young man was forced to fly to Paris, where in time he was called to be a minister of the first reformed church planted in that city, under the reign of king Henry the second: from which reformed church other churches in divers cities in France fetched their light.

Persecution at Rouen.

When the murderers began to play their parts in this city, they counselled those of the protestant religion to get themselves into the prisons, as into places of greatest security from the fury and rage of the people. But such as followed this advice, found that they were there even ready to be devoured, as poor sheep, by these greedy wolves at their pleasure.

Those who were murdered in the city in a few days, some in their houses, and others in the prisons, amounted to six thousand, besides more than fifty women, upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon men.

Their names for brevity's sake are here omitted. The dead bodies being piled together, were conveyed in dung-carts out of the city, and thrown by heaps one upon another into great pits digged for that purpose. Their garments being washed in the river from their blood, by certain poor women, were afterwards distributed here and there to the poor by the papists, that they might seem with their unjust cruelty to mingle some works of justice and charity.

The Shameful fall of a Minister called Du Rosier.

Within a mile of Paris there is a place where the protestants, which dwelt thereabouts, were wont to assemble to hear sermons, and to participate of the sacraments. Over this flock was Hughes Sureau (called Du Rosier) placed as overseer.

Being in times past minister at Orleans, he was discharged from thence, as one of a contentious spirit, and given to affect novelties.

In process of time he came to be the established minister of this foresaid church, nigh unto Paris.

Hearing the news of the massacre, he fled with the rest, for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, persuading many prisoners to revolt as he had done; which caused him afterwards, if his repentance was sound, to utter these words in a book which I have, wherein he bitterly lamented his woeful fall. "The murderers, by their cruel hands murdered men's bodies, whilst their souls escaped safe; but I by my persuasions have been a killer of souls, in turning them from the truth which they before professed."

The judge who had him in bonds, sent letters to Paris, to give notice of his apprehension, as also of some apparent signs, which gave him hope of the minister's conversion.

The king shortly after, sent for him, and being brought into the king's presence, he subscribed instantly to an abjuration, with detestation of the Huguenot's profession, before the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, maintained the Romish religion, consented thereto with the Sorbonists at that time there present; against whom a few years before he had learnedly defended the truth.

In this abjuration he endeavoured to confute many articles which were maintained by Calvin and Beza, against the Romish religion. In these disputes, this minister being of a prompt wit, and having ability to express himself well, handled the matter so cunningly, that the king of Navarre, the princess his sister, and the prince of Conde so far yielded, that within five or six days after they went to mass, and received absolution of the cardinal of Bourbon.

The points about which this Rosier disputed, were these; 1st. Concerning the marks of the church; 2. Of the trinity of persons; 3. Of the incarnation of Jesus Christ; 4. Of Christ's descent into hell; 5. Of orginal sin; 6. Of the providence of God; 7. Of predestination and reprobation; 8. Of man's freewill; 9. Of justification; 10. Of succession; 11. Of intercession of saints; 12. Of the sacrifice of the mass; and lastly, of transubstantiation. The Sorbonists caused this confession to be printed; to which the ministers of the reformed religion would not vouchsafe an answer, knowing that he who made it did it contrary to his own conscience, adding nothing thereto which had not been confuted a thousand times.

All this upon his repentance he afterwards revoked, as is to be seen by his book printed here in London, in the French tongue, in the year 1573, which confession of his, contrary to his abjuration, I have in my custody.

Now touching the prince of Conde, the king propounded to him three things; either to go to mass, to die, or else perpetual prison; and therefore to bethink himself well which of the three he liked best. The prince answered, as it is reported, "That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the two latter, he referred himself to the king's pleasure."

A Massacre at Toulouse, in France.

On Sunday, which was the eighth day after the massacre of Paris, about eight o'clock in the morning, the chief of the papists received intelligence of what had passed, with letters directing them what they were to do. Then a council was called, at the breaking up of which the great gates of the city were shut, only the wickets left open, at which there was set such to watch as they thought fit. Soon after it was noised through all the city, that the protestant lords and gentlemen were massacred at Paris. Which the protestants at Toulouse noting, being gone forth about five o'clock in the morning to hear the sermon at Castanet, some thought it fit not to return, but to resort to some other place: others resolved to go back again, that they might take order about their affairs. These being ill advised, were suffered to enter in peaceably, leaving their swords and daggers at the gate. At evening, soldiers were placed here and there; but as many counsellors and chief men of the protestants were abroad (that they might the better entrap them), the next day the gates were not so carefully looked unto, but who would might come in, and go out at their leisure, without being questioned at all. This was done to draw in the simple people who wandered up and down the fields. The first president, called Dasis, a subtle headed man, sent to the counsellors abroad to come in, promising them their safety upon his word: shewing that their absence did but incense the inhabitants of Toulouse the more against them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a massacre at Paris, but that was upon some private quarrel, so as the king was not minded for that to break his edict of pacification.

Some of them were persuaded and returned; others apprehending danger, resolved to retire to Montauban, Realmont, and elsewhere. On Tuesday following, that they might hold them whom they had gotten within the walls, and draw in such as yet kept themselves without, they caused it to be published, with sound of trumpets, that the king's will was that none of the protestant religion should be molested. The presidents, with others, were present at this proclamation, accompanied by a guard of soldiers, which caused many of the protestants, especially the counsellors, to suspect some treachery; who therefore hastened to the first president to know what these things meant. He answered, it was only to restrain the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the birds who kept

aloof, they wreaked their malice upon those they had in their hands.

On Wednesday next then, about ten o'clock in the morning, having separated their troops into different quarters, they caused them to enter into the houses of the protestants, whom they imprisoned in sundry prisons of the city. This business held them all that Wednesday. The guard was doubled at the gates, and one of the parliament, with a merchant that was a papist, deputed as commanders at the said gates, to examine all such as went out, and to put back such as meant to escape. There was also a charge given, that none should dare to conceal any of the said religion, as they would answer to the contrary. By these means many were discovered and imprisoned. Among which were five or six counsellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the rest. Thus were they detained three weeks. In the mean while the murderers set upon the neighbouring cities.

The three weeks being expired, they put all these prisoners together into the Conciergerie, which is a special prison. After which they began to manifest themselves: for the reason why they had deferred the slaughter of them so long, was, that they might obtain authority from Paris; which was brought them by their deputies, whose names were Delpech and Madron, rich merchants of the city. These came with a warrant from the king, that if the massacre was not finished, then they should not defer any longer to put his will in execution. To which they shewed themselves but too forward and ready.

On Saturday morning, before the sun was up, certain scholars who were night-walkers, with other lewd fellows to the number of seven or eight, armed with axes and butchers' knives, entered into the said Conciergerie, and causing the prisoners to be called down one after another, they massacred them beneath, at the stair's foot of the Conciergerie, not permitting them so much leisure as to speak, much less to pray. It was thought that they massacred to the number of three hundred; afterwards they spoiling them of all they had, stripped them out of their clothes and shirts, and leaving them naked, they were exposed to the view of all for the space of two days; whilst great pits were dug, wherein the corpses, thus cruelly massacred, were cast naked one upon another. The counsellors whom they had imprisoned, after they were massacred, were hanged in their long gowns upon a great elm, which was in the court of the palace; and in the meanwhile all the houses of the protestants were sacked and pillaged.

Many among these, by reason of the barbarous cruelties used against their brethren, abjured daily. Now because the Sorbonists provided a form of abjuration to that purpose, for saving the lives of such as recanted, it will not be impertinent to insert the same in this place; it being printed at Paris by Nicholas Roffet.

"The abjured, minding to return into the lap of our holy mother, the Roman church, must present themselves first to their parsons or curates, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterwards, to be sent thence to their reverend bishop and diocesan, or his official, to pronounce the said abjuration in manner and form following:—

"1. I, such a one, of such a diocese, and dwelling in such a place, acknowledge by the grace of God the true catholic and apostolic faith, from which I have wilfully gone astray and separated myself; and now desiring to return into the true sheepfold, which is the catholic, apostolic and Roman church, I do profess to have abjured, and here before you my superior, do abjure and detest all the Huguenot errors of Luther, Calvin, and all heresies whatsoever, wherewith heretofore I have been infected and defamed, consenting now to the doctrine of our holy mother, the church, beseeching you in the name of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother, with all the saints and she saints in Paradise, that it will please you to receive me into the fold of the Christian flock and people of God, who live under the obedience of the pope, ordained Christ's vicar in the said church, submitting myself patiently to hear, and willingly to perform the penance you shall think fit to impose upon me, absolving me from all offences committed whilst I lived in such errors, for which I here ask pardon of God, of the said church, and of you my pastor (set over me by God the Creator) to absolve me with such penance as you shall judge to be available for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And that it may be seen that from the heart I have made, and do make this abjuration.

"2. I farther confess, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the Apostles', Athanasian and Nicene creeds, with all the confessions of faith besides, allowed and approved by the councils of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and so forth as it followeth in those creeds.

"3. I also believe, acknowledge and confess whatsoever is contained in the old and new testament, approved by the said holy catholic, apostolic, Roman church, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors, and by them received, rejecting wholly all other interpretations as false and erroneous.

"4. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said church to have been instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, as necessary for the salvation of mankind, although all of them are not of necessity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the seven sacraments be, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, which is the holy sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that of them baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. That the said sacraments confer grace, and have those effects which the church hath taught, and that the form and use according to which they are administered to christians is holy and necessary.

"5. I further acknowledge, That the holy mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, under the forms of bread and wine mingled with water; which bread and wine under the foresaid forms are in the mass, by the words of consecration there pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and changed into the said body and blood of Christ; although the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after consecration; and that the mass is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.

"6. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the body of Christ under the form of bread only, I then likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ.

"7. I confess that prayer to, and intercession of saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for christians, and in no sort contrary to the honour of God.

"8. That prayers made in the church for the faithful departed are beneficial for them, for the remission of sins, and mitigating of their pains deserved for the same.

"9. That there is a purgatory, where the souls of such as are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithful.

"10. I confess that honour ought to be given to the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their reliques ought to be worshipped.

"11. That the commandments and traditions of the said church, consisting in divine ceremonies, are holy and good, as fastings, abstinence from meats, observation of feasts, and other ecclesiastical rites, and ought to be observed according to the traditions of the apostles and ancient fathers, continued from the primitive times, and since brought into the church by the decrees of councils, received thence long ago or lately. Also, that I will and ought to obey them as prescribed and authorised by the Holy Ghost, the ordainer of those things which serve to the upholding of christian religion, and of the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church.

"12. I likewise believe and consent to all the articles concerning original sin and justification.

"13. I also steadfastly believe that the pictures of Christ, of his holy mother, and of all the saints, ought

to be retained in the church, that the uses of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worshipped.

"14. I confess that the power of indulgences and pardons is left to the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them is greatly available: as also I acknowledge the church of Rome to be the chief mother of all churches, and that she hath the Holy Ghost for her guide: and that all private and pretended inspirations contradicting the same, are of the devil, the prince of dissension, who would rend asunder the seamless coat of Jesus Christ.

"Lastly, I strictly promise to observe and keep whatsoever was decreed and ordained by the last council of Trent, and do promise before God and you, never to depart from the catholic and apostolic Roman church. And if I shall, which God forbid, I submit me to the correction and canons of the said church, made, decreed, and ordained against them which fall into apostacy.

"To which abjuration and confession, I have subscribed with my hand, &c."

Some of those who for fear abjured, afterwards relented: others grew more and more hardened; insomuch that in going often to mass they took part with the priests and murderers, as if they had never made any profession at all of the truth.

Persecution at Bourdeaux.

Soon after the massacre at Paris, tidings thereof came to Bourdeaux. Where it happened one morning as the protestants were taking boat to hear a sermon in a meadow, where they were wont to meet, being about three miles from Bourdeaux, between the river of Garonne and the brook of La Jalla, that the governor Mountferrand commanded them to come back again. He had the skill to cloke the same under a plausable pretence, namely, that they should not be set upon there by the multitude.

After their return they began to set a strong watch and ward at the gates, so as none of the protestants could have leave to pass forth, unless he had a passport from the governor; yet means were made for the escape of their ministers, without being perceived; who went to Medox, expecting what the event of this business at Bourdeaux would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they staid certain days and nights, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, until they had opportunity to take shipping, and sail to England.

Instantly thereupon there arrived at Bourdeaux the lord of Montpessat from the king, who, at his first coming, feigned as if he meant to settle all things in peace. Yet he wrought underhand in such wise with the governor, that the massacre was resolved on, to which he was solicited by a jesuit called Edmund Angier, who, out of the pulpit used horribly and bitterly to thunder and inveigh against the remissness and faint-heartedness of the governor. Insomuch that on St. Michael's day (as they called it,) speaking of the angels by whom God executes his judgments, he cried out by the way of interrogation, "Who executed God's judgments upon the Huguenots in Paris? The angel of God. Who hath executed the like upon other cities in this kingdom? The angel of God." In a word, he never ceased, in public and private, to solicit the papists of Bourdeaux to follow the example of the Parisians. And then, day by day, he menaced those of the protestant religion with the approaching of an utter ruin and desolation, if they did not betimes return into the bosom of the Roman church, which offer, if they now refused, they should not be received in when they would.

Many being terrified with these threats, as also by the intreaties of their kindred, who set before them the imminent danger which hung over their heads, revolted and abjured. The lord of Montpessat caused Master William Blanck, an advocate in the court of parliament, to be called before him, who was counsellor to him and to his father in law; exhorting and persuading him to return to the unity of the Roman church.

Le Blanck answered, "That he had sufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he took upon him the profession of that religion which he now professed; which was the true religion, acknowledging the same in every respect far to exceed the other."

Montpessat hearing this, rebuked him sharply, saying, "That then he thought himself wiser than the king, and all those that professed as his majesty did." Insomuch as they who stood about Le Blanck began to handle him roughly; so that he had much to do to escape with his life, had not Montpessat rescued him from that danger, because he was come thither upon his word. The governor said, "If I had been there, I would have slain him."

The governor being pressed to dispatch this massacre at Bourdeaux, knew not well what to do. For on the one side La Sieur de Vesins, with sundry others, coming from the court, assured him from the king, that he wondered why the business was deferred so long; showing, that he could not perform a more acceptable service unto him than it. On the other side Strossi, who hovered about Rochelle, to take it, wished him to be well advised what he did, what command soever he had to the contrary; foreseeing, perhaps, that if he went forward with his execution, the people of Rochelle would have had Strossi in such a jealousy that his project would have been defeated, and so would be no small prejudice to the king's affairs; putting him in hope that he would stand between him and all perils.

For the truth is, the army by sea, which was prepared against Rochelle, lying for a time at Bourdeaux, under pretence of conquering Florida, would have been ready enough to have made a general massacre there, but that they were afraid the Rochellers would be incensed thereat.

Yet, in conclusion, the governor, having balanced things on both parts, was persuaded by the lord Montpessat to put the massacre in execution. To which purpose an oath being taken, a catalogue was made of such as they meant to spoil.

On Saturday then, which was the third of October, 1572, the governor having assembled together all the scum of the city to aid and assist him in so barbarous an act, commanded them, with other soldiers, to be ready presently after dinner to put the king's command into execution. To which they were very forward, coming in their liveries, attended on by captains of tens, teaching them what they had to do.

The greater part of the murderers had red hats given them by Peter Estounach, and for the blood wherewith they dyed their arms, they were called the red band; others called them the cardinal's band. The governor commanded them to kill all those of the protestant religion, especially such as had taken arms, and not to spare one.

The governor, intending to show them the way, went to the house of Master John Guilloch, lord of Obiere, counsellor in the court of parliament, to execute the hatred he had long since conceived against him: who being about to escape away out at a back door, they caught and brought him into the outer court before his house, in the presence of the governor, who, with a sword, massacred him; which done, his house was wholly pillaged.

At that time they brought a certain minister out of the Conciergerie, who, a few days before, coming from the country Saintong to Bourdeaux, (for his better safety as he thought,) was there apprehended and imprisoned: and as soon as he was come out of the prison, they massacred him before the gates of the palace.

Master William Savin's house (a counsellor of the said parliament, who was also a protestant) was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled, and himself cruelly murdered. His clerk, called Simonet, seeing his master about to be massacred, embraced and comforted him; and being asked whether he were of the protestant religion, he answered yea, and would die with his master for the same.

Thus they were slain in one another's arms.

The cruel Martyrdom of Du Tour, a Deacon of the Protestant Church.

A deacon of the reformed church, called Du Tour, an old man, who, in the days of his ignorance, had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was dragged forth into the open street; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life; he freely answered, "No, especially now, drawing so near my end, both in regard of my years and grievous sickness; I hope I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for so I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate." They hearing him say so, massacred him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected by their own parents and kinsfolks, who shut their doors against them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves: many were saved, even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

All the city was full of terrors and horrible threats against those of the protestant religion, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom. And if any refused to go to mass, that a hole should be digged for him in the earth, in which he should forthwith be buried without any more ado.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions and oppressions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks well nigh thirty thousand were put to death.

Now in the year 1573, many places whither the faithful were fled for refuge, were assailed by open war, namely, in the first place, that of Sancerre, the history whereof you have here in a short view presented before you in that which followeth.

Being compassed about with irreconcileable enemies, from about the beginning of April; the want of victuals having caused them to gather together all the asses and mules they had in the city, they were eaten up in less than a month.

Then they came to horses, cats, rats, moles, mice and dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eat ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, bullocks and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes and horse-harness, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of June the third part of the besieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in mortars, and made bread of it, the like they did with all sorts of herbs, mingling the same with bran if they had it. There they ate meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slate, excrements of horses and men, yea, the offal which lay in the streets was not spared.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child about three years old, which died of hunger, having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman lodging in their house, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment.

They were found guilty of other offences, but this aggravated the same the more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful voices uttered by poor parents for the misery wherein their eyes beheld their languishing and dying infants.

To which purpose you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy ten years old, being ready to give up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him (whose arms and legs when they handled, felt as if they had been dried sticks) said unto them, wherefore weep ye thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, saith he, I ask you for no bread, I know you have none: but seeing it is God's will I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? Have I not read it in my bible? In uttering these, with the like speeches, he yielded up the ghost.

That all the people died not of famine in the end of this month, was by reason of certain horses which were reserved for service if need should be, and six cows which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of such as were living, with a little corn, which by stealth some brought into the city; so that a pound of wheat was sold for half-a-crown.

There died by fight in Sancerre but eighty-four persons, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many soldiers getting forth as they could out of the city, flying from the famine, chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy; whereof some were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having sworn that he would make them eat one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this instant the ambassadors from Poland came into France, to accept the duke of Anjou for their king, at whose entreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famished, was now set at liberty by raising the siege, for the inhabitants were determined to leave their bones there, rather than yield themselves into their enemies' hands, as they had often threatened them with a general massacre. Whereas now, by the king's appointment they were permitted to pass out of the city armed; if any would tarry, that they should not be molested: having liberty granted them to dispose of their affairs, as they pleased, with the promise that neither their persons nor property should be injured.

Now let us come to the city of Rochelle, which being at this instant strongly besieged by the forces of France, both by sea and land, with about forty or fifty thousand men, was yet in the end also delivered, though not without many hot conflicts, by the immediate hand of God; namely thus: The ambassador of Poland arriving in France, the 17th of June, a truce was made on the sudden, articles of peace drawn and sent to the king, who consented to them, and returned answer in form of an edict, granting to those of Rochelle, Montauban, Nismes, and others which stood upon their defence, liberty for the exercises of religion; the rest to live peaceably in their houses, and therein to minister the sacrament of baptism, and marriage as they had wont to do, so as their assemblies exceeded not the number of ten, besides the parents.

He restored to the Rochellers and others their rights and privileges, letting fall all the decrees given out against them, approving of their defensive war; giving them leave, according to their ancient custom, to retain in their cities, towers and fortresses, men and ammunition, yea, to receive in governors among them, provided that they were such as they had no cause to suspect or except against.

By virtue of this edict, upon the 10th of July, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the lord of Biron entered into the city, at the gate called De Coigne, with an herald of arms, and four of the king's trumpeters (at which hour peace was proclaimed in the most eminent places thereof) accompanied with the lieutenant of the city, and with the lord of Villiers. After which, dining at the mayor's house, he soon after retired, being conducted along till he came without the city.

The same day many small vessels laden with biscuits, corn, meal, fish, and other provision, entered into the haven. At this siege the duke D'Amaule lost his life, with Cosseins, who had broken into the admiral's lodging, and began the massacre at Paris: besides many great lords, gentlemen, captains, lieutenants, and ancients, to the number of threescore, the greater part of which, having their hands imbrued in those other bloody massacres, being come thither, received their reward, namely, either present death, or wounds so incurable that they escaped not with life.

EEBO PROOF

A Note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus the fifth, wherein the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, were declared Heretics, &c. with the Censure thereof by the Parliament of Paris.

In September, 1585, Pope Sixtus V., by a bull sent from Rome, condemned the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde for heretics, excommunicated them, degrading them and their successors from their dignities, especially laying claim to the crown of France, absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, and exposing their countries for a prey to them that could first subdue them.

The court of parliament of Paris made a notable remonstrance to the king concerning these bulls, in which they sought to maintain the privileges of the Gallican church. Among other things, these words that follow are very remarkable. The court thinks that these bulls are set forth in a style altogether of a new stamp, and so contrary to the modesty of former popes, that they can in no sort discern therein the spirit of a successor of the apostles. And therefore (as the deputies of the court added) we can neither find by our registers, nor by any antiquity, that the princes of France ever subjected themselves so far to the authority of the pope, nor that the subjects have taken such knowledge of the religion of their princes. The court, therefore, cannot determine aught thereupon, unless first of all the pope can cause his pretended right in translation of kingdoms to appear, which kingdoms were established and ordained of God, before the name of a pope was heard of in the world: that he manifests not to us what title he hath to intermeddle with the matter of the succession of a young and vigorous prince, who, for aught the pope knows, may have his succession yet in his loins: that he shows not with what appearance of justice or equity he should deny that privilege which is allowed to such as are accused of heresy against the decrees of ancient canons, namely, that no man ought to be held as an heretic, until his defence be fully and freely heard, till he have received often admonitions from many synods, and thereupon sentenced by a council lawfully assembled.

Further they added, that seeing the pope instead of instruction, breathes forth nothing in his bulls but destruction, changing his shepherd's crook into a terrible thunderbolt, rather to scatter than sweetly to call the erring flock into the bosom of the catholic church, the court cannot safely admit of, or entertain a bull so pernicious and opposite to the general good of all the christian world, and to the sovereignty of the crown of France; yea, they further were of opinion, that this bull deserved to be thrown into the fire and burned, and the solicitors or upholders thereof, for example sake to be severely chastised; humbly beseeching the king to maintain his edicts in his own kingdom in peace.

This remonstrance took small effect; for not long after, the king being solicited by the principal of the league, set forth a declaration the 7th of October, upon the edict published in July next before going; wherein having confiscated the body and goods of those of the protestant religion, with their associates, who in any province had taken arms against the fury of the league, it was ordained, that those of the protestant religion within six months were to depart out of the kingdom, unless within fifteen days fully accomplished after the said declaration, they should abjure.

The parliament, suffering themselves to be carried down by the violence of this stream, accepted and admitted of this edict. The princes framed an opposition against the pope's bull, appealing there-from, as a wrong done unto them, offering to make it appear in a free and lawful council, that the pope had maliciously belied them in calling them heretics; so as if he refused this fair and lawful course by them propounded, they would hold and esteem him for that great antichrist, and would proclaim an open irreconcileable war against him. This opposition was affixed and set up at Rome, on the 7th of November.

Not long after, among those of the protestant religion which were imprisoned, others were more severely handled. Among many, we will here take notice of two honourable women, whose memory ought to be celebrated in this history of the martyrs; namely, Radagonde, daughter of Master John Foucoult, attorney in the parliament of Paris, widow, of the age of forty years, and Claude Foucoult her sister, about thirty-six, who were apprehended the 29th of October, 1585, the one of the village of Pierrepit near Paris, and the other in the suburbs of Saint Germain, and brought prisoners into Chastelet, because they refused to go to mass, and would not abjure and forsake the true religion. Being severed one from the other in prison, they were examined upon sundry articles, to which they made their direct answer according to the word of God.

Then being put together, they were accused for disobeying the king's commandment, which was, that those of the protestant religion were either to depart the kingdom by such a time, or else abjure; they answered, that they were willing to leave the kingdom, if they might obtain a convenient time to take order about that little which they had there; but the council refusing to yield to their request, they were shut up again, and the 7th of November in the presence of the lieutenant, as also of the advocate for the king, and a Sorbonist, they pleaded their innocency. These men, getting no advantage against them, but being rather confounded by the wisdom of God's Spirit, speaking by these two sisters, went and complained to the king, that they were obstinate heretics. This was in the beginning of the year 1586.

They continued in prison many weeks, being cumbered with many disputes, yet remained unshaken. The Friday before Easter the king himself went to see them, asking them whether they would conform themselves to the catholic apostolic Roman church (as he called it.) They, with such reverence and obeisance as became them, gave him their reasons why they could not so do, confirming the same by texts of holy scripture. His second question was, why they had not obeyed his last edict. The widow answered, "Sir," saith she, "I have three small children to care for; and whereas your majesty allotted those of the protestant religion the term of fifteen days, after six months ended, to depart the kingdom; I have done my utmost to take up such monies as were due unto me, but those who were indebted unto me, neglected to pay me. Besides, he that kept my vineyards of Pierrepit, to quit himself of me, accused me of heresy, causing my sister and myself to be here imprisoned, where we have lain six months, and if so be our petition presented by us find no acceptance in your majesty's sight, we most humbly beseech you to grant that we may be freed out of prison, and we will be gone instantly out of the kingdom, according to your majesty's edict."

"The date is past," said the king, "nor will I show you any favour, unless you will promise to go to mass." He was much displeased in seeing their constancy. Now at the same time, there was presented before him one sirnamed Richelot, who had been apprehended that very day in which the women were taken for the cause of religion, unto whom the king used not many words: only, in conclusion he said, there wanted nothing but fagots to burn him. This Richelot abjured, that day in which these two sisters were executed. The king had five or six Sorbonists, which attended on him there, who offered to reason with the prisoners, by occasion of a word spoken by the widow. But the king preventing it, said, we are not come hither to dispute, let them be laid waste, and none suffered to come to them.

Within half an hour after, the duke of Longueville came to visit them, saying, he was sorry for their affliction, counselling them to go to mass, alleging, it is written, Thou shalt obey thy prince, and if he therein force you to it against your conscience, he shall answer for it; adding, that they were to remember their sex, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They answered, that no earthly potentate had any warrant to command christians to sin against their consciences.

They further besought him to be a means for them to the king, that they might be delivered: but all the answer

he gave them was this, That if they would not return, the king would not deliver them: also there was great likelihood, after their long detention in prison, that they must be executed in the end.

The next day, being Easter Even, the queen, with the duchess of Joyeuse, came into Chastelet to visit the prisoners. But instead of speaking to the two sisters herself, she sent unto them a wicked apostate, called Mathew de Launy, who being a minister, turned popish priest, and one whom the league made no small use of; who loading these honourable sisters with injuries and reproachful speeches, calling them dogs and devils incarnate, and worthy to be burnt, so left them and never came any more unto them. Soon after the day of the barricades, which is a defence made of earth and stones heaped up, serving to stop a street or any passage, the judges of Chastelet adjudged them to be hanged, and their bodies to be burned to ashes. From which sentence they appealed to the court, and were brought into the Conciergerie, which is the name of a common gaol belonging to Paris.

On the even before Saint John Baptist's day, in the month of June, the common people in Paris making fires as they were wont to do, amongst other insolencies, burnt in divers parts of the city a picture, representing the queen of England.

The next day the curates and preachers began in their sermons to thunder, saying, That it was not enough to burn the pictures of heretics, but to burn the bodies of the obstinate prisoners: which so enraged the tumultuous sort of people, that the day following, flocking together into the court of the palace, they threatened the presidents and the council, that some mischief should follow, unless they condemned these two prisoners to die. A gentle answer was returned to this factious crew, with a promise that the business should not long be delayed.

The next day the eldest son of Radagonde presented a petition to the duchess of Nemours, daughter to the late lady of Ferrare. Her grace solicited the duke of Guise, her son, for the prisoners: whose answer was, That his coming to Paris was not to petition the king in favour of those of the protestant religion; and if he would do so (in regard of the services which the prisoners had done his grandfather) yet he could not, fearing lest the mad multitude might set upon him.

The 28th of June, the court having confirmed the sentence given at Chastelet, sent them back thither to be executed, so about noon they were gagged, because the maiden professed, that if they brought her into any idols' temple, she would extend her voice so loud against the same, that every one should hear it. About three o'clock they were led as sheep to the slaughter, where they constantly persisted in the profession of the true religion.

The widow, having ascended the ladder, shook out of her hands a wooden cross, which they had by force affixed thereto, at which the multitude were so provoked, that they began to throw stones and staves at her. The hangman having turned her off the ladder, cut the rope by and by, letting her fall half dead into the fire, wherein she yielded up her soul into the hands of God, as did also her sister.

Being now come to the year 1588, it gives us just occasion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble queen and country, from the intended invasion of the Spaniards the same year. The memorial whereof, that it might the rather be continued to the ages succeeding, deserves by way of history here to be inserted, as in its due and proper place. Of which deliverance it may truly be said (all things considered) that it was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation whereof here followeth.

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APPENDIX II.

A BRIEF DISCOURSE TOUCHING THE GREAT PREPARATIONS MADE BY THE SPANIARDS, AND OTHER ROMAN CATHOLICS, FOR THAT INVINCIBLE NAVY, INTENDED FOR THE INVADING AND SURPRISING OF THE REALM OF ENGLAND, TOGETHER WITH THEIR UTTER OVERTHROW

THE queen of England, having had intelligence from sundry places of the great and diligent preparation of the king of Spain in divers parts, both by sea and land, not only of the strongest ships in all places within his dominions, but of all sorts of provision necessary for so mighty a fleet, as he intended to set forth; and these rumours of war, which before were but slight, daily increasing, at last it was certainly confirmed by the news on all sides, that in Spain there was an invincible navy preparing against England; that the most famous captains in military knowledge, and the best soldiers were sent for into Spain, from Italy, Sicily, yea from America. For the pope and some religious (i.e. bound by vows), Spaniards, and English fugitives, now recalled to the minds of the Spaniards the idea of surprising England, which purpose had been interrupted by the Portugal wars. They earnestly exhorted the king to do God this service, that had done so much for him; now that he enjoyed Portugal with the West-Indies, and many rich islands, to add England to all would be an especial act of service to God, fit for his catholic majesty. By this means he might add these flourishing kingdoms to his empire, and so keep the Low Countries in peace, and secure the navigation to both the Indies. That the preparations of Spain were so great, that no power was able to resist it. They made him believe that it was an easier matter to overcome England, than to overcome Holland, because the navigation from Spain to England was much shorter than to the Netherlands. And by surprising of England the other would easily follow.

Hereupon the consultation began to be had, of the best way and means to oppress England. The marquis of Santa Cruz, who was chief commander in the navy, advised first to make sure some part of Holland or Zealand, by the land forces of the duke of Parma, and by sending before him some Spanish ships, so to take some place on a sudden, where the Spanish navy might have a receptacle, and from whence the invasion might with convenience begin. For in the English sea, which is troublesome, the winds oft changing, and the tides unknown, the navy could not be in safety. With him agreed Parma, who much urged this expedition; yet others disliked this counsel, as a matter of great difficulty and danger, of long time, of much labour, of great expense, and uncertain success. And that it could be performed neither secretly nor openly; and easily hindered by the English. These thought that with the same labour and expense, England might be won: and the victory would be sure, if a well prepared army from Spain might, with a strong navy, be landed on Thames side, and of a sudden surprise London, the chief city, by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing most easy to be effected.

The duke of Parma, also in Flanders, by the command of Philip, built ships and a great number of small broad vessels, each one able to transport thirty horse, with bridges fitted for each; and hired mariners from the eastern part of Germany. He provided long pieces of wood, sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and twenty thousand vessels, with a huge number of fagots, and placed an army ready in Flanders of one hundred and three companies of foot, and four thousand horsemen. Among these were seven hundred English fugitives, who were treated with the greatest contempt. Neither was Stanley respected or heard, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland, nor any other who offered their help; but for their impiety towards their own country, were shut out from all consultations; and, as ill-omened men, rejected, not without detestation. And Pope Sixtus V., who in such a purpose would not be wanting, sent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the declaratory bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. He excommunicated the queen, deposed her, absolved her subjects from all allegiance; and, as if it had been against the Turks and infidels, he set forth, in print, a conceit, wherein he bestowed plenary indulgences, out of the treasure of the church (besides a million of gold, to be distributed, the one half in hand, the other half when either England, or some famous haven therein, should be won) upon all them that should join their help against England. By which means many foreign princes and nobles were induced to engage in this war.

Queen Elizabeth, that she might not be taken by surprise, prepared as great a navy as she could; and, with singular care and providence, made ready all things necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning of men's wits and aptness,

and most happy in making choice when she made it on her own judgment, and not by the advice of others, destined the best and most serviceable to each several employment. Over the whole navy she appointed the lord high admiral, Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust, and sent him to the west parts of England, where Sir Francis Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined him. She commanded Henry Seymour, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore, with forty English and Dutch ships, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Yet some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected, and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of Henry VIII., when the French brought a great navy upon the English shore.

For the land fight there were placed on the south shores twenty thousand; and two armies besides were mustered, of the choicest men of war. One of these, which consisted of 1000 horse, and 22,000 foot, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was governed by Lord Hunsdon, consisting of 34,000 foot, and 2000 horse, to guard the queen.

The queen visited the camp at Tilbury, and the following account of it is given by Richard Leigh, a seminary priest, who was executed for high treason while the Spanish armada was on the sea.

"She caused," he said, "an army to encamp near the sea-side, upon the river Thames. After the army was come thither, she would not by any advice be stayed, but for comfort of her people, and to show her own magnanimity of heart, she went to the camp which was at that time between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, placing herself between the enemy and her city; and there she reviewed her army, passing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the army. First viewing from place to place the people, as they were by their countries lodged and quartered by their several camps. Afterwards, when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, she rode round about with a general's staff in her hand, only accompanied by the general and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to show her state (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness, and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath the like been seen in any army, considering she was a queen. All which tended to show a marvellous concord in a mutual love between a queen and her subjects, and of reverence and obedience of subjects to their sovereign; all which she requited with very princely thanks, and a good speech.

"I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own sight; for thither I went as many others did; and all that day wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behaviour, and in praying for her life and safety, with cursing of all her enemies, both traitors and all papists, with earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety. And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter did so devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers psalms put in form of prayers, in praise to Almighty God, no ways to be disliked, that she greatly commended them, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this queen doth discontent her people, nor her people do show any discontent in any thing they be commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined."

The Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolls, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men of known military experience, were chosen to confer on the land fight. These thought fit that all those places should be fortified, which were the easiest to land in, either out of Spain, or out of Flanders; as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent called the Downs, the mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained soldiers throughout all the maritime provinces should meet, upon warning given, to defend these places: that they should, by their best means and power, hinder the enemy from landing. If they should land, then should they waste the country all about, and spoil every thing that might be of any use to them; that so they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them; and that, by continual skirmishes, the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies, and that one captain should be named to command in every shire.

Two years before, the duke of Parma, considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace; and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman; and professed that Philip had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen, fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniards, deferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the war which both sides were preparing for might be turned away, she was content to treat of peace, but so as still to hold the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders; the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Dr. Dale, and Dr. Rogers. These were received with kindness on the duke's behalf, and they presently sent Dr. Dale to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed a place near to Ostend, not in Ostend, which then was held by the English against the king. His delegated authority he promised to show, when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest somewhat might fall out in the mean time which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus spoke somewhat more plainly, that he knew not what in the interim should be done against England.

Not long after, Dr. Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express command from the queen, to know the truth whether the Spaniards had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus seemed to signify. He affirmed that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the business might proceed with speed; and was offended with Richardotus, who denied that such words fell from him.

On the 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, D. Mæsius, and Garnier, delegated by the prince of Parma, met the English, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat of peace, the English moved, that first a truce might be made. Which they refused; alleging that that thing must needs be hurtful to the Spaniards, who had for six months maintained a great army, which could not be dismissed upon a truce, but upon absolute peace. The English urged, that a truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The Spaniards, against that, held, that six months since a truce was promised; which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who daily attempted hostility. The English moved instantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland; but they would have it but for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Ostend, Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Briel; and these only during the treating, and twenty days after; and that, in the mean time, it might be lawful for the

queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At last, when the English could not obtain a cessation of arms, and could by no means see the charter by which the duke of Parma was authorised to treat of peace; they proposed these things,—that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with freedom of conscience they might serve God; that the Spanish and foreign soldiers might be sent out of Holland, so that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If these things were granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which she now held (that all might know that she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defence both of herself and of the Dutch) so that the money which is owing for them be repaid. To which they answered, that for renewing the old leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cause why foreign princes should take care, which privileges were most favourably granted, not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to such as by force of arms were brought into subjection. That foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necessity, since Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Touching those towns taken from the king of Spain, and the repaying of the money, they answered, "That Spain might demand as many myriads of crowns to be by the queen repaid, as the Belgic war had cost since the time that she had favoured and protected the Dutch."

At this time Dr. Dale, by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, did gently expostulate with him touching a book printed there, set out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V. against the queen, declared by his bull; in the which she is declared an heretic, illegitimate, cruel against Mary queen of Scots, and her subjects were commanded to help Parma against her; for at that time a great number of those bulls and books were printed at Antwerp, to be dispersed through England. The duke denied that he had seen such a bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the pope's authority; as for his own king, him he must obey. "Yet (he said) he so observed the queen for her princely virtues that, after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. That he had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for England than Spain: for if they should be overcome they would easily repair their loss, but if you be overcome, the kingdom is lost."

To whom Dale replied, "That our queen was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the kingdom. That a kingdom will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one battle, seeing the king of Spain, in so long a war, is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands."

"Well, (quoth the duke,) be it so, these things are in God's hands."

After this, the delegates contended among themselves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, that freedom of religion might be granted, at least for two years, to the confederate provinces. They answered, "That as the king of Spain had not intreated for English catholics, so they hoped the queen, in her wisdom, would not intreat any thing of the king of Spain which might stand against his honour, his oath, and his conscience."

Then they demanded the money due from the states of Brabant; it was answered, "That the money was lent without the king's authority or privity: but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment."

Thus the English, of set purpose, were from time to time driven off, until the Spanish fleet was come near the English shore, and the noise of guns were heard from sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were, by the delegates, honourably brought to the borders near to Calais. The duke of Parma had in the mean time brought all his forces to the sea shore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet; continued by the Spaniard, that he might surprise the queen, being as he supposed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantage.

When the Spanish fleet was collecting in the Tagus, the command had been given to the marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of distinguished merit, but he died before the preparations were completed; and about the same time, the duke of Paliano, who was the second in command, died also. The chief command was then conferred upon Don Alphonso de Gusman, duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman unacquainted with the art of war; and Don Martinez de Recalde, a veteran of great experience, was appointed vice-admiral. In addition to the fleet that was preparing at Lisbon, the duke of Parma had been commanded to build a number of vessels at Dunkirk, Newport, and Antwerp, and also to assemble a large army to assist in the invasion of England. The Spanish fleet being at last well furnished with men, and every munition of war, so as to be considered the most powerful that had ever been seen upon the sea, and called by that arrogant title, "the invincible armada." It consisted of an hundred and thirty ships, and some smaller vessels, wherein there were upwards of 30,000 sailors and soldiers, and 3,000 pieces of cannon.

On the 30th of May they sailed from the river Tagus, and proposing to hold their course to the Garonne, in Gallicia, were beaten and scattered by a tempest; three gallies, by the skill of David Gwin, an Englishman, and by the perfidiousness of Turks who rowed, were safely carried to the coast of France. The fleet, with much ado, after some days came to the Garonne, and other harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the enemy was so scattered by this tempest, that the queen was persuaded that she was not to expect that fleet this year. And Sir Francis Walsingham, her secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he should lay up four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer entreated him to believe nothing hastily, in so important a matter. As also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And finding a favourable wind, he made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy's disabled ships in their harbours. When he was not far from the shores of Spain, the wind turning, and he being charged to defend the English shore, fearing that the enemy unseen might by the same wind be driven to England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now, with the same wind, on the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet, departed from the Garonne. And after a few days he sent Roderigo de Telie into Flanders, to advertise the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces on the banks of the Thames.

On the sixteenth day (saith the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon: then the north-wind blowing roughly, and again the west-wind till midnight, and after that the east; the Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England, on the 19th of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was informed by Flemming, who had been a pirate, that the Spanish fleet had entered into the English Channel, and was descried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, every one labouring; even the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along, with towers like castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the horns of the front were extended one from the other, about seven miles, or as some say, eight miles asunder, sailing with the labour of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passed by, got behind them, and so got the help of the wind.

Upon the 21st of July, the lord admiral of England sent a pinnace before, called the Defiance, to denounce war, by shooting off some pieces. And being himself in the Arch-Royal, the English flag-ship or admiral, he set upon a ship which he took to be the Spanish admiral, but it was the ship of Alfonso de Leva. Upon that he bestowed much shot. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher came in upon the Spanish hindmost ships, which Recalde commanded. Upon these they thundered. Recalde laboured as much as lay in him to stay his men, who fled away in their navy, until his ship, beaten and much battered with many shot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his dispersed fleet, and setting up more sail, held on their course. Indeed, they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full course, and then to turn and return, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them having had some trial, as of their own courage, so of the Spaniards also; the lord admiral thought good not to continue the same any longer, as forty ships were then absent, which at that instant were scarce drawn out of Plymouth harbour.

On the night following, the St. Katharine, a Spanish ship, being much injured in the fight, was received into the midst of the navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian ship of the squadron of Oquendo, wherein was the treasure of the camp, was set on fire by an explosion of gunpowder: yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of these that came to help the fired ship, one was a galleon, in which was Pedro de Valdez; the foremast of this galleon was caught in the tackling of another ship, and broken. These two vessels were taken by Drake, on board of which there was a great sum of money, viz. fifty-five thousand ducats; he sent Valdez to Dartmouth, and distributed the money among the sailors. This Valdez, coming into Drake's presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be noble. On this night Drake had been appointed to set forth lights, but he neglected it, as he was led to give chase to some German merchant ships, which he mistook for vessels in the service of the enemy. This neglect obliged the greater part of the English fleet to lay to until the morning. Drake and the rest of the squadron did not come up with the admiral until the next evening; as the admiral with only the Bear and Mary Rose, had closely followed the Spaniards during the night, and in the morning found himself separated from the rest of his ships.

The duke of Medina spent the following day in the re-ordering of his fleet. Alfonso de Leva was commanded to form a junction of the first and last squadron, after which, every ship had its station assigned, according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was instant death to the commander to forsake his station without sufficient cause. This done, he sent Glich, an ensign, to the duke of Parma, to declare to him in what case they were, and that they had left the Cantabrian ship of Oquendo to the wind and sea, after having taken out the mariners, and put them in other ships. Yet it seems that he had not taken care of all: for that ship the same day, with fifty mariners and soldiers lamed, and half burnt, again fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

On the 23rd of the same month, the Spaniards having a favourable north wind, tacked about and bore down upon the English; the English, being much readier in the use of their ships, immediately changed their course, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought a while confusedly, with variable success: whilst on the one side the English with great courage delivered the London ships, which were surrounded by the Spaniards; on the other side, the Spaniards by valour freed Recalde from the extreme danger he was in. This day, the loss, by the good providence of God, fell upon the Spanish side, their ships being so high that the shot went over our English ships; and the English having such a fair mark at their taller ships, never shot in vain. Amidst which encounters, Cope, an Englishman, being caught indeed in the midst of the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished, although he revenged himself with great honour. Thus for a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off again, and still took the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships, being of great burthen, were troubled and hindered, and stood to be marks for the English bullets. For all that, the English admiral would not permit his men to board their ships, because they had a full army in their ships, which he had not; their ships were so many in number, and so much larger and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, must needs have had the worst of them that fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the advantage of a victory; for ours being overcome would have put the kingdom in hazard.

On the 24th of July they gave over fighting on both sides. The English admiral sent some small barks to the nearest shore, to get a supply of provisions; and divided his navy into four squadrons. The first was under his own government; the next commanded by Drake; the third by Hawkins; the last by Forbisher. And he selected out of every squadron the swiftest ships, which on different sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night, but a sudden calm took them, and so that advice was without effect.

On the 25th, being St. James's day, Santa Anna the galleon of Portugal, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon and taken by some small English ships. To whose aid came in Leva, and Diego Tellez Enriquez with their galeasses: which the admiral and the lord Thomas Howard espying, made in against the galeasses (the calm was so great that they were drawn in by boats with cords) and did so beat upon the galeasses with great shot, that it was with much ado, and not without great loss, that they recovered the galleon. The Spaniards reported that their admiral's ship was that day in the hindmost company, and being come nearer the English ships than before, was sore beaten with the English great ordnance, many men slain in her, and her great mast overthrown. And after that the admiral of Spain, accompanied by Recalde and others, did set upon the English admiral, who by the benefit of the wind, suddenly turning, escaped. The Spaniards held on their course again, and sent to the duke of Parma, that with all speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. In this day's contest the English write that they had stricken the lanthorn from one of the Spanish ships, the stern from another, and had sore beaten a third, doing much harm to her. That the Non-Pareil, and the Mary Rose fought a while with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

On the next day the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valour displayed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seymour, and William Winter, staid for their coming. Thus with the fair gale the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed. This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible, in the opinion of the English, that

many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own charges, and joined themselves to the English fleet; among whom were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, and sirs Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brook, William Hatton, Robert Carew, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Mr. Arthur Gage, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

On the 27th of July, at even, the Spaniards cast anchor near to Calais, being admonished by their skiful seamen that if they went any further, they might be endangered by the force of the tide to be driven into the north sea. Near to them stood the English admiral with his fleet, within a great gun's shot. To the admiral, Seymour and Winter now joined their ships; so that now there were an hundred and forty ships in the English fleet, able and well furnished for fight, for sail, and to turn which way was needful: and yet there were but fifteen of these which bore the burden of battle and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as he had often done before, so now with great earnestness sent to the duke of Parma to send forty fly boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their own ships, and the agility of the English ships. And entreating him by all means now to come to sea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spanish Armada, till they were landed in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms, being then full of holes, must be mended. Victuals were wanted and must be provided. The mariners, being long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small ammunition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and cast himself and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcoming England.

But queen Elizabeth's prudence and care, prevented both the diligence of the duke of Parma, and the credulous hope of the Spaniards: for, by her commandment, the next day the admiral took eight of his worst ships, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild-fire, pitch, and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire, and these being set on fire under the direction of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, and sent in among them as they lay at anchor, on Sunday, the 28th of July.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame shining and giving light all over the sea; they supposed those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them; they lifted up a most hideous woeful cry, some pulled up their anchors, some for haste cut their cables, they set up their sails, they worked their oars, and stricken with a panic terror, in great haste, they fled most confusedly. Among them their flag ship, floating upon the seas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards Calais, and sticking in the sand was taken by Sir Amias Preston, Sir Thomas Gerard, and Mr. Harvey; Don Hugo de Moncada the captain, was slain, the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned. In her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance fell to the share of the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, and that as soon as the danger was past, every ship should return again to his station: and he himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open sea, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to these Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and presently after the lord admiral, the lord Howard, and the lord Sheffield, came in, and all joined together. The duke of Medina, and the admirals, Leva, Oquendo, Recalde, and others, with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the English force as well as they could, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon St. Matthew, commanded by Diego Piementelli, coming to the aid of the St. Philip, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Seymour and Winter, and driven to Ostend, and was at last taken by the Flushingers. The St. Philip came to the like end; so did the galleon of Biscay, and divers others.

On the last day of this month, the Spanish fleet, striving to recover the straits again, were driven toward Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner cast away, and supposing that they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got out of the shallows, and then began to consult what was best for them to do.

It was determined, that as they had no hope that the duke of Parma would be able to get out to their assistance, as he himself was blockaded by lord Henry Seymour and the Hollanders, that their only chance of safety was to sail northwards, and by making the circuit of the British isles, return to Spain.

Every sail was now set, and the remaining ships of the armada stood out to sea. They were followed by the English admiral as far as the Frith of Forth. After the Spaniards had passed the Orkneys, a violent storm arose which so disheartened the mariners that they allowed many of their ships to be driven on the adjacent coast; many were also shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, and were either killed on the spot, or only reserved to perish by the hands of the executioner. During the tempest one division of the armada was driven back into the English Channel where the ships were separately engaged, and after a feeble resistance were either taken by the English cruizers, or by the vessels belonging to Rochelle.

Such was the fate of a fleet which was considered invincible. In the space of a single month it was nearly destroyed either by the enemy, or by the tempest, and very few of the ships were ever permitted to return to their own country. Thus did God miraculously defend us against the dangerous intentions of our enemies.

Queen Elizabeth, after the signal success which had attended her arms, came to give public thanksgiving to St. Paul's church, in a chariot drawn with two horses, her nobles accompanying her with a very gallant train through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth: the companies standing on both sides, were in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemy were spread; she heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney, returning out of Scotland, brought from the king assurance of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which, as in sincerity he had established, so he purposed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his ready affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland; and that he might recall to memory with what strange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could work it; and therefore warned him to take especial heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, to devour him last after his fellows were devoured.

APPENDIX III.

CONTAINING A DISCOURSE TOUCHING THE MANNER OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON, WITH THE EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE PRISONERS.

WHILE this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; the king being upon his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the meeting of parliament, which had been twice prorogued already; partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the term; as the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and as the sun shines often hottest to foretel a following shower; so, at that time of greatest calm, did that secretly hatched thunder begin to cast forth the first flashes and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the parliament), lord Monteagle, son and heir to the lord Morley, being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven o'clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent of an errand over the street) was met by a man unknown, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it into his master's hands. Which my lord no sooner received, but that having opened it, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat illegible hand, and without date or superscription, did call one of his men to help him to read it. But no sooner did he perceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolishly devised pasquinade made by some of his enemies, to scare him from his attendance at the parliament) yet did he, as a most dutiful and loyal subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary. Whereupon the said earl of Salisbury, having read the letter and heard the manner of the coming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my lord for his discretion; telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advices he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted as well the king himself, as divers of his privy councillors, concerning some business the papists were about both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the king some petition for toleration of religion: which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the king should be loath to refuse their request. Like the sturdy beggars, craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the earl of Salisbury conclude with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his majesty's council; which my lord Monteagle approved; only adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding upon too light or too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this letter, being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion and care for the preservation of his majesty and the state. And thus did the earl of Salisbury presently acquaint the lord chamberlain with the said letter. Whereupon they two, in the presence of lord Monteagle, calling to mind the former intelligence, already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter: the tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his majesty's person, made them apprehend, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same; which did the more nearly concern the said lord chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his office to oversee as well all places of assembly where his majesty is to repair, as his highness's own private houses. And therefore did the said two counsellors conclude, that they should join unto themselves three more of the council, to wit, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident; who, having all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they did conclude, that, how slight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behoved them to have of the preservation of his majesty's person.

Wherefore they resolved, for two reasons, first to ac-

quaint the king himself with the same, before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing of obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries, as also because the more time would be given in the mean while for the practice to ripen, if there really was any, whereby the discovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon the more safe, just, and easy. And so, according to their determination, did the said earl of Salisbury repair to the king in his gallery on Friday, being Allhallow's day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his majesty's arrival, and none but himself being present with his highness at that time, where, without any other speech or judgment given of the letter, but only relating simply the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his majesty, the contents whereof follow:

"My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; unto whose holy protection I commend you."

The king no sooner read the letter, but, after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it, saying that he thought it was not to be contemned; for that the style of it appeared to be more quick and pithy, than is usual in any pasquinade or hoax, (the superfluities of idle brains). But the earl of Salisbury, perceiving the king to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool or madman, reading to him this sentence in it, "For the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the letter," which he said was like to be the saying of a fool; for if the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning behoved to be of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger to be eschewed. But the king, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, "That they should receive a terrible blow at this parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them," joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alleged, did thereupon conjecture, that the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder: for no other insurrection, rebellion, or other private and desperate attempt could be committed or attempted in the time of the meeting of parliament, and the authors thereof unseen, except only it were by a blowing up of powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner; whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter (alleged by the earl of Salisbury) against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar, as if by these words, "For the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the letter," should be closely understood the sudden effects of the danger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be blazing up in the fire; turning that word of "as soon," to the sense of, as quickly: and therefore wished, that before his going to the parliament, the under rooms of the parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But the earl of Salisbury, wondering at this his majesty's commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition, who did rather sin upon the other side, in not apprehending, nor trusting due advertisement of practices and perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinary caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care he had of the whole state, more than of his own person, which could not but have all perished together, if this design had succeeded; he thought good to dissemble still unto the king, that there had been any just cause of such apprehension; and ending the purpose with some merry jest on this subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it, yet his customable and watchful care of the king and the state still boiling within him, he could not be at rest till he acquainted the lords with what had passed between the king and him in private.

Whereupon they were all so earnest to renew again the memory of the same purpose unto his majesty, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his highness, which he did in the said privy gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the lord chamberlain then being present with the king. At that time it was determined that the said lord chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the parliament houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them: but yet, as well for staying of idle rumours, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At which time he (according to this conclusion) went to the parliament house, accompanied by my lord Monteagle, being in zeal to the king's service earnest and curious to see the event of that accident whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer; where, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found in the vault under the upper house great store and provisions of billets, fagots, and coals: and inquiring of Whyneard, keeper of the wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars; he told him that Thomas Piercy had hired both the house and part of the cellar or vault under the same, and that the wood and coal, under which were hidden thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, great and small, besides great bars of iron, pieces of timber, and massy stones covered over with fagots therein, was the said gentleman's own provision. Whereupon the lord chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the said Piercy's man, and keeper of that house for him; but, indeed was Guido Fawkes, the owner of that hand which should have acted that monstrous and hellish tragedy.

The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with great suspicion, yet, in outward appearance, with but a careless and reckless eye, (as became so wise and diligent a minister) he presently addressed himself to the king in the privy gallery, where, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report of what he had seen and observed there; noting that which Monteagle had told him, and that he no sooner heard Thomas Piercy named to be the possessor of that house, but considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and the said Piercy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the letter should come from him. The said lord chamberlain also told that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, when Thomas Piercy had so seldom occasion to remain long in town; as likewise it gave him in his mind, that this man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy: whereupon he insisted (as before) that the house should be narrowly searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only for the covering of the gunpowder. Of this same mind also were all the counsellors then present. But as to the manner of making the search it was long

debated; for upon the one side they were all so jealous of the king's safety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger. And yet upon the other part they were all extremely loath and delicate, that in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain; then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the king and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favoured imputation upon the earl of Northumberland, one of his majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors, this Thomas Piercy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the king detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree. And therefore though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the king's person, yet did they much differ in the circumstances, by which this action might be best carried with least noise and occasion of slander. But the king himself still persisting that there were divers shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man that was innocent, he at last plainly resolved, that either must all the parts of those rooms be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they all must resolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune; which he believed they would be loath to take upon their consciences; for in such a case as this, an half doing was worse than no doing at all. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses; and yet for the better colour and stay of rumour, in case nothing were found, it was thought meet, that upon a pretence of Whyneard's missing some of the king's stuff or hangings which he had in keeping, all these rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose was Sir Thomas Knevet, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, employed, being a justice of peace in Westminster, and one of whose ancient fidelity both the late queen and our new sovereign, have had large proof; who according to the trust committed unto him, went about the midnight next after to the parliament house, accompanied by as small a number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding Thomas Piercy's alleged man standing without the doors, his clothes and boots on at so dead a time of the night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did, and afterwards went forward to the searching of the house, where, after he had caused to be overturned some of the billets and coals, he first found one of the small barrels of powder, and after all the rest, to the number of thirty-six barrels, great and small. And thereafter searching the fellow whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for the blowing up the powder ready upon him, which made him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also unto him, that if he had happened to be within the house when he took him, as he was immediately before, at the ending of his work, he would not have failed to have blown him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir Thomas had caused the wretch to be securely bound, and well guarded by the company he had with him, he himself returned back to the king's palace, and gave warning of his success to the lord chamberlain and earl of Salisbury; who immediately warning the rest of the council that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselves ready, came with their fellow councillors to the king's bedchamber, being at that time near four o'clock in the morning. And at the first entry at the king's chamber door, the lord chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his joy for the preventing of so great a danger, told the king in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor in hands and fast bound.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house. And within a while after the council examined him; who seeming to put on a Roman resolution, did both to the council and to every other person that spake with him that day, appear so constant and settled upon his grounds, as we had all thought we had found some new Mutius Scævola born in England; for notwithstanding the horror of the fact, the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions that every man all that day did vex him with; yet was his countenance so far from being dejected, as he often smiled in a scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scævola, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof he said, the devil, and not God was the discoverer; answering quickly to every man's objection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded to him, and jesting at such as he thought had no authority to examine him.

All that day could the council get nothing out of him touching his accomplices, refusing to answer to any such questions as he thought might discover the plot, and laying all the blame upon himself; whereunto he said he was moved only for religion and conscience sake, denying the king to be his lawful sovereign, or the anointed of God, in respect he was a heretic; and giving himself no other name than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Piercy. But the next morning, being carried to the Tower of London, he did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice in that space re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doth appear by his depositions immediately following.

The True Copy of the Declaration of Guido Fawkes, taken in the presence of the Counsellors whose Names are underwritten.

I confess that a practice in general was first broken unto me against his majesty for the relief of the catholic cause, and not invented or propounded by myself; and this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was a twelvemonth, beyond the seas, in the Low Countries, by Thomas Winter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen more, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, and John Wright: who all five consulting together of the means how to execute the same, and taking a vow among ourselves for secrecy, [which vow was this, "You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament, you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution whereof until the rest shall give you leave." After which, being confessed and receiving absolution, the forementioned received the sacrament thereupon, by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit there present,] Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the upper house of Parliament: which place we made choice of the rather, because religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

"This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Piercy hired a house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining to the parliament-house, and there we begun to make our mine about the 11th of December, 1604.

"The five that first entered into the work were Thomas Piercy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself: and soon after we took unto us Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

"When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took unto us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner with oath and sacrament as aforesaid.

"It was about Christmas when we brought our mine to the wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the wall half through; and whilst they were in working I

stood as sentinel to descry any man that came near, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

"All we seven lay in the house, having shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we should yield or be taken.

"As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in the cellar of removing of coals, whereupon we feared we had been discovered, and they sent me to go to the cellar; who finding the coals were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Piercy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

"We had before this provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

"About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves, and I retired into the Low Countries, by advice and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also lest by my longer stay I might have grown suspected, and so have come in question.

"In the mean time Piercy, having the key of the cellar, laid in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiving the key again of Mr. Piercy, we brought in more powder, and billets to cover the same again: and so I went for a time into the country till the 30th of October.

"It was further resolved amongst us, that the same day that this act should have been performed, some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the lady Elizabeth, the king's eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the lord Harrington's house, and presently have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose; wherein we made no mention of altering religion, or would have avowed the deed to be ours, until we should have had power enough to make our party good, and then we would have avowed both.

"Concerning duke Charles, the king's second son, we had sundry consultations how to seize on his person. But because we found no means how to compass it (the duke being kept near London, where we had not forces enough) we resolved to serve our turn with the lady Elizabeth."

Commissioners.

Nottingham,	Worcester,
Suffolk,	Devonshire,
Northampton,	Salisbury.

And in regard that before this discourse could be ready to go to the press, Thomas Winter being apprehended and brought to the Tower, made a confession in substance, agreeing with this former of Fawkes, only larger in some circumstances: I have thought good to insert the same likewise in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the reader.

Thomas Winter's Confession, taken the 23rd of November, in the year 1605, *in the presence of the Councillors, whose Names are under-written.*

"My most Honourable Lords,

"Not out of hope to obtain pardon; for speaking of my temporal part, I may say, The fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting here the title of a good subject, for I must redeem my country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion: only at your honours' command I will briefly set down mine accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business, which I shall the more faithfully do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have been already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the country from Alhallowtide until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603, the first year of the king's reign; about which time Catesby sent thither, entreating me to come to London, where he and other my friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me: for I found myself not very well disposed; and (which had happened never to me before) the messenger returned without my company. Shortly I received another letter, in anywise to come. At the second summons I presently came up, and found him with Mr. John Wright at Lambeth, where he told me how necessary it was not to forsake our country (for he knew then I had a resolution to go over), but to deliver her from the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavours. I answered, that I had often hazarded my life upon far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might do service to the catholic cause; but for myself I knew no probable means to succeed. He said, that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliver us from all our bonds, and without any foreign help to replant again the catholic religion; and withal told me in a word, it was to blow up the parliament house with gunpowder; for, said he, in that place have they done us all the mischief, and perchance God hath designed that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangeness of the conceit, and told him, that true it was, this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations: but if it should not take effect, (as most of this nature miscarried) the scandal would be so great which the catholic religion might hereby sustain, as not only our enemies, but our friends also would with good reason condemn us. He told me, the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would give consent. I told him, yes, in this or what else soever, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, as want of an house, and of one to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, Let us make an attempt, and where it faileth, pass no further. But first, said he, because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you shall go over and inform the constable of the state of the catholics here in England, intreating him to solicit his majesty at his coming hither, that the penal laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the rank of his other subjects; withal, you may bring over some confident gentlemen, such as you shall understand best able for this business, and he named unto me Master Fawkes. Shortly after I passed the sea, and found the constable at Bergen near Dunkirk, where by help of Master Owen I delivered my message. Whose answer was, that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the catholics, and for his own part he thought himself bound in conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but speak to him nothing of this matter.

"Returning to Dunkirk with Master Owen, we had speech whether he thought the constable would faithfully help us, or not. He said, he believed that they sought only their own ends, holding small account of catholics. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country until they had tried their uttermost, and rather venture their lives, than forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatsoever we should resolve, we wished for Master Fawkes, whom I had heard good commendations of; he told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels, and that if he came not, as perhaps he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into England. I went soon after to Ostend, where Sir William Stanley had not arrived, but came two days after. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him, if the catholics in England should do any thing to help themselves, whether he thought the archduke would second them? He answered, no; for all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, that they would endure no speech of other enterprise; neither was it fit, said he, to set any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so fell to discourse of other matters, until I came to speak of Master Fawkes,

whose company I wished over into England. I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him we should need such as he if occasion required; he gave very good commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart from Newport, and taking my leave of Sir William, Master Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This is the gentleman, said Sir William, that we wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that if he pleased to come to Dunkirk, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Master Fawkes to Dunkirk, where I told him that we were upon a resolution to do somewhat with England, if the peace with Spain helped us not, but had as yet resolved upon nothing; such or the like talk we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a wind, and when it served we came both in one passage to Greenwich, near which place we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and came to Master Catesby, whom we found in his lodging; he welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of Easter term, and about the midst of the term (whether sent for by Master Catesby, or upon some business of his own) up came Master Thomas Percy. The first word he spoke (after he came into our company) was, shall we always (gentlemen) talk, and never do any thing? Master Catesby took him aside, and had speech about somewhat to be done, so as first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved within two or three days to do; so as there we met behind St. Clements, Master Catesby, Master Percy, Master Wright, Master Guy Fawkes, and myself; and having upon a primer given each other the oath of secrecy, in a chamber, where no other body was, we went after into the next room, and heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same. Then did Master Catesby disclose to Master Percy, and I together with Jack Wright tell to Master Fawkes the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And then was Master Percy sent to take the house which Master Catesby in mine absence had learned did belong to one Ferris, which with some difficulty in the end he obtained, and became as Ferris before was tenant to Whynniard. Master Fawkes went under the name of Master Percy's man, calling him Johnson, because his name was the most unknown, and received the keys of the house, until we heard that the parliament was adjourned to the 7th of February. At which time we all departed several ways into the country, to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas term. Before this time also it was thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Master Percy's, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there in a night made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament, because we were loath to soil that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Master Catesby often lay; and to be keeper thereof (by Master Catesby's choice) we received into the number, Keyes, as a trusty honest man; this was about a month before Michaelmas.

"Some fortnight after, towards the beginning of the term, Master Fawkes and I came to Master Catesby at Moorecrofts, where we agreed that now was time to begin and set things in order for the mine. So Master Fawkes went to London, and the next day sent for me to come over to him; when I came, the cause was, for that the Scottish lords were appointed to sit in conference of the union in Master Percy's house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Master Percy and Master Wright were come to London, and we against their coming had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, only Master Percy's man, until Christmas eve. In which time we wrought under a little entry to the wall of the parliament house, and underpropped it, as we went, with wood.

"Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surprise the next heir: the prince happily would be at the parliament with the king his father, how should we then be able to seize on the duke? This burden Master Percy undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another gentleman, would enter the chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the duke's chamber) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the court would be absent, and such as were there, not suspecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the lady Elizabeth, it were easy to surprise her in the country, by drawing friends together at an hunting near the lord Harrington's, and Ashby, Master Catesby's house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

"The next was for money and horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable measure (having the heir apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days), was odds sufficient.

"Then what lords we should save from the parliament; which was first agreed in general, as many as we could that were catholics, or so disposed; but after we descended to speak of particulars.

"Next what foreign princes we should acquaint with this before, or join with after. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath; so to be secure of their promises: besides we knew not whether they will approve the project or dislike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget suspicion, and not to provide until the business was acted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might as well intreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in her preparations to hope any good from in the first extremities, and France too near and too dangerous, who with the shipping of Holland, we feared, of all the world might make away with us.

"But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the parliament should be anew adjourned until after Michaelmas; upon which tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas we brought over in a boat the powder, which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Percy's house, because we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

"We wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to break through; at which time we called in Kit Wright; and near to Easter, as we wrought the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder and leave the mine.

"Now by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses, which for different uses had been hired, and buying of powder, &c. had lain heavy upon Master Catesby alone to support; it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave, that he, with Percy, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; for many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the company should be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

"After this Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand of billets, and five hundred of fagots, and with that covered the powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Catesby wished us to consider, whether it were not now necessary to send Master Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, as also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Master Owen with this matter. We agreed that he should (provided that

he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken it before) viz. to keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired Sir William Stanley should be acquainted herewith, was to have him with us as soon as we could; and for Owen, he might hold good correspondency after with foreign princes. So Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned at the latter end of August. He told me that when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley was not returned from Spain, so as he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business, but told him that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any plot, as having business now a-foot in the court of England: but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away so soon as it were done.

"About this time did Percy and Catesby meet at Bath, where they agreed, that the company being yet but few, Catesby should have the others' authority to call in whom he thought best; by which authority he called in after Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and last of all Francis Tresham. The first promised, as I heard Catesby say, fifteen hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; Percy himself promised all that he could get of the earl of Northumberland's rents, which was about four thousand pounds, and to provide swift horses to the number of ten.

"Meanwhile Fawkes and myself alone bought some new powder, as suspecting the first to be dank, and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand.

"Then was the parliament anew prorogued until the 5th of November, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Catesby came up with Fawkes to a house by Enfield-Chase called White-Webs, whither I came to them, and Catesby wished me to enquire whether the young prince came to the parliament: I told him, that I heard that his grace would not be there. Then must we have our horses, said Catesby, beyond the water, and provision of more company to surprize the prince and leave the duke alone.

"Two days after, being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had been given to my lord Monteagle to this effect, that he wished his lordship's absence from the parliament, because a blow would there be given; which letter he presently carried to my lord of Salisbury.

"On the morrow I went to White-Webs, and informed Catesby, assuring him withal that the matter was disclosed, and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told me he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Fawkes to try the uttermost, protesting that if it were his case, he would try the same adventure.

"On Wednesday, Fawkes went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

"On Thursday, I came to London, and on Friday Catesby, Tresham, and I, met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter should be sent to my lord Monteagle, but could not conceive; for Tresham forsware it, whom we suspected.

"On Saturday night, I met Tresham again in Lincoln's-inn-Walks, where he told such speeches, that my lord of Salisbury should use to the king, as I gave the affair up for lost the second time, and repeated the same to Catesby, who hereupon was resolved to be gone, but staid to have Percy come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday Percy being dealt with to that end, determined to abide the uttermost trial.

"This suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, as Catesby resolved to go down into the country the Monday that Master Percy went to Sion, and Percy resolved to follow the same night, or early the next morning. About five o'clock, being Tuesday, came the younger Wright to my chamber, and told me that a nobleman called, the lord Monteagle, saying, arise and come to Essex-house, for I am going to call up my lord of Northumberland; saying withal, the matter is discovered. 'Go back, Master Wright,' said I, 'and learn what you can about Essex-Gate. Shortly after he returned and said, 'Surely all is lost: for Lepton is got on horseback at Essex-door: and as he parted, he asked if their lordships would have any more with him; and being answered no, he rode as fast up Fleet-street as he could ride. 'Go you then,' said I, 'to Percy, 'for sure it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost.' Then I went to the court-gate and found them straightly guarded, so as nobody could enter. From thence I went down towards the parliament house, and in the middle of King's-street found the guard standing, that would not let me pass. And as I returned I heard one say, 'There is a treason discovered, in which the king and the lords would have been blown up.' So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my horse stood, and rode into the country. Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch, but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we took the armour at my lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discover, my man came unto me and said, that a heavy mischance had separated all the company; for that Catesby, Rookwood, and Grant, were burned with gunpowder, upon which sight the rest dispersed. Littleton wished me to fly, and so would he. I told him I would first see the body of my friend and bury him, whatsoever befel me. When I came, I found Catesby reasonably well, Percy, both the Wrights, Rookewood, and Grant. I asked them what they resolved to do: they answered, we mean here to die. I said again, I would take such part as they did. About eleven o'clock came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the court, I was shot in the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm: by the next shot was the elder Wright stricken dead; after him the younger Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood was shot. Then said Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter) 'stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So as we stood close together, Catesby, Percy, and myself, they two were shot, (as far as I could guess, with one bullet) and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both mine arms."

Commissioners.

Nottingham, Suffolk, Northampton, Marr, Worcester, Devonshire, Salisbury, Dunbar, Popham.

Edw. Coke, W. Waad.

The names of those that were first in the treason, and laboured in the mine.

Esquires.

Robert Catesby, and Robert Winter.

Gentlemen.

Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright, Guido Fawkes, and Bates, Catesby's man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though not personally labouring in the mine, nor in the cellar.

Everard Digby, knight.

Esquires.

Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham, John Grant, gentleman, and Robert Keyes.

But here let us leave Fawkes, in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience, and turn to that part of the history which concerns the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was upon a Tuesday, the 5th of November, and the first day designed for that session of parliament; the news, I say, of this so strange and unlooked for accident was no sooner divulged, but some of

these conspirators, namely, Winter and the two Wrights, thought it high time for them to hasten out of the town, (for Catesby was gone the night before, and Percy at four o'clock in the morning the same day of the discovery,) and all of them held their course with more haste than good speed, to Warwickshire towards Coventry; where on Wednesday morning, about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Grant, a gentleman, having associated unto him some others of his opinion, all violent papists and strong recusants, came to a stable of one Benock, a rider of great horses, and having violently broken up the same, carried along with them all the great horses that were therein, to the number of seven or eight, belonging to different noblemen and gentlemen of that county, who had put them into that rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of them which fled out of London, as also Grant and his accomplices, met all together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, on the Tuesday night, after the discovery of this treacherous attempt: the which Digby had likewise for his part appointed a hunting match for the next day, which was Wednesday, though his mind was Nimrod-like upon a far other manner of hunting, more bent upon the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

This company and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered and their treachery prevented, did resolve to run a desperate course, and since they could not prevail by so private a blow, to practise by a public rebellion, either to attain their object, or, at least to save themselves in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could unto them, and pretending the quarrel of religion, having intercepted such provision of armour, horses, and powder as the time permitted, thought by running up and down the country, both to augment piece by piece their number, (dreaming to themselves that they had the virtue of a snow-ball, which, being little at the first and tumbling down from a great hill, groweth to a great quantity, by increasing itself with the snow that it meeteth by the way,) and also that they beginning first this brave show in one part of the country, should by their sympathy and example, stir up and encourage the rest of their religion in other parts of England to rise, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they came not to the number of fourscore, and yet were they troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them, who, notwithstanding all their care, daily left them, being far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but far more in faith or justness of quarrel.

And so after this popish troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour at the last to be beaten with the king's lieutenant, or extraordinary commissioners sent down for the purpose, but only by the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire, by whom they were all beaten, killed, taken and dispersed. Wherein ye have to note the following circumstance, which so admirably and so lively displays the greatness of God's justice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a manner the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

Although many of the king's proclamations were posted down after these traitors, with all the speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, the necessity to have had Percy preserved alive, if it had been possible, and the assembly together of that wicked crew, now no more secret conspirators, but open and avowed rebels; yet the far distance of the way (which was above 100 miles) together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affections of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his proclamations. For on the third day after the flight of these rebels, which was on the Friday next after the discovery of the plot, they were most of them all surprised by the sheriff of Worcestershire at Holbeach, about the noon of the day, and that in the manner following:

Grant, of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great horses, who had not all the preceding time stirred from his own house till the next morning after the attempt should have been put in execution, he then laying his account without his host, as the proverb is, that their plot had, without failing, received the day before their hoped for success, took, or rather stole out their horses, as I said before, for enabling him, and so many of that soul-less society that had still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the king's eldest daughter, the lady Elizabeth having her residence near to that place, at the lord Harrington's house; whom they thought to have used for the colour of their treacherous design (his majesty, her father, her mother and male children being all destroyed above.) And to this purpose also had that Nimrod, Digby, provided his hunting match against the same time, that numbers of people being flocked together upon the pretence thereof, they might the more easily have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her noble person.

Now the violent taking away of those horses long before day, did seem to be so great a riot in the eyes of the common people, that knew of no greater mystery; and the bold attempting thereof did engender such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, as both great and small began to stir and arm themselves, upon this unlooked for accident. Among whom Sir Fulke Grevill the elder, knight, as became one both so ancient in years and good reputation, and by his office, being deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, though unable in his body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, did first apprehend this foresaid riot to be nothing but the sparkles and sure indication of a following rebellion; whereupon he both courageously and honestly gave orders to get into his own hands the ammunition and armour of all such gentlemen about him, as were either absent from their own houses, or in doubtful guard; and also sent forth direction to the towns about him, as thereupon did follow the striking of Winter by a poor smith, who had likewise been taken by these vulgar people, but that he was rescued by the rest of his company; who perceiving that the country before them had notice of them, hastened away with loss in their own sight, sixteen of their followers being taken by the townsmen, and sent immediately to the sheriff at Warwick, and from thence to London.

But before twelve or sixteen hours had passed, Catesby, Percy, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest bringing the assurance that their main plot had failed and was disclosed, whereupon they had built the golden mountains of their glorious hopes; they then took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a troop, and wander as they did, for the reasons before mentioned. But as upon the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their sovereign was so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the meanest and poorest sort of the people (although then knowing of no farther mystery than such public misbehaviours as their own eyes taught them), as, notwithstanding all their fair shows and pretence of their catholic cause, no creature, man, or woman, through all the country, would once so much as give them willingly a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations detested them: so, on the other part, the sheriffs of the shires, through which they wandered, convening their people with all possible speed, hunted as hotly after them, as the badness of the way and the unprovided state of their people upon that sudden could permit them. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straitly been in chase of them to the confines of his country, part of the meaner sort being also apprehended by him; Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, did likewise dutifully and hotly pursue them through his shire; and having got certain information of their taking harbour at the house above named, he did send trumpeters and messengers to them, commanding them, in the king's name, to surrender unto him, his majesty's minister; and knowing no more at

that time of their guilt than was publicly visible, did promise upon their dutiful and obedient surrendering unto him, to intercede at the king's hand for the sparing of their lives: who received only from them this scornful answer (they being better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences.) That he had need of better assistance than of those few persons that were with him, before he could be able to command or control them.

But here happened the wondrous work of God's justice, that while this message passed between the sheriff and them, the sheriff's and his people's zeal being justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer, and so they preparing themselves to give a furious assault; and the other party making themselves ready within the house to perform their promise by a defence as resolute; it pleased God, that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one small spark should flee out and light among less than two pound weight of powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; which being thereby blown up, so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of others of them (blowing up with it also a great bag full of powder, which notwithstanding never took fire) as they were not only disabled and discouraged hereby from any further resistance, in respect Catesby himself, Rookwood, Grant, and several others of greatest note among them were thereby made unable for defence; but also wonderfully struck with amazement in their guilty consciences, calling to memory how God had justly punished them with that same instrument which they had intended to use for the effectuating of so great a sin, according to the old Latin saying, "In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur:" as they presently (see the wonderful power of God's justice upon guilty consciences) did all fall down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise; and thereafter giving over any further opposition, opened the gate, suffered the sheriff's people to rush in furiously amongst them, and desperately sought their own destruction; the three principal of them joining backs together, viz., Catesby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two with one shot, Catesby and Percy, were slain, and the third, Winter, taken and saved alive.

And thus these resolute and high aspiring Romanists, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of king and kingdoms, promised to themselves no lower estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miserably defeated and quite overthrown in an instant; falling in the pit which they had prepared for others, and so fulfilling that sentence which his majesty did in a manner prophesy of them in his oration to the parliament; some slain, others mortally wounded, stripped of their clothes, left lying miserably naked, and so dying rather of cold than of the danger of their wounds; and the rest that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the gaol, the common prison even for the basest malefactors, where they remained till they were sent up to London, being met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them as the rarest sort of monsters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity in seeing the outward cases of so unheard of a villany; and generally all sorts of people to satiate their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far wondered at and detested: serving so for a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

An Act for a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God, every Year, on the 5th day of November.

Forasmuch as Almighty God hath in all ages shewed his power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his church, and in the protection of religious kings and states, and that no nation of the earth hath been blessed with greater benefits than this kingdom now enjoyeth, having the true and free possession of the gospel under our most sovereign lord king James, the most great, learned, and religious king that ever reigned therein, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful progeny, proceeding out of his royal loins, promising continuance of his happiness and profession to all posterity: the which many malignant and devilish papists, jesuits, and seminary priests, much envying and fearing, conspired most horribly, when the king's most excellent majesty, the queen, the prince, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, should have been assembled in the upper house of parliament, upon the 5th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1605, suddenly to have blown up the said whole house with gunpowder; an invention so inhuman, barbarous, and cruel, as the like was never before heard of, as was (as some of the principal conspirators confess) purposely devised and concluded to be done in the said house, that where sundry necessary and religious laws for preservation of the church and state were made, which they falsely and slanderously term cruel laws enacted against them and their religion, both place and persons should be all destroyed and blown up at once, which would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the king's most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason, not many hours before the appointed time for the execution thereof. Therefore the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all his majesty's faithful and loving subjects, do most justly acknowledge this great and infinite blessing to have proceeded merely from God's great mercy, and to his most holy name do ascribe all honour, glory, and praise. And to the end this unfeigned thankfulness may never be forgotten, but be had in a perpetual remembrance, that all ages to come may yield praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in memory this joyful day of deliverance.

Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in every cathedral or parish church, or other usual place for common prayer within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always upon the 5th day of November, say morning prayer, and give unto Almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance: and that all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always upon that day diligently and faithfully resort to the parish church or chapel, where the said morning prayer, preaching, or other service of God shall be used and ministered.

And because all and every person may be put in mind of this duty, and be the better prepared to the said holy service, be it enacted by authority aforesaid, that every minister shall give warning to his parishioners publicly in the church at morning prayer, the Sunday before every such 5th day of November, for the due observation of the said day. And that after morning prayer or preaching on the said 5th day of November, they read distinctly and plainly this present act.

God save the king.

A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the happy Deliverance of his Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and the State of Parliament, &c.

Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed thy power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of thy church, and in the protection of righteous and religious kings, and states professing thy holy and eternal truth, against the wicked conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies thereof: we yield unto thee from the very ground of our hearts, all possible praise and thanks for thy wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious sovereign king James, the queen, the prince, and all the royal branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of this realm, assembled

together at this present in parliament, by popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, and that in most barbarous and savage manner, no age yielding example of the like cruelty intended towards the Lord's anointed and his people. Can this thy goodness, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written on a pillar of marble, that we may ever remember to praise thee for the same, as the fact is worthy a lasting monument, that all posterity may learn to detest it? From this unnatural conspiracy, not our merit, but thy mercy, not our foresight, but thy providence hath delivered us: not our love to thee, but thy love to thine anointed servant, and thy poor church, with whom thou hast promised to be present to the end of the world. And therefore not unto us, not unto us, Lord, but to thy name be ascribed all honour, and glory, in all churches of the saints, throughout all generations: for thou, Lord, hast discovered the snares of death, thou hast broken them and we are delivered. Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our cruel enemies which delight in blood: infatuate their counsel, and root out that Babylonish and antichristian sect, which say with Jerusalem, 'Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.' And to that end strengthen the hands of our gracious king, the nobles and magistrates of the land with judgment and justice to cut off those workers of iniquity, (whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practise is murdering of souls and bodies,) and to root them out of the confines and limits of this kingdom, that they may never prevail against us, and triumph in the ruin of thy church, and give us grace by true and serious repentance to avert these and the like judgments from us. This, Lord, we earnestly crave at thy merciful hands, together with the continuance of thy powerful protection over our dread sovereign, the whole church, and these realms, and the speedy confusion of our implacable enemies, and that for thy dear Son's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

Those of the conspirators, who were taken prisoners, were afterwards brought to trial on the following indictment:—

"Whereas our sovereign lord the king had, by the advice and assent of his council, for divers weighty and urgent occasions concerning his majesty, the state, and defence of the church and kingdom of England, appointed a parliament to be held at his city of Westminster: Henry Garnet, superior of the jesuits within the realm of England, called also by the several names of Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer, and Henry Philips; Oswald Tesmond, jesuit, otherwise called Oswald Greenwell; John Gerrard, jesuit, called also by the several names of Lee and Brook; Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, gentlemen; Guy Fawkes, gentleman, otherwise called Guy Johnson; Robert Keyes, gentleman, and Thomas Bates, yeoman, late servant to Thomas Catesby, esq.; together with the said Robert Catesby, and Thomas Percy, esqrs.; John Wright and Christopher Wright, gentlemen, in open rebellion and insurrection against his majesty lately slain; and Francis Tresham, esq., lately dead; as false traitors against our said sovereign lord the king, did traitorously meet and assemble themselves together; and being so met, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other jesuits, did maliciously, falsely, and traitorously move and persuade, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham; that our said sovereign lord the king, the nobility, clergy, and whole commonalty of the realm of England, (papists excepted) were heretics; and that all heretics were accursed and excommunicated; and that no heretic could be king; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill our said sovereign lord the king, and all other heretics within this realm of England, for the advancing and enlargement of the pretended and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and for restoring the superstitious Romish religion within this realm of England; to which traitorous persuasions the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously did yield their assents; and that thereupon the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and divers other jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; as also the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously among themselves concluded and agreed with gunpowder, as it were with one blast, suddenly to blow up and tear in pieces our sovereign lord the king; the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife; the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, the future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal; the reverend judges of the realm; the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the parliament, and divers other faithful subjects and servants of the king, in the said parliament, for the said causes aforesaid, to be assembled in the parliament-house, and all of them, without any respect of majesty, dignity, degree, sex, age, or place; most barbarously, and more than beastly, traitorously and suddenly to destroy and swallow up; and further, did most traitorously conspire and conclude, among themselves, that not only the whole royal issue male of our said sovereign lord the king, should be destroyed and rooted out; but that the persons aforesaid, together with divers other false traitors, traitorously with them to be assembled, should surprise the persons of the noble ladies Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of our said sovereign lord the king, and falsely and traitorously should proclaim the said lady Elizabeth to be queen of this realm of England; and thereupon should publish a certain traitorous proclamation, in the name of the said lady Elizabeth, wherein as it was specially agreed between and by the said conspirators, that no mention should be made at first of the alteration of religion established within this realm of England; neither would the said false traitors therein acknowledge themselves to be authors, or actors, or devisers of the most wicked and horrible treasons, until they had got sufficient power and strength for the assured execution and accomplishment of their said conspiracy and treason; and that then they would avenge and justify the said most wicked and horrible treasons, as actions that were in the number of those, 'Quæ non laudantur nisi peracta,' which are not to be commended before they are accomplished; but, by the said feigned and traitorous proclamation they would publish, that all and singular abuses and grievances within this realm of England should, for the satisfaction of the people, be reformed; and that as well for the better concealing as for the more effectual accomplishing of the said horrible treasons, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and John Tresham; by the traitorous advice and procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other jesuits, traitorously did further conclude and agree, that as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, thereupon severally and traitorously should receive their several corporeal oaths upon the holy evangelists, and the sacrament of the Eucharist, that they the treasons aforesaid would traitorously conceal and keep secret, and would not reveal them, directly nor indirectly, by words nor circumstances; nor even would desist from the execution and final accomplishment of the said treasons, without the consent of some three of the aforesaid false traitors, first in that behalf traitorously had; and that, thereupon, as well the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, did traitorously take the said several corporeal oaths severally, and received the sacrament of the Eucharist aforesaid, by the hands of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other jesuits; and, further, that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright.

Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, by the like traitorous advice and council of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other jesuits, for the more effectual accomplishing and final execution of the said treason, did traitorously among themselves conclude and agree to dig a certain mine under the said house of parliament, and there secretly under the said house to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder; and that according to the said traitorous conclusion, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, afterwards secretly, not without great labour and difficulty, did dig and make the said mine into the midst of the foundation of the wall of the said house of parliament, the said foundation being of the thickness of three yards, with a traitorous intent to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder in the mine aforesaid, so as aforesaid traitorously to be made for the traitorous accomplishing of their traitorous purposes aforesaid; and that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, finding and perceiving the said work to be a great difficulty, by reason of the hardness and thickness of the said wall, and understanding a certain cellar under the said parliament-house, and adjoining to the house of the said Thomas Percy, was then to be let to farm for a yearly rent, the said Thomas Percy, by the traitorous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as of the said Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously hired the cellar aforesaid for a certain yearly rent and term; and then those traitors removed twenty barrels full of gunpowder out of the said house of the said Thomas Percy, and secretly and traitorously bestowed and placed them in the cellar aforesaid, under the said parliament-house, for the traitorous effecting the treason and traitorous purposes aforesaid; and that afterwards the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously met with Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, esq.; and traitorously imparted to the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, the treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid, and required the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, to join themselves as well with the said Henry Garnet, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, in the treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid; and traitorously to provide horses, armour, and other necessaries for the better accomplishment and effecting of the said treasons; to which traitorous motion and request the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, did traitorously yield their assents; and as well with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, in the said treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid, traitorously adhered and united themselves, and thereupon several corporeal oaths in form above said traitorously took, and the sacrament of the Eucharist by the hands of the said jesuits received, to such intent and purpose as is aforesaid; and horses, armour, and other necessaries for the better effecting of the said treasons, according to their traitorous intents aforesaid traitorously provided; and that afterwards all the said traitors traitorously provided, and brought into the cellar aforesaid, ten other barrels full of gunpowder newly bought, fearing lest the former gunpowder, so as aforesaid bestowed and placed there, was become dampish; and the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid with billets and faggots, lest they should be spied, secretly and traitorously covered; and that afterwards the said false traitors traitorously provided and brought into the cellar aforesaid, four hogsheads full of gunpowder, and laid divers great iron bars and stones upon the said four hogsheads, and the aforesaid other quantities of gunpowder; and the said quantities of gunpowder, bars and stones, with billets and fagots, lest they should be espied, secretly and traitorously did likewise cover; and that the said Guy Fawkes afterwards, for a full and final accomplishment of the said treasons, traitorous intents and purposes aforesaid, by the traitorous procurement as well of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other jesuits; Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as of the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously had prepared, and had found upon his person touchwood and match, therewith traitorously to give fire to the several barrels, hogsheads and quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, at the time appointed for the execution of the said horrible treasons; and further, that after the said horrible treasons were, by the great favour and mercy of God, in a wonderful manner discovered, not many hours before it should have been executed; as well the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously fled and withdrew themselves, to the intent traitorously to stir up and procure such popish persons as they could to join with them in actual, public, and open rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king; and to that end published divers feigned and false rumours, that the papists' throats should have been cut; and that thereupon divers papists were in arms, and in open, public, and actual rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king, in divers parts of the realm."

The conspirators made so little defence for themselves, Garnet excepted, that we shall only observe, that after reading their several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as well of themselves as of some of their dead confederates, they were all found guilty of the treasons contained in their indictment: and, being asked why sentence of death should not pass upon them, Thomas Winter desired he might be hanged both for his brother and himself. Fawkes being asked why he pleaded not guilty; he said he had done so because of some conferences mentioned in the indictment which he was ignorant of. Keyes told the court, his fortune was desperate, and he had as soon die now as at any other time; and for this cause, rather than another. Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy; Grant was a great while mute, but at last submissively owned he was guilty of an intended conspiracy, but never effected. Ambrose Rookwood excused his denial of the indictment, saying he had rather lose his life than give it; he then owned his offence justly deserving the king's indignation, and that of the whole realm, yet could not despair of mercy from so gracious a prince; and the more, because though his offence was not capable of excuse, yet it was of extenuation, since he had been neither author nor actor, but drawn in by Catesby, whom he loved above all mankind; and his mercy he craved, not for fear of death, but to prevent the blemish and ignominy that would remain on his name and family to all future ages; and prayed that the king would herein imitate God, who sometimes punished 'corporaliter non mortaliter,' corporeally but not mortally.

Sir Everard Digby owned that the love and friendship he had to Catesby, drew him into the conspiracy; that the cause of religion was another motive; and the last was the violation of promises to the catholics; and since his offences were confined within himself, he desired that the punishment might only extend to himself, and not to his wife, children, and other relations; then begging pardon of the king, he entreated he might be beheaded. The attorney-general Coke having made

suitable answers to Sir Everard, and sentence being passed, he, together with Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were, on Thursday, the 30th of January, executed at the west end of St. Paul's church; and next day Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, were hanged within the old Palace-yard, at Westminster, not far from the parliament-house.

Having brought these criminals to execution, we come to the trial of Henry Garnet, on the 28th of March, 1606, at Guildhall, in the city of London, before these lords-commissioners:—

Sir Leonard Holiday, Lord Mayor,
Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham,
Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk,
Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester,
Henry Howard, earl of Northampton,
Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury,
The Lord-Chief-Justice of England,
The Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer,
Sir Christopher Yelverton, Kt. one of the justices of the King's-Bench.

The indictment need not be repeated, it being the same in effect as that already given; it was opened by Sir John Croke, the king's sergeant, who said, that the prisoner at the bar proved that true which the Author of truth told us, "That there is nothing hid that shall not be made manifest; that God, by whom kings reigned, scattered and brought to nought the counsels of the wicked;" that if he spoke with fear and trembling, and with horror and amazement, against the rotten root of that hideous and hateful tree of treason, and of that detestable and unheard-of wickedness, he begged pardon, affirming nobody could mention it without astonishment: he set forth that Garnet, otherwise Walley, &c. stood indicted of the most damnable treason that was ever heard of; that he was a man of many names, as appeared by the indictment, but no good name, adorned by nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joined with them; but that being wanting, 'quanto melior,' in other gifts, 'tanto nequior.'

Sir Edward Coke then entered at great length into the part that the Jesuit Garnet had taken in this conspiracy, He said:—

"Their lordships might perceive, by the parts of the indictment now succinctly opened, that this was but a later act of that woeful tragedy, commonly called the powder-treason; wherein some had already, according to their demerits, suffered condign punishment; that they were now to proceed against the prisoner for the same treason; and therefore the repetition of some things before spoken, should at least seem tolerable, for that can never be said too often, that can never be said enough; nay, it might be thought justifiable fully to represent that case, because many could not hear, by reason of the great confluence of people at the former arraignment; yet he would not be tedious, by reason the lords-commissioners, and others, were present at that arraignment."

Having premised thus much, he reduced what he had to say under two general heads:

"First, he said he would consider the offences together, with some circumstances.

"Preceding the offence,

"Concurrent with the offence,

"Subsequent to the offence.

"Secondly, he would lay down some observations concerning the same.

"As for the proper name of that offence, and to distinguish it from others, he would call it the Jesuits' Treason, as belonging to them, both 'ex congruo et condigno,' they were the proprietors, plotters, and promoters of it; and in such crimes the author or promoter is a greater offender than the actor or executor, as appears by God's own judgment against the first sin in paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted on her, as the original plotter; the woman had two, as the mediate procurer; and Adam only one, as the seduced party.

"That the precedent and subsequent circumstances so termed there, were, in reality, all high treasons, but in respect to the magnitude and monstrousness of this, might comparatively be used as circumstances; and because they had to do with the superior of the jesuits, he would touch upon those treasons plotted by that order, and some others, since he came into England, of which he may truly say, 'Et quorum pars magna fui.'

"That he came into England, which was treason in itself, about twenty years before, viz. July, 1586, in the 28th year of queen Elizabeth; whereas the year before there was a law enacted, which made it treason in any priest, so made by any authority from the see of Rome, since the first year of her reign, to come into her dominions."

He went on and informed them:—

"That, in the 28th of the queen, A.D. 1586, Garnet came into England; and that at a time when the Spanish Armada, which the pope blessed, and christened by the name of the Invincible Navy, and consisted at least of 158 great ships, were preparing to invade the kingdom, that the jesuits were the forerunners of this invasion, and navy, and Garnet was amongst them; but that the queen, with her own shipping and subjects, defeated, by God's blessing, that Armada, and destroyed most of them, scarce forty of them returning home to the bar of their own haven; and most of them, according to common fame, also perished."

Here he observed:—

"That, about the time of that invasion, there was a consultation held in Spain, between the cardinal of Austria, duke of Medina, count Fuentes, two Irish bishops, and several military men; and amongst others, Winslade, an Englishman; and the Irish bishops perceiving they expected a party of papists in England, agreed it was impossible to do any good there without it; but such, said they, was the English policy, that that could never be effected; for, upon the least suspicion that arose, the catholics would be either soon confined, or quite cut off; but what said an old soldier there present? 'This makes for us, for by that means their souls shall go to heaven for their religion, their bodies to the earth for their treason, and their lands and goods to us as conquerors;' and it was what indeed they principally aimed at; to which he subjoined, 'that since the jesuits set foot in England, no four years passed without a most pestilent and horrid treason invented by them, to the subversion of the state; that, after the invasion of eighty-eight, they fell upon new treasonable practices, for, in ninety-two, came over Patrick Cullen, at the instigation of Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, James Francis, and Holt the jesuit, and resolved by the same Holt to kill the queen, for which he received of him absolution and the sacrament, together with the spiritual advice, that it was both lawful and meritorious to do it; nay, the said James, the laundress's son, said, the state of England was and would be so well settled, that unless Mrs. Elizabeth were suddenly taken off, all the devils in hell would not be able to prevail against, or shake it.'

"That Cullen's treason was attended with a book, called Philopater, writ to abet and authorise such a hellish act, in general, by Creswell, the legier jesuit in Spain, under the aforesaid feigned name; that in ninety-four Williams and York came over to destroy the queen, being set on by father Holt and his accomplices, and to that end received the sacrament of him, and other jesuits, in the Jesuits' College; and that treason was also accompanied with a book, written by Parsons, under the name of Doleman, legier jesuit and rector at Rome; a book full of falsehood, forgery, and malediction; that Squire, in ninety-seven, came from Spain to poison the queen, at the instigation of Walpole, the jesuit, then residing there, who also gave him absolution and the sacrament, as well to execute the parricide, as to keep it secret; all which treasons were freely and voluntarily confessed by the parties themselves, under their own hands, and were then extant to be seen.

"That in 1601, when practices failed, then force was again attempted; for then was Thomas Winter employed

to the king of Spain, with Tesmond, the jesuit, by this Garnet, who wrote letters to Arthur, alias Joseph Creswell, the legier jesuit in Spain, to offer the services of the English catholics to that king, and concert an invasion; with promises from those in England of assistance, both of men and horses, ready to join them; that that negotiation, by the means of Creswell, had that effect; that the two kingdoms being then in hostility, the proposals of the English Romanists were received and agreed to, an army promised, and an hundred thousand crowns to be distributed among the papists and malcontents, for promoting that service; and that, in the mean time, the king earnestly desired, if the queen should die, he might have early information of it.

"That this treason was accompanied with two briefs or bulls of the pope, one to the clergy, and the other to the laity, sent to Garnet, under these titles; 'To our beloved sons, the noblemen and gentlemen of England, who are catholics, greeting an apostolical benediction.' The other to the clergy ran thus, 'To our beloved sons, the arch-priests, and the rest of the catholic clergy.' The contents were, 'that when the queen died, whoever laid claim to the crown, though never so near in blood, unless he was such an one as would not only tolerate the catholic religion, but use his best endeavours to promote it; and, according to ancient custom, by a solemn oath, religiously promise and undertake to perform the same, he should not be admitted to be king.'

"That the bulls came upon Winter's negociations in Spain for an army to invade the kingdom, upon the death of miserable queen Elizabeth, for so the pope expressed it.

"That since the death of queen Elizabeth and his present majesty's accession, there passed not four years, nay, not four, and scarce two months without some treason; that first in March 1603, upon the queen's death, and before they had seen the king's face, Christopher Wright was sent into Spain, by Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, to continue the former negociation of Winter, and Garnet wrote by him to Creswell to further it; that Fawkes, on the 22nd of June following, was sent out to Flanders by Baldwin, the jesuit, Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, about the same treason; that in the same month Garnet and Gerrard, and other jesuits, laboured to provide horses, which by Winter and Wright's negociations they promised, in the name of the English Romanists, to assist the king of Spain with, when he should send his forces to invade the kingdom, and land either at Milford Haven or in Kent; and, by virtue of the said bulls, dissuaded the Romanists from yielding due obedience to his majesty, because he was not of their religion, contrary to the practice of the true church and churchmen, that undergo wars, 'ferendo non feriendo,' with patience, not with strokes, their weapons being properly prayers and tears.

"That on the 9th of June, 1603, broke out the treason by the Romish priests, Wilson and Clark, as also that of Raleigh and others; that the jesuits seeing the peace in great forwardness, and having also notice that the king of Spain disliked their proposals, they re-assumed their secret practices; and as for the bulls aforementioned, when Catesby had informed Garnet king James had been proclaimed, and the state settled, Garnet, owned he himself burnt them; that these two, in March, 1603, conferring together, Catesby told the other, though most falsely, that the king had broke his promise with the catholics, and therefore there would certainly be commotions in England in a short time.

"That Garnet, in January, in the first year of the king's reign, took out a general pardon under the great seal of England for all treasons, the king condescending to do this to all men, at his accession to the English throne, under the name of Henry Garnet of London, gent., and no other; but Catesby fearing lest any of those whom he should engage in the conspiracy should be pricked in conscience and make a discovery, required Garnet, as being superior of the jesuits, and therefore of great authority among them, to give him his opinion as to the lawfulness of the act, that so he might satisfy others he might have to do with, and he stated the case thus: Whether for the good and promotion of the catholic cause, against heretics, the necessity of time and opportunity requiring it, it might be lawful or not, amongst many nocents, to destroy and take off some innocents also? to which Garnet answered, that if the advantage were greater to the catholic cause, by taking off some innocents, together with many nocents, then doubtless it might be lawful to kill and destroy them all; instancing, by way of comparison, in a city possessed by an enemy, wherein, at the taking of it, should there be some few friends, they must undergo the fortune of war in the general slaughter; and by this resolution of Garnet it was that Catesby kept up the traitors, and in March following he, with Thomas Winter and others, resolved upon the powder-plot; and Fawkes as being not known, and withal desperate and a soldier, was pitched upon to execute it, and so Winter, in April, fetched him out of Flanders; and in May, Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes had a meeting, and took an oath of secrecy and constancy, to this effect:

"'You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to be kept secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.'

"Then they were all confessed, had absolution, and received the sacrament by the hands of Gerrard, the jesuit, then present; and at Midsummer, Catesby and Garnet talking about the powder-plot, they said it was so secret that it must prevail before it could be discovered; and then Garnet, seeming desirous that the pope's consent might be obtained, Catesby answered, he took that as granted by the pope in the two bulls before mentioned. The attorney here taking notice, that Thomas Bates was brought into the plot by his master, Catesby, and confessed and encouraged to persevere therein by Greenwell, the jesuit; and that Robert Keyes was engaged about the same time in the design, he informed the court, that on the 11th of December they entered the mine, and in March following, 1605, Guy Fawkes was sent over to Sir John Stanley, with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the legier jesuit there, to see that the forces against the time the blow should be given, might be brought near the sea side, to be wafted suddenly over into England; and there Fawkes, by the consent of the conspirators, gave Owen the oath of secrecy and perseverance, and then acquainted him with the whole treason, who greatly applauded it, and consented to promote it; that in May, 1605, broils happening among the Roman catholics in Wales, Rookwood was then engaged into the plot by Catesby, and convinced of the lawfulness of it. Then it was that Garnet wrote to the pope, that he or 'Aquaviva,' general of the jesuits, might command a stop to be made of all commotions in the kingdom by the Romanists, they putting their whole stress upon the powder-plot, and to lull us thereby also into the deepest security; but when he further desired that might be enjoined upon censures, that was rejected, lest, indeed, it might be an impediment to the powder-plot.

"Greenwell, in June following, consulted with Garnet about the whole course of the plot; but the subtle jesuit said, he would not confer about it with any layman, except Catesby, because that might derogate from his character as superior, should he openly join with laymen in the business of so much blood; but with a priest, and particularly he would consult with Greenwell, the jesuit, about it, as in a disguised confession; and being informed that the discourse would be too long kneeling, he would do it in an ambulatory confession, and discoursed at large with him about the whole plot; and that a protector, when the blow was given, should be chosen out of such of the nobility as should be warned and reserved.

"There was now also a great conference between Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, about the strength of the English catholics, that the pope might be acquainted with it by Garnet, his holiness being unwilling to consent to any insurrection until he was certainly informed

they had a sufficient force; that in August following, Garnet in a conference held about acquainting the pope with the powder-treason, named Sir Edward Baynam to go to carry the message to him, not as pope, but a temporal prince; and Garnet wrote a letter by him to that purpose, as also for prohibiting any commotions upon certain censures; he likewise wrote to Baldwin, the legier jesuit in Flanders, in the behalf of Catesby, that Owen should solicit the marquis for a regiment of horse for him the said Catesby; not with any intent that Catesby should undertake any such charge, but that under colour thereof, horses and other necessaries might be provided to furnish the traitors without suspicion.

"Parsons, the jesuit, in September, wrote to Garnet, to know the particulars of the project in hand; for the journey now to St. Winifrid's Well was but a blind, that they might be more retired, and have a better opportunity to confer together; and Garnet, in October, met the other traitors at Coughton in Warwickshire, the place of rendezvous, whither they resorted out of all countries, upon the 1st of November. He openly prayed for the good success of this great action, concerning the catholic cause, in the beginning of the parliament; and in his prayer he used two verses of a hymn, 'Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter.' Now was the letter with the lord Monteagle, on the 4th of November, and, by the providence of God, not many hours before the treason should have been executed, it was fully discovered.

"On the 5th, being the day on which the conspirators expected their hellish devices should have taken effect, they met at Dunchurch, under pretence of a great hunting-match, appointed by Sir Everard Digby, as being a man of note thereabouts, designing to supply themselves with men for the intended insurrection and rebellion; and being full of imaginary assurances, thought they might easily surprise the person of the lady Elizabeth, then in those parts, in the lord Harrington's house.

"Catesby and the other conspirators, on the 6th of November, early in the morning, despatched Bates with a letter to Garnet, then at Coulton, near to them, earnestly pressing his assistance to raise the Welch, and, as much as possible, to foment an open rebellion; at which time Garnet and Greenwell, then together, perceiving the plot to be discovered, and knowing themselves to be the chief authors of it, were much abashed; though Greenwell's fiery spirit urged him still into other overt-acts.

"There was, he said, a double consequence of this treason, 1. Open rebellion, and afterwards blasphemy in Garnet; for, having liberty in the Tower to write, and sending a letter which was openly showed in court before him, to an acquaintance in the Gate-House; there was nothing to be read in it but ordinary things, and some necessaries; but in the margin, which was very large, and underneath, he wrote several things with the juice of a lemon, to vindicate his innocence and hard usage; and denied those things which before he had freely and voluntarily confessed; saying, as to the Spanish treason, he was secured by the king's pardon; and, for the powder-treason, he hoped, for want of proof against him, to get clear of it well enough, but concluding blasphemously, applied the words spoken of our Saviour to himself, 'Necesse est ut unus homo morietor pro populo;' it is necessary that one man should die for the people; and his prevarications and equivocations are the more conspicuous, since he truly and freely confessed his treasons before the commissioners; being, as he owned, under his hand, overwhelmed 'tanta nube testium,' and that at 'faciendum populum,' in his letters he wrote abroad, he cleared himself of the powder-treason."

Sir Edward Coke having concluded a very elaborate and learned address, the proofs were repeated for every particular accusation, by the express and voluntary words of Garnet, and his accomplices, and of two credible witnesses sworn at the bar; and openly heard *viva voce*, and acknowledged by Garnet himself to be men without exception.

Garnet having now leave of the court to make his defence, divided all that had been laid to his charge into four parts, containing matter of

1.—"Doctrine.
2.—"Recusants.
3.—"Jesuits in general.
4.—"Himself in particular."

As to doctrine, he fell upon two points; first, equivocation, to which he answered, "That their church condemned all lying, but especially in matters of religion and faith, that being the most pernicious lie of all others, and condemned by St. Augustine in the Priscillianists; nay, to lie on any account, was reputed a sin; that, however, of eight degrees instanced by St. Augustine, the lowest indeed was to lie to procure good to some, without hurting any body; so that their equivocation was not to maintain lies, but to defend the use of some propositions; for, one might ask another a question that had no authority to do it, or interrogate him about a thing he had no right to know, as what a man thinks, &c. insomuch, that no man should equivocate when he ought to tell the truth, otherwise he might. So St. Augustine upon John said, that Christ denied he knew of the day of judgment, viz. with purpose to tell it to his disciples; and so St. Thomas and others, who treated of that matter, chiefly under the title of confession."

Secondly, as to the power of the pope to depose princes, his answer was threefold. "1. That therein he proposed only and followed the doctrine of the church. 2. That that doctrine of the pope's power, was by other catholic princes tolerated without grievance. 3. That for his own part, he always made a distinction in the point of excommunicating and deposing of princes, between the condition and state of our king and others, who having some time been catholics, did or should fall off. As for Simanca and other writers, whatever they said about deposing of heretics, that was to be understood of those princes who, having sometimes professed the faith of the church of Rome, afterwards made a defection from it."

Secondly, for recusants; "First, he desired them not to impute any crime of his to the prejudice of the cause of religion. Secondly, as to their not going to church; whereas Mr. Attorney had urged, that the excommunication and bull of Pius Quintus was the cause of it, and that now they might go, the king being not excommunicated. His answer was, that the Arians and orthodox had the same service in their churches, yet assembled not together, and he knew several himself, that before that bull, refused to go to church in the queen's time, though perhaps, most catholics did go till about the end of the council of Trent, when this matter was debated by twelve learned men, and concluded unlawful; and this was occasioned because Calvin himself held it unlawful for a protestant to be present, not only at their mass, wherein, perhaps, they might say there was idolatry, but not at our even-song, though the same as theirs. Thirdly, as to the Jesuits, he said if any were privy to such horrible treasons, it was impious, especially in men of their profession; but he added, that he had talked with some of them about it, and they denied it. Fourthly, as to himself, he owned that the negociation in Spain was proposed to him; and he was also acquainted with that for money, but ever intended it should be applied to the relief of poor catholics; but when they were there they moved for an army, which he, being informed of it, disapproved of, saying, it would be much disliked at Rome; only he must needs confess, he concealed it after the manner of Christ, who commanded us, when our brother offended, to reprove him, for if he amended we had cured him; yet he could not but confess, that the laws made against such concealments were very good and just; and that it was not fit the safety of a prince should depend upon any other man's conscience; so that he was easily persuaded, if they had yielded to him, it might have been well; but what their intent was, in insisting on an army, he was enjoined not to intermeddle with; nor with the money, which was to be sent for pensions, though it was to maintain the title of the king."

Earl of Salisbury.—"To maintain whose title?"

Garnet.—"The title of the king of Spain."

Earl of Norfolk.—"Why did you not oppose and forbid it, as you might have done, for 'qui cum possit non prohibet, Jubet?'"

Garnet.—"He could not do it; and as for sending letters, and recommending some persons in them, he owned he did it often, as they were recommended to him without knowing either their purposes, or some of their persons, for he never knew Mr. Wright, for whom he wrote."

Salisbury.—"I must now, Garnet, put you in mind, how little any of your answers can serve your purpose, when you endeavour to colour your correspondence with Baynham, by professing to write to Rome to get the conspiracies countermanded; and yet you say now, when he set out for Rome, the blow must have been given before his arrival there, (such being your zeal and his haste for any prevention) that it was about the 20th of October when he passed by Florence."

Garnet.—"He made little answer to this, but going on with his defence about sending recommendatory letters; he owned he had written in favour of Fawkes, thinking he went to serve as a soldier, and knew not of any other design he had in hand; he did not know particularly what sir Edmond Baynham or Catesby intended, except that Catesby asked him a general question about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty, as had been objected against him, which at first, said he, I thought had been an idle question, though afterwards I verily apprehended he designed something that was not good; whereupon, having soon after received letters from Rome, prohibiting all insurrections intended by the catholics, which might disturb the government, I informed Catesby of it, telling him, that if he proceeded against the pope's will, he would not prevail; but that Catesby refused, saying, he would take no notice of the pope's pleasure; nevertheless, he shewed Catesby the general letter he received from Rome, but said, he would inform the pope, and tell Garnet, in particular, what attempt he had in hand, if he would hear it; which he afterwards offered to do, but the other refused it, and at two several times requested him to let the pope know what was his intention.

"Again, that when sir Edmond Baynham was to go into Flanders for a soldier, Garnet thought fit to send him to the pope's nuncio, and to recommend him to other friends, that they should send him to inform the pope of the distressed state of the catholics in England; so that the pope having a layman there, might be made acquainted with all their proceedings; and that Baynham might then know the pope's sentiments about what the catholics should do in England for their advantage; but he would not have Baynham, by any means, use his name to the nuncio upon that account."

Here two witnesses being called, and both of them persons of good reputation, who overheard the conference between Garnet and Hall the jesuit, viz. Mr. Fauset, a learned gentleman, and a justice of the peace, and Mr. Lockerson; the first not being in court, was sent for, and the other in the mean time being sworn, deposed that they heard Garnet say to Hall, they will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action, in the beginning of the parliament.

"It is true," said Garnet, "I prayed for the good success of that great action; but I will tell them, that I meant it in respect to some sharp laws, which I was afraid they would then make against the catholics."

Garnet.—"As for the two gentlemen who heard the conference, I will not charge them with perjury, because I know them to be honest men, yet I think they mistook some things; though, in the substantial part, I confess I cannot deny their relation: and for the main plot, I own I was made acquainted with it, particularly by Greenwell, and that he came perplexed unto me, to open somewhat which Catesby and divers others intended; to whom I said, I was content to hear what it was from him, but upon condition that he would not let Mr. Catesby, or any other person, know I was made privy to it; when Father Greenwell told me the whole conspiracy, in all its particulars, with which I protest I was much disturbed, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes prayed to God it might not have effect."

Salisbury.—"You would do well to speak plainly of your devotion on that account, for otherwise I must put you in mind, that you confessed to the lords, you had offered sacrifice to God to prevent that plot, unless it was for the good of the catholic cause; and this government was no other way beholden to you for your masses and oblations; adding, that he wondered why he wrote to his superior Aquaviva, as well about this powder-treason in particular, as to procure prohibitions for smaller matters."

Garnet.—"I was not to discover it to any body, because it was a point of secret confession, and would endanger the lives of several persons."

Northampton.—"That matter of confession which before you refused to confess, because you would save lives, you confess now to endanger your own; and therefore your former answer was idle and frivolous."

Garnet.—"I commanded Greenwell to dissuade Catesby, which I thought he did; and if Catesby had come to me at Allhallow-day, I think I could have so far managed him, that he would have been persuaded to desist."

Salisbury.—"Why did you refuse to hear Catesby tell you all the particulars, when he would have told you, if you had been desirous to prevent it?"

Garnet.—"After Greenwell had told me what Catesby intended, and when I called to mind what Catesby had said to me, at his first disclosing it to me in general terms, my soul was so troubled with abhorrence of the plot, that I was loath to hear any more of it."

Salisbury.—"Well then," said the earl of Salisbury, "you see his heart;" and then turning to the lords commissioners, he desired leave of them to say something concerning the proceedings of the government in that grand affair, from the very beginning to that time; "although the evidence had been so well opened by Mr. Attorney, he having never heard so much matter better compacted, or made more intelligible to the jury, to whom it was not his business to speak, nor his design to meddle with Mr. Garnet's divinity, or doctrine of equivocation, in which last he saw how he had played his master-piece; yet because he had been one of the committee of lords employed in the examination, who, next to God's glory, desired nothing more than to demonstrate to the world, with what sincerity and moderation his majesty's justice had been shown upon all occasions: he would adventure to say somewhat of the manner of that arraignment, and of the place where it was appointed: For the first, seeing there was nothing to which the government might more attribute the infinite goodness and mercy of God, than to the protection of the true religion, which had groaned so long under the bitter persecution of men of Garnet's profession; he owned he thought himself much honoured to become an assistant among so many lords at the seat of justice, where God's cause should receive so much honour by discrediting the person of Garnet, on whom the common adversary thought fit to confer the usurpation of so eminent a jurisdiction; for otherwise, who knew not that the quality of poor Harry Garnet might have undergone a more ordinary form of trial, and perhaps in some other place of easy note and observation? and then taking occasion to declare, that the city of London was so dear to the king, and his majesty so desirous to give it all honour and consolation, that when this opportunity was put into his hands, whereby there might be made so visible an anatomy of popish doctrines, from whence those treasons had their source and support, he thought he could not choose a fitter stage than that city, which was not only termed the chamber of his empire, but was by him esteemed as his greatest and safest treasury, who accounted no riches comparable to his subjects' hearts; and acknowledged that such a compass never contained so many faithful subjects within its walls; a thing amongst others that he himself, upon the decease of the late queen, when attending most of the peers and privy-councillors of the kingdom, who were accompanied with no small number of noble and faithful gentlemen, had

seen them all stopped from entering within the city gates, till they had publicly declared, with one voice, that they would live and die with the king our sovereign lord. To you, therefore, Mr. Garnet, I must address myself, as the man in whom it best appears what horrible treasons you have concealed under the mask of religion, which heretofore had been petty treason for a protestant to have affirmed; such have been the iniquity of false tongues, that always sought to prove truth falsehood, of which impudent calumnies the government has been so tender, as you best know, Mr. Garnet: that since you were taken up, to this time, you have been used as christianly, courteously, and civilly as any of your quality or profession could be; yea, I may say, you have been well attended, in respect to your health, or otherwise, as a nurse-child, for the truth of which I appeal to yourself."

Garnet.—"It is most true, my lord; I own it."

Salisbury.—"Well, then, if your strange doctrine of equivocation is to be minded, and the hardness of your heart to deny every thing, we must not forget that your discourse with Hall, which was overheard by others, appears to be the finger of God; for by it the lords had some light and proof against you, which otherwise must have been discovered by violence and coercion, a usual practice in other kingdoms, though now disused here; but it was better as it was, for the honour of the state; for so were your own words, that you thought it best to tell the truth at last, when you saw you were confounded, 'tanta nube testium;' in which I protest and firmly assure myself, that you would as easily have confessed yourself to be the author of the whole, as the concealer, but that the king and my lords were content to draw every thing from you without the rack, or any torments. I pray you, Mr. Garnet, to tell me, what encouraged Catesby to proceed, but your resolution of the first proposition? what was it that excited Fawkes, but Catesby's explanation of Garnet's arguments, as appears plainly by Winter's confession and Fawkes's, that they knew Mr. Catesby had received satisfaction in the point, by the best authority."

Garnet.—"Mr. Catesby was to blame to name such application."

Salisbury.—"I must needs be bold with you, and remind you, how after the interlocution between you and Hall, when you were brought before the lords, and asked not what you said, but whether Hall and you had any conference together, and were desired not to equivocate, how stiffly you denied it upon your soul, repeating the same with so many horrid execrations, that it wounded their hearts to hear them; and yet Hall had no sooner confessed it, but you were ashamed, begged the lords' pardon, and said you had offended, as equivocation had not helped you?"

Garnet.—"When one is asked a question before a magistrate, he is not bound to answer before some witnesses are produced;" then falling to professions of his well-wishes to the king, and being put in mind of the answer he made concerning the excommunications of kings, wherein he referred himself to the canon of 'Nos sanctorum;' he answered, "his majesty was not yet excommunicated."

Salisbury.—"Deal plainly, for now is the time, whether in case the pope, 'per Sententiam orthodoxam,' should excommunicate the king, his subjects were bound to continue their obedience?"

This he declined to answer.

After other witnesses were examined. The earl of Northampton made the following speech to the prisoner:—

"Though no man living can be more unwilling to add the least grain or scruple to any man's calamity than myself; yet, as the case now stands, Mr. Garnet, between our dread sovereign, 'ex cujus spiritu,' as one said of Alexander, 'nos omnes spiritum ducimus,' and you, who was so well content to let the conspiracy run on to the stopping of that breath before the time which God, by nature, prescribes between his honour and your error, his just proceedings and your painted shews, his sincerity and your hypocrisy; I could wish it possible that you might, in a person of some other quality, hear the echoes of your imperfect and weak answers, and so judge more indifferently of the true state of the cause than hitherto you have done.

"I confess, nobody in your condition gave less advantage in the whole course of the proceedings to us in commission to examine and try you, than you have done; sometimes by perjury, according to the confession of Hall, your companion; sometimes by dissimulation, as about the places of your rendezvous; by earnest expostulations, by artificial equivocation; sophisticating true substances, and adding false qualities; but yet there is enough to defeat your devices, and to defend his majesty, 'Quia magna est veritas et prævalebit.'

"But now, to weigh your answers about the plot: you cannot deny, Mr. Garnet, but that Greenwell's overture, as you say in confession, being made after the notice you took of Catesby's question about innocents, was the fruit of your own doctrine, the effect of your own instruction, and a conclusion wholly drawn from your own propositions and principles. Now, when we press to know the reason of your concealing such a project, so pernicious to the king and kingdom, without discovering it either to the king himself, or his ministers, you fly to the cover of confession, which will not do in reference to Catesby's first discovery, according to your own words: I will not argue in this place, what course a confessor should take, or how far he ought to strain to save a prince's life, otherwise sure to perish by the hands of a base villain, because time will not allow it; but I am sure, confession about a thing of less weight, and a crime of less importance than the life of a prince or state, received a deep wound above a thousand years past, in the church of Constantinople; for God forbid that things of such weight should hang by slender threads: but as to the case in hand, I am very doubtful whether this course of conference was a confession, or not; seeing sometimes you kneeled, and sometimes walked up and down, and there was matter of conspiracy interlaced with matter of confession; not for ease of conscience, by what appears, but for advice in executing, which excludes the shift of reference; and Greenwell must be found to lie to the Holy Ghost, in case this was a true confession, in promising, as you say, to dissuade the project, which it is plain he prosecuted to the last. I conclude, that the discovery was by confession, it was no supersedeas to your former knowledge of the plot from Catesby; what need we seek light through the cobweb lawns, when the whole drift of your design in concealing from one, what you learned from another, and from all, what you affected and abetted in your heart, evidently proves your counsels to have been carried on with such a reservedness of temper, that whatever mischief came to light, the world might rather admire your caution than commend your fidelity.

"You must, by giving such weak answers to so many demonstrations, either work by the Ring of Giges, to make your designs invisible, or have a mean opinion of our understandings, as if we should be put off with such sophistry; for though you pretended to have a wounded conscience upon the first discovery to you, to have lost your sleep through vexation of spirit, to have prayed to God for his preventing grace, and to have required Greenwell's assistance in crossing the design; yet you suffered the project to go on, assisted their endeavours, wrote earnestly to Baldwin and Creswell, to further the ordinary means; gave order for a prayer to be said by the catholics for their prosperous success; ever had an ear open to the blow, and were in the same agony for the powder-plot, as Charles V. was for the pope's imprisonment, ordering prayers to be said in all his dominions for his liberty, when, at the same time, he was his own prisoner. The least word of your mouth, or stroke of your pen, might have secured the king and government, though you pretend to have broke your sleep and brains; and your tenderness herein was of a piece with another dutiful desire of yours to dissuade Catesby from the plot, at his coming into Warwickshire; who never intended to go thither: but as to the rendezvous, when the parliament had been blown up, and the storm over, your

mind, perhaps, was disquieted with considerations of strange events, so were Cain, Ahithophel and Judas; the reason is, that seeing wickedness is cowardly and timorous, it gives evidence of condemnation against itself, but Satan prevailing, his angels execute.

"I have dwelt the longer upon this point, to let you know how idly and wilfully you strive against the divine providence, and the justice of the land: the more you labour to get out of the wood, having once lost the right way, the further you creep in, for the wisdom of the world is folly with God; and it is impossible those courses should be either approved of in this world, or rewarded in the next, that are imbrued in blood and pursued with tyranny. If then there is no other way to heaven, but by the destruction of God's anointed, and his heirs, I conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius, 'Erigito tibi scalam et in cœlum solus ascendite,' set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to heaven alone, for loyal minds cannot suit with such bad company: the worst I wish to your person, standing now to be convicted at the bar, is remorse and repentance for the safety of your soul; and for the rest, 'fiat justitia, currat lex, et vincat veritas.'"

Garnet.—"I have done more than I can excuse; I have dealt plainly with you, but I am bound to keep the secrets of confession, and to disclose nothing that I have heard in sacramental confession."

Nottingham.—"If one confesses this day to you, that to-morrow morning he intends to kill the king with a dagger, must you conceal it?"

Garnet.—"I must conceal it."

Salisbury.—"I desire leave to ask you some questions concerning the nature of confessions."

Garnet.—"Your lordship may, and I will answer you as well as I can."

Salisbury.—"Must there not be confession and contrition before the absolution?"

Garnet.—"Yes."

Salisbury.—"Was Greenwell absolved by you, or not?"

Garnet.—"He was."

Salisbury.—"What did Greenwell do to show that he was sorry for it, and whether he promised to desist?"

Garnet.—"Greenwell said he would do his best."

Salisbury.—"It could not be so: for, as soon as Catesby and Piercy were in arms, Greenwell came to them from Garnet, and so went from them to Hall, at Mr. Abington's house, inviting them most earnestly to go and assist those gentlemen in the action; whereby it appears, that either Greenwell told you out of confession, and then there was no need of secrecy; or if in confession, he promised no repentance, and therefore you could not absolve him: this one circumstance must still be remembered, and you cannot get clear of it, that when Greenwell told you what Catesby meant in particular, you then also called to mind what Catesby had told you before in general; if you had not been desirous to have the plot succeed, you might have discovered it, from the general knowledge you had of it from Catesby; but when he offered himself to impart the particulars to you, as he had done to Greenwell, you refused to hear him, lest your tongue should have betrayed your heart."

Garnet.—"I did what I could to dissuade it, and went into Warwickshire with design to dissuade Mr. Catesby from it, when he came down; and as for Greenwell's going to Father Hall to persuade him to join in it, he did very ill in so doing."

Salisbury.—"Your first answer is absurd, seeing you knew Catesby would not come down till the 6th of November, the day after the blow was to have been given, and you went into the country ten days before: as to the second, I am only glad that the world may now see, that jesuits are condemned by jesuits, and treasons and traitors laid naked by traitors themselves; yea jesuits, by that jesuit who governs all of them here, and without whom none of them in England can do any thing."

Garnet.—"I pray God and the king that other catholics may not fare the worse for my sake."

Salisbury.—"Mr. Garnet, is it not a lamentable thing, that if the pope, Claudius Aquaviva or yourself, should command the poor catholics to do any thing, they must obey, though to the endangering of body and soul? and if you maintain such doctrines among you, how can the king be safe? Is it not therefore time, that the king and government should be watchful of you, seeing you spend your time thus in his dominions?"

Garnet.—"My lord, I would to God I had never known of the powder-treason."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Garnet, you are superior of the jesuits, and if you forbid, must not the rest obey? Was not Greenwell half-an-hour with you at Sir Everard Digby's, when you talked of the discovery of your treason? Did you not there confer and debate the matters? Did you not send him to Hall at Abington's house, to excite him to go to the rebels and encourage them? Yet you seek to disguise all this, but it is a mere shift; and though you say no man living but one knew that you were privy to it, it is like some that are dead did. Catesby was never absent from you, as the gentlewoman, that kept your house, confessed; and you were, by many apparent proofs, and evident presumptions in every particular of this fact, directing and commanding the actors; nay, I think you were the chief mover of it."

Garnet.—"No, my lord, I was not."

Lord Chief Justice.—"You wrote letters to Winter, Fawkes, Baynham, and Catesby, the principal actors in this matchless treason, and kept the two bulls in prejudice to the king's title, and to do other mischiefs to the kingdom; but when you saw the king came in peaceably, being out of hope to do any good, you burnt them."

In the end, the jury withdrew, and returned within less than a quarter of an hour, finding Henry Garnet *guilty*.

Here the Lord-Chief-Justice having summed up all the proofs and presumptions of his guilt, gave judgment, that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Salisbury.—"Garnet, would you say any thing else?"

Garnet.—"No, my lord, but I humbly desire all your lordships to commend my life to the king's majesty; saying, that at his pleasure he was ready either to live or die, or do him service."

May 3, 1606, being the day appointed for the execution of Mr. Garnet, there was a scaffold set up on purpose at the west-end of St. Paul's. Upon his mounting, he seemed to be much amazed; the deans of St. Paul and Westminster being present, they in a grave and christian manner exhorted him to place a true and lively faith in God, and freely and plainly to acknowledge of his offence to the world; and, if he knew of any further treason, to discharge his conscience, and shew his sorrow and detestation of it; but Garnet, not pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him, for he came prepared, and was resolved. Then the recorder of London, appointed by the king to be there, asked the malefactor if he had any thing to say to the people before he died; that it was no time to dissemble, his treasons were manifest; therefore, if he were willing to let the world see the thoughts he had of himself and his actions, he might freely do it; but he said his voice was slow, his strength gone, and the people could not hear him; but to those about him on the scaffold he said, "The intention was wicked, and the act would have been cruel, and he should have abhorred it from his soul, if it had taken effect, but," he said, "he only had a general knowledge of it from Catesby, and had offended for not discovering it, and using means to prevent it. What he knew in particular was in confession;" but the recorder put him in mind, that the king had the four points following under his hand, 1. That Greenwell told him of it, not as a fault, but a thing he had intelligence of, and by way of consultation. 2. That Catesby and Greenwell came together to be resolved. 3. That Tesmond and he had conference about the particulars of the plot in Essex, long after. 4. That Greenwell had asked him, who should be protector? But Garnet said, that was to be deferred till the blow was past. That these proved his privity, besides confession, and were under his hand: he answered, "whatever was under his hand was true; and because he did not discover them to the king, he confessed he was justly condemned and asked forgiveness of him."

Then the recorder, leading him to the scaffold to make his confession in public, Garnet said, "Good countrymen, I come hither this day of the invention of the holy cross, to end all my crosses in this life: You know the cause of my sufferings; I confess I have offended the king, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty by concealing it; and for that I ask pardon of the king. The treason intended against the king and state was bloody; I myself should have detested it, had it taken effect, and I am heartily sorry any catholics ever had so cruel a design."

Then preparing for death, he kneeled at the foot of the ladder, and asked, if he might have time to pray, and how long? It was answered, he should limit himself, none should interrupt him. During the time of his prayers, he often broke off, turned and looked about him, and answered to what he overheard while he seemed to be praying.

When he stood up, the recorder finding by his behaviour some expectation of a pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, for he was come to die and must die; requiring him not to equivocate with his last breath, if he knew any thing that might be dangerous to the king or state, he ought then to reveal it. Garnet said, "It was no time now to equivocate, how and when it was lawful, he had shewn his mind elsewhere; but," said he, "I do not now equivocate, and more than I have confessed, I do not know." At his going up the ladder he desired to have warning before he was turned off, but he was told, "he must look for no other turn than death." Being upon the gibbet, he used these words, "I commend me to all good catholics, and I pray God to preserve the king, queen, and all their posterity, and my lords of the privy-council, to whom I give my humble duty, and I am sorry I did dissemble with them; but I did not think they had such proof against me, till it was shown to me; but when it was proved, I thought it more honourable at that time to confess, than before: and, for my brother Greenwell, I wish the truth were known, for the false reports that fly about make him more criminal than he is: I should not have charged him, but that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the catholics may not fare the worse for my sake. I earnestly exhort them all never to enter into any treasons, rebellions, and insurrections against the king." Then falling to his prayers, and crossing himself, he said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and prayed, "O Mary, mother of grace! Mary, mother of mercy, protect me from the evil one, and receive me in the hour of death." Then, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" again, "By this sign of the cross," crossing himself, "May the evil one be far from me, place thy cross in my heart, O Lord." "Let me always remember the cross;" and so returning to "Mary, mother of grace," he was turned off, and hung till he was dead.

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APPENDIX IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH REBELLION IN THE YEAR 1641, WHEN THE PAPISTS ATTEMPTED TO EXTIRPATE THE PROTESTANTS IN THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND. BY SIR JOHN TEMPLE, KNT., MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY-COUNCIL AT THAT TIME IN IRELAND.

The Irish Rebellion: or an History of the Attempt of the Irish Papists, in the Year 1641, *to extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland; together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon. Written from his own Observations, and authentic Depositions of other Eye-witnesses, by* Sir John Temple, Knt., *Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council at that time in Ireland. Now re-printed for the perusal of all protestants, as the most effectual warning-piece to keep them upon their guard against the encroachments of popery.*

Such was now the state and present condition of the kingdom of Ireland, such the great serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the public affairs here, as that the Irish army, raised for the invasion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably disbanded, their arms and ammunition, by the singular care of the lords justices and council, brought into his majesty's stores within the city of Dublin, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no relics of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late levies, nor, indeed, any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now, while, in this great calm, the British continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between his majesty and his subjects of Scotland being about this time fairly composed and settled; there broke out, upon the 23rd of October, 1641, a most desperate and formidable rebellion,—an universal defection and general revolt,—wherein not only all the Irish, but almost all the old English, that adhered to the church of Rome, were totally involved: and, because it will be necessary to leave some monuments hereof to posterity, I shall observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress, of a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole world, that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders, that have been, without numbers as well as without mercy, committed upon the British inhabitants throughout the land, of what sex or age, of what quality, or condition, soever they were.

And, first, I must needs say, that, notwithstanding I have observed, in the nature of the Irish, such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them, with much silence and secrecy, to carry on their business; yet I cannot but consider it as a most astonishing event, that this mischievous plot, (which was to be so generally, at the same time, and at so many places, acted, and therefore must necessarily have been known to so many persons,) should, without any noise, be brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any notice or intimation, given to any two of that great multitude of persons who were generally designed to be destroyed in it, as afterwards most of them were destroyed. For, except the uncertain presumptions that Sir William Cole had entertained of a commotion to be raised by the Irish in the province of Ulster, about a fortnight before this rebellion broke out openly, and some certain intelligence, which he received of the same two days before the Irish rose, I could never hear, that any Englishman received any certain notice of this conspiracy, before the very evening before the day on which it was to be generally put into execution. It is true, Sir William Cole, upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish, did write a letter to the lords-justices and council, dated the 11th of October, 1641, wherein he gave them notice of the great resort made to Sir Phelim O'Neale, in the county of Tyrone, as also to the house of the Lord Mac-Guire, in the county of Fermanagh, and that by several suspected persons, who were thought to be fit instruments for mischief: as also, that the said Lord Mac-Guire had, of late, made several journeys into the Pale, and other places, and had spent much of his time in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad.

These letters were received by the lords-justices and council; and they, in answer to them, required him to be very vigilant and industrious, to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or of any other particulars that he conceived might tend to the public service of the state. And, as to that which was

revealed to Sir William Cole, upon the 21st of the same month of October, by John Cormacke, and Flarty Mac-Hugh, from Brian Mac-Cohamaught, Mac-Guire, touching the resolution of the Irish to seize upon his majesty's castle and city of Dublin, and to murder the lords-justices and council of Ireland, and the rest of the protestants there, and to seize upon all the castles, forts, sea-ports, and strong-holds, that were in the possession of the protestants within the kingdom of Ireland,—I find by the examination of John Cormache, taken upon oath at Westminster, Nov. 18, 1644, that the said Sir William Cole did dispatch letters to the lords-justices and council, the same day, to give them notice thereof. But I can also testify that those letters, (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherwise miscarried, I cannot say,) came not unto their hands; as also that they had not any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the Irish, until the 22nd of October, in the very evening before the day appointed for the surprise of the castle and city of Dublin.

Then the conspirators, many of whom arrived within the city, and having that day met at the Lion tavern, near Copper Alley, and there, turning the drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drank healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next morning's work: Owen O'Conally, a gentleman of an Irish family, but one that had long lived among the English, and who had been trained up in the protestant religion, came unto the lord-justice Parsons, about nine o'clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy, for the seizing upon his majesty's castle of Dublin: he gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators, assured him they were come up expressly to the town for the same purpose; and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented; and that he had understood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the town, and came up the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom, indeed, he had been drinking somewhat liberally; and, as the truth is, did then make such a confused relation of a matter that seemed incredible in itself, that his lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one, as he conceived, that was, at that time, somewhat disordered by drinking.

However, the lord Parsons gave him order to go again to Mac Mahon, and to get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances, as he could, strictly charging him to return back unto him the same evening. And in the mean time (having, by strict commands given to the constable of the castle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as also with the mayor and sheriffs of the city, to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to stop all strangers,) he went privately, about ten o'clock that night, to the lord Borlace's house without the town: and there, acquainting him with what he understood from Conally, they sent for such of the council as they knew then to be in the town; but there came only unto them that night Sir Thomas Rotheram and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer: with these they entered into consultation what was fit to be done, while they were waiting for the return of Conally; and, finding that he staid somewhat longer than the time appointed, they sent out in search after him, and found him seized on by the watch; and so he would have been carried away to prison, and the discovery of the plot on that night would have been disappointed, had not one of the lord Parsons' servants, (who had been expressly sent, amongst others, to walk the streets, and attend the motions of the said Conally,) come in and rescued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's house.

Conally, having somewhat recovered from his distemper, (which was occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, and partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon, that he might the more easily get away from him, who was beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering the plot, confirmed what he had formerly related; and added these further particulars, set down in his examination as follows:—

The Examination of Owen O'Conally, Gentleman, taken before us whose names ensue, October 22, 1641.

Who, being duly sworn and examined, saith, "that he being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, received a letter from Colonel Hugh-Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Connaught, in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last; whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught, on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither: he came hither about six o'clock in the evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the pillory, to the lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, whom they found not within; and there they drank a cup of beer, and then went back again to the said Hugh's lodging."

He saith, "that at the Lord Mac-Guire's lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town, who, with himself, had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday; and that they intended, first, to batter the chimnies of the said town, and, if the city would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that would not join with them."

He further saith, "that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten o'clock; and that, in all the sea-ports, and other towns in the kingdom; all the protestants should be killed this night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it."

And further saith, "that he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own estate; who said he could not help it; but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course." And he further saith, 'that, when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore, that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it: whereupon this examinant, feigning some necessity for his easement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him; and, when this examinant came down into the yard, and found an opportunity, he, this examinant, leaped over a wall and two pales, and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.'"

William Parsons,
Thomas Rotheram,
Robert Meredith. OWEN O'CONALLY.

October 22, 1641.

Hereupon the lords took present order to have a watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac Mahon, as also upon the Lord Mac Guire's; and so they sat up all that night in consultation, having far stronger presumptions upon this latter examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain. The lords justices, upon a further consideration, (there being come unto them early next morning several others of the privy council,) sent before day, and seized upon Mac Mahon, then, with his servant, in his own lodging: they at first made some little resistance with their drawn swords; but, finding themselves overpowered, presently yielded; and

so they were brought before the lords-justices and council, still sitting at the Lord Borlace's house: where, upon examination, he did without much difficulty, confess the plot; resolutely telling them, "that on that very day all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken: that he, with the Lord Mac Guire, Hugh Birn, Captain Brian O'Neale, and several other Irish gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprise the castle of Dublin: that twenty men, out of each county in the kingdom, were to be here to join with them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom, that were papists, were engaged in this plot: that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it: and withal told them that it was true they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased; but he was sure he should be revenged."

By this time the noise of this conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the town, and advertisement was brought unto the lords-justices then in council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come the last evening, and in the morning early, into the town, and most of them to put up their horses in the suburbs: whereupon the lords, having, in the first place, taken order for the apprehension of the lord Mac Guire, removed themselves, for their better security, into the castle, where the body of the council then in town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there.

In the first place, they caused an immediate search to be made for all such horses belonging to strangers as were brought into any of the inns, and by that means they discovered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon, and committed to the castle of Dublin, having already delivered over, to the custody of the constable there, the lord Mac Guire, and Hugh Mac Mahon; but Hugh Birn, and Roger Moore, chiefs of the conspirators, escaped over the river in the night; and colonel Plunket, captain Fox, with several others, found means likewise to pass away undiscerned; and of the great numbers, who came up out of several counties, to be actors in taking the castle and city of Dublin, there were not (through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants), above thirty seized upon; who were most of them servants and inconsiderable persons; those of quality having so many good friends within the town, that they had very ill luck if they were apprehended.

On the same night the lord Blaney arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his wife, and his children, by the rebels of the county of Monaghan. Next day came intelligence from Sir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of the Mewry; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders, committed within the province of Ulster, began to multiply, and several persons every day, and almost every hour in every day, for a good while after, arrived, like Job's messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor English in those parts from whence they came.

These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the English, and other well-affected inhabitants within the city, that they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the Irish, who had already crept into the town, joining with the papists there, should make the city a theatre, whereon to act the second part of that tragedy, most bloodily begun in the northern parts by them.

And it added most keenly to these present fears, that several unhappy rumours, the great tormentors of the weaker sex, were vainly spread abroad, of the sudden approach of great numbers of rebels out of the adjacent Irish counties into this city: some would make us believe, that they were discerned, at some distance, already marching down from the mountain-side within view of the town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the state up to the platform of the castle to behold those who were yet invisible; though there were some that would not be persuaded, but that they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains.

It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were ten thousand of the rebels assembled together in a body at the hill of Tarah, a place not above sixteen miles distant from the town; and that they intended, without any further delay, to march on and presently surprise the same. These false rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panic among them, that, about seven o'clock at night, (the lords-justices, and some of the council, being then in the council-chamber within the castle,) there came in to them a gentleman of good quality, who, having (not without much difficulty, as he pretended,) recovered the gate of the castle, caused the warders then attending to draw up the bridge, assuring them, that the rebels, gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and came now with great fury marching down the street that leads directly towards the castle gate.

But this fear was quickly removed by Sir Francis Willoughby, who, (being that day made governor of the castle,) caused the draw-bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false alarm, occasioned by some mistake among the people, who continued wandering up and down the streets, prepossessed with strange fears; some of them, upon some slender accident, drawing their swords; others, that knew not the cause, thought fit to follow the example; and so they appeared to this gentleman, (who was none of their company,) as so many rebels coming up to enter the castle.

These were the first beginnings of our sorrows; ill symptoms, and sad preparatives to the ensuing evils. Therefore the lords, finding by means of several communications, (though some purposely framed,) that the power of the rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk, and likely so fast to multiply and increase upon them, thought it high time to consider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent, so imminent a danger. The rebellion now appeared, without all manner of question, to be generally raised in all parts of the north, and, like a torrent, to come down most impetuously upon them: besides, it was not improbable, that all other parts of the kingdom would take fire, and follow their example; for they had the positive testimony of Mac-Mahon therein.

The first thing, therefore, which they took into consideration, was, how they were provided with money, arms, and ammunition? Then, what companies of foot, and troops of horse, of the old army they were able to draw presently together? as also what numbers of new men they could suddenly raise? For the first, they had this short account from the vice-treasurer, that there was no money in the exchequer: and certainly it was a main policy, in the first contrivers of this rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at such a time when the exchequer should be empty, and all the king's revenues, both certain and casual, due for that half year, as well as the rents of all the British throughout the kingdom, should be found ready either in the tenants' or collectors' hands in the country, and so necessarily fall under their power; as they did to their great advantage.

For arms and ammunition, the stores happened to be tolerably well furnished at this time: for, besides several pieces of artillery of divers sorts, most of them fitted for present service, there were arms for near ten thousand men, one thousand five hundred barrels of powder, with match and lead proportionable, laid in by the earl of Strafford, late lord-lieutenant, not long before, though designed for another purpose; but so opportunely reserved for this service, that the good providence of God did exceedingly appear therein; but principally in the miraculous preservation of them out of the hands of the rebels, who made the surprisal of these provisions, (then all within the castle of Dublin, the common storehouse of them,) a main part of their design.

The old standing army, consisted only of forty-one companies of foot, and fourteen troops of horse. And these were so strangely dispersed, most of them into the

remote parts of the kingdom, for the guard of several forts and other places, that it fell out to be, in a manner, almost impossible to draw a considerable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the city, or the making head against the rebels in the north: besides, it was much to be suspected, that the companies lying so remote from each other, and ill-furnished with ammunition, could not with safety march to Dublin. Yet the lords sent patents presently away to require several companies of foot, and some troops of horse, immediately to rise, and march up from their several garrisons towards the city of Dublin.

And now it was held high time to give an account unto his majesty, who was then at Edinburgh, in his kingdom of Scotland, and to the lord-lieutenant, who continued still at London, the parliament still sitting there, of the breaking out of this rebellion, the ill condition of the kingdom, the wants of the state, and the supplies absolutely necessary for their present defence and preservation. And, because the letter to the lord-lieutenant doth most clearly represent several particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true copy of it, which here follows:—

"May it please your lordship,

"On Friday, the 22nd of this month, after nine o'clock at night, this bearer, Owen Conally, servant to Sir John Clotworthy, knt., came to me, the lord-justice Parsons, to my house, and in great secrecy, (as indeed the cause did require,) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be also acted, by some evil-affected Irish papists here. The plot was on the then next morning, Saturday the 23rd of October, being St. Ignatius's day, about nine o'clock, to surprise his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's chief strength of this kingdom, wherein also is the principal magazine of his majesty's arms and ammunition; and it was agreed, it seems, amongst them, that at the same hour all others, his majesty's forts, and magazines of arms and ammunition in this kingdom, should be surprised by others of those conspirators; and further, that all the protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom, that would not join with them, should be cut off, and so those papists should then become possessed of the government and kingdom at the same instant.

"As soon as I had that intelligence, I immediately repaired to the lord-justice Borlace, and thereupon we instantly assembled the council, and, having sat all that night, and also all the next day, the 23d of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter,—although it was not possible for us, upon so few hours' warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and at so great a distance, as in all the other parts of the kingdom,—yet such was our industry therein, (having caused the castle to be that night strengthened with armed men, and the city guarded,) that the wicked counsels of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act that part of their treachery; which indeed was the principal, and which, if they could have effected it, would have rendered the rest of their purposes the more easy.

"Having so secured the castle, we forthwith laid about for the apprehension of as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city but that night, intending, it seems, the next morning, to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes.

"The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac Mahon, esq., grandson to the traitor Tyrone, a gentleman of a good fortune in the county of Monaghan, who with others, was taken that morning in Dublin, having, at the time of their apprehension, offered a little resistance with their swords drawn; but finding those we employed against them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He, upon his examination before us, at first denied all; but, in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as, by a copy of his examination herewith sent, may appear to your lordship: we then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time having become more needful to be employed in action, for securing this place, than in examining. This Mac Mahon had been abroad, and served the king of Spain as lieutenant-colonel.

"Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter we received the week before, from Sir William Cole, a copy whereof we send your lordship here inclosed, we gathered, that the Lord Mac Guire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin; wherefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His lordship, observing what we had done, and the city in arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it seems, disguised; for we had laid a watch about his lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself: yet he could not get forth of the city; so surely guarded were all the gates.

"There we found at his lodging, hidden, some hatchets, with the helves newly cut off close to the hatchets, and many skeans, and some hammers.

"In the end the sheriffs of the city, whom we employed in strict search of his lordship, found him hidden in a cock-loft, in an obscure house, far from his lodging: where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

"He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confessed, that he had not advertised us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But we were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all circumstances, that we doubted not, upon further examination, (when we could be able to spare time for it,) to find it apparent: wherefore we held it of absolute necessity to commit him close prisoner, as we had before done to Mac Mahon, and others, where we left him on the three-and-twentieth of this month in the morning, about the same hour that they had intended to have been masters of that place and this city.

"That morning also we laid wait for all those strangers that came the night before to town: and so many were apprehended, whom we find reason to believe to have hands in this conspiracy, that we were forced to disperse them into several gaols; and we since found, that there came many horsemen into the suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

"When the hour approached, which was designed for surprising the castle, great numbers of strangers were observed to come to town, in great parties, several ways; who, not finding admittance at the gates, staid in the suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terror of the inhabitants. We, therefore, to help that, drew up instantly and signed a proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the city or suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it alike penal to those that should harbour them; which proclamation the sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the suburbs by our commandment; which being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men, and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes. And in this case, (all our lives and fortunes, and above all, his majesty's power and regal authority, being still at stake,) we must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as we see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason, and all the contrivers thereof; which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

"On that 23d day of this month, we, (conceiving that, as soon as it should be known, that the plot for seizing Dublin castle was disappointed, all the conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartened, as, on the other side, the good subjects would be comforted, and would then, with the more confidence, stand on their guard,) did prepare to send abroad, to all parts of the kingdom, this proclamation, which we send you here inclosed: and so having provided, that the city and castle

should be so guarded as upon the sudden we could premise, we concluded that long continued consultation.

"On Saturday, at twelve o'clock at night, the Lord Blaney came to town, and brought us the ill news of the rebels seizing with two hundred men, his house at Castle Blaney, in the county of Monaghan, and his wife, children, and servants; as also a house of the Earl of Essex, called Carrickmacrosse, with two hundred men; and a house of Sir Henry Spotswood, in the same county, with two hundred men; where, there being a little plantation of British, they plundered the town, and burnt divers houses; and it since appears, that they burnt divers other villages, and robbed and spoiled many English, and none but protestants, leaving the English papists untouched, as well as the Irish.

"On Saturday morning, at three o'clock, we had intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, that the Irish in the town had that day also broken up the king's store of arms and ammunition at the Newry, and where the store of arms hath lain ever since the peace, and where they found fourscore and ten barrels of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con. Mac Gennis, knt., and one Creely, a monk, and plundered the English there, and disarmed the garrison. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.

"However, we shall stand on our guard the best we may, to defend the castle and city principally, those being the places of most importance. But if the conspiracy be so universal, as Mac Mahon saith, in his examination, it is namely, 'That all the counties in the kingdom have conspired in it;' (which we admire should so fall out in this time of universal peace, and carried on with that secrecy, that none of the English could have any friend amongst them to disclose it;) then indeed we shall be in high extremity, and the kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of men, money, and arms, to enable us to encounter such great multitudes as they can make, if all should join against us; the rather because we have pregnant cause to doubt, that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of jesuits, priests, and friars.

"All the hope we have here is, that the old English of the Pale, and some other parts, will continue constant to the king in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions.

And now in these straits, we must, under God, depend on aid forth of England, for our present supply, with all speed; especially money, (we having none,) and arms, which we shall exceedingly want; without which we are very doubtful what account we shall give to the king of his kingdom.

"But, if the conspiracy be only of Mac Guire, and some other Irish of the kindred and friends of the rebel Tyrone, and other Irish in the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable measure, if we be enabled with money from thence; without which we can raise no forces: so great is our want of money, as we have formerly written, and our debt so great to the army. Nor is money to be borrowed here; for, if it were, we would engage all our estates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his majesty's rents and subsidies, in these disturbances; which adds extremely to our necessities.

"On Sunday morning, the 24th, we met again in council, and sent to all parts of the kingdom the enclosed proclamation, and issued patents to draw hither seven horse-troops, as a farther strength to this place, and to be with us, in case the rebels shall make head and march hither, so as we may be necessitated to give them battle. We also then sent away our letters to the presidents of both the provinces of Munster and Connaught. And we likewise then sent letters to the sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, to consult of the best ways and means of their own preservation. That day the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Nettervile, the lord viscount Fitz Williams, and the lord of Houth;—and since, the earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the lords of Dunsany and Slane;—all noblemen of the English pale; came unto us, declaring, that they then, and not before, heard of the matter, and professed loyalty to his majesty, and concurrence with the state; but said they wanted arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by us; which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulness to the crown. But we were not yet certain, whether or no we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the city and castle. Yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger, with a small proportion of arms and ammunition for their houses; lest they should conceive we entertained any jealousy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us; which they readily promised to do.

"And, if it fall out that the Irish generally rise, (which we have cause to suspect,) then we must of necessity put arms into the hands of the English pale at present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for the defence of the state and themselves.

"Your lordship now sees the condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your presence speedily, for the better guiding of these and other the public affairs of the king and kingdom. And secondly, that the parliament there be moved immediately, to advance to us a good sum of money; which, being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the expense of very much treasure and blood in a long-continued war. And, if your lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time, we must then desire your lordship to appoint a lieutenant-general, to discharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the forces here.

"Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon us, we bethought us of the parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand, which will draw such a concourse of people hither, and give opportunity, under that pretence, of assembling and taking new counsels, (seeing the former seem to be in some part disappointed,) and of contriving further danger to this state and people. We have, therefore, found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the term to be adjourned to the first of Hilary term; excepting only the court of Exchequer, for hastening in the king's money, if it be possible. We desire, upon this occasion, your lordship will be pleased to view our letters, concerning the plantation of Connaught, dated the 24th of April last, directed to Mr. Secretary Vane, in that part thereof, which concerns the county of Monaghan, where now these fires do first break out.

"In the first place, we must make known to your lordship, that the army we have, consisting but of 2000 foot and 1000 horse, are so dispersed in garrisons, in several parts, (as continually they have been since they were so reduced,) as, if they be all sent for to be drawn together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn, and for whose safety they lie there, must be by absence distressed; but also the companies themselves, coming in so small numbers, may be in danger to be cut off in their march; nor indeed, have we any money to pay the soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave, and remain, from his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 25th of October, 1641.

"Your lordship's to be commanded,

"William Parsons,	John Borlace,
Richard Bolton, Can.	R. Dillon,
Anthony Midensis,	John Raphoe,
R. Digbie,	Ad. Loftus,
Ger. Lowther,	John Temple,
Tho. Rotheram,	Fran. Willoughbie,
J. Ware,	G. Wentworth."
Robert Meredith,	

Postscript.

"The said Owen Conally, who revealed the conspiracy, is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he hath, so extremely to his own danger, expressed in this business;

whereby, under God, there is yet hope left us of the deliverance of this state and kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those conspirators. And therefore, we beseech your lordship, that it be taken into consideration there, so that he may have a mark of his majesty's most royal bounty, which may largely extend to him, and his posterity, we not being now able here to do it for him. "W. PARSONS."

"To the Right Honourable our very good Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland."

The despatch sent to his majesty, was addressed to Sir Henry Vane, principal secretary, and carried by Sir Henry Spotswood, who went by sea directly into Scotland; and the letters to the lord-lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of the plot.

The lords now, with all care and diligence, applied their further endeavours towards the preventing, as much as was possible, the destruction intended against all the British inhabitants of the kingdom, as well as the security of the city and the places round about it; a work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reason of their own wants both of men and money.

They, having formerly sent away and dispersed proclamations into several parts of the country, now sent letters by express messengers unto the presidents of Munster and Connaught, and to several principal gentlemen in those two provinces; as also to others within the province of Leinster, giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defence of the country about them.

They sent another express to the Earl of Ormond, then at his house at Caricke, with letters to the same effect; and withal desired his lordship presently to repair unto them at Dublin, with his troop of horse.

They sent likewise commissions to the lord viscounts of Clandebois, and of the Ardes, for raising of the Scots in the northern parts, and putting them in possession of arms; as they did also soon after to Sir William Stewart, and Sir Robert Stewart, and several other gentlemen of quality in the north; and, as they gave them orders for prosecution of the rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive such of them in, as should submit to his majesty's grace and mercy. But these despatches they were forced to send all by sea, the rebels having stopped up the passages, and hindered all manner of intercourse with that province by land.

The northern rebels so closely pursued their first plot, that having begun to put it in execution, in most of the chief places of strength there, upon the 23rd of October, (the day appointed for the surprisal of the castle of Dublin,) they had, by the latter end of the same month, obtained possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen's houses, within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down, except the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, the town and castle of Enniskillen, and some other places and castles; which were, for the present, gallantly defended by the British, though afterwards, for want of relief, surrendered into their hands.

The chief of the northern rebels that first appeared in the execution of this plot, within the province of Ulster, were, Sir Phelim O'Neile, Turlogh O'Neale, his brother; Roury Mac Guire, brother to Lord Mac Guire; Philip O'Rely, Mulmore O'Rely, Sir Conne Mac Gennis, Colonel Mac Brian, Mac Mahon. These, having closely combined together, with several others of their accomplices, the chief of the several Septs, in the respective counties, divided their forces into several parties; and, according to a general assignation made among themselves, at one and the same time, surprised by treachery the town and castle of Newry, the fort of Dungannon, fort Montjoy, Carlemont, Tonrages, Carrick, Mac Rosse, Clongheuter, Castle Blaney, and the castle of Monaghan, being all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them companies of foot, or troops of horse, belonging to the standing army.

Besides these, they took a number of other castles, houses of strength, towns, and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the country, as well as themselves, by their diligent labours. They had made, for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant habitations, and possessed corn, cattle, and all other commodities that an industrious people could draw out of a good inland soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them were very well stored with plate and ready money. They also dwelt in great security, being quiet and careless, as the people of Laish, little suspecting any treachery from their Irish neighbours.

The English well knew they had given the Irish no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and affection. No history can ever shew, that in any age, since their intermixed cohabitation, they rose up secretly to do them mischief; and now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together, that they had just reason most confidently to believe, that the Irish would never, upon any occasion, generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason, that the English were so easily overrun within the northern counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of resistance in the very first beginnings of this rebellion; for (most of the English, having either Irish tenants, servants, or landlords; and all of them having Irish neighbours whom they supposed to be their familiar friends,) as soon as this rebellion broke out, and the whole country began to rise about them, some made their recourse presently to their friends for protection, some relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants, for preservation, or, at least, present safety; and with great confidence put their lives, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power. But these generally either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands.

The popish priests had now so inflamed the Irish, and instigated them to such a degree against the English, that it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief, or protection, to any of the English. All bonds and ties of faith and friendship were now broken; the Irish landlords made a prey of their English tenants; Irish tenants and servants a sacrifice of their English landlords and masters; one neighbour cruelly murdered by another; even the Irish children, in the very beginning, fell to strip and kill English children: all other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them, that could, by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an Englishman to the slaughter, a work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood; for they, living promiscuously among the English in all parts, having from their priests received the watch-word both for time and place, rose up, as it were, actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those counties before mentioned, at one and the same point of time; and so, in a moment, fell upon them, murdering some, stripping others, or expelling them out of their habitations.

This spread such a general terror and astonishment among the English, as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields; husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; their children's brains dashed out before their faces; others had all their goods and cattle seized and carried away; their houses burned; their habitations laid waste; and all, as it were, in an instant, before they could suspect the Irish for their enemies, or any way imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great violence, or do such mischief unto them.

Now, for such of the English as stood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in small numbers, the Irish had recourse to their ancient stratagem; which, as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present rebellion; and that was, "fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter, to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage, with a safe conduct into what places soever they pleased; and, to confirm these covenants, sometimes under their hands and seals, sometimes with deep oaths and protestations; and then, as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves discharged from their promises, and to leave their soldiers at liberty to spoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure."

Thus were the poor English treated, who had shut themselves up in the great cathedral church at Armagh, by Sir Phelim O'Neale, and his brother Turlogh: thus were those of them used by Philip O'Rely, who had retired to Belterbert, the best planted town in the county of Cavan: and, after the same barbarous manner were such of the English drawn out to the slaughter, as had fled into the castle of Longford, the castle of Tullough in the county of Fermanagh; or the church of Newtown, in the same county, and several other places, as appears by several examinations taken upon oath, from persons that hardly escaped thence with their lives.

And besides these, other policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to disable them to stand out to make any defence: as in several places the Irish came under divers pretences, and borrowed such weapons and arms as the English had in their houses, and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan: and by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English arms in the county of Cavan: the high sheriff there (being an Irishman and a papist,) pretending that he took their arms only to secure them against the violence of such of the Irish as he understood to be in arms in the next county. And, that they might the more easily effect the destruction of the English, and keep off the Scots from giving them any assistance, they openly professed to spare, as really they did at first, all the Scottish nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all English papists, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to induce all of that nation to abstain from taking up arms, till they had mastered all the English, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them.

Thus were the poor English prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the Irish on all sides about them, that they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small parties, and betook themselves into several churches and castles, some of which were long and gallantly defended by them; yet did they not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field against the numerous forces of the rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that province, as I could hear of; every man betaking himself, the best he could, to the care of his own house, and seeking how to save his own family, his goods within, and his cattle without: and so, while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joining their forces together for the common safety, they gave the rebels a fair opportunity, and a singular advantage, to work out with great facility their common destruction.

Whereas, if they had deserted their houses, upon the first notice of the rising up of the Irish, and in the different counties put themselves into separate bodies, under the command of the chief English gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly, (how ill soever they were provided with arms and ammunition,) been able to have encountered the Irish, and to have beat them out of many parts of the country, or, at least, to have put them to some stand in their enterprise: whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, without almost any resistance, exposed themselves to the merciless cruelty of the Irish, who, at the very first, for some few days after their breaking out, did not in most places murder many of them; but the course they took was to seize upon all their goods and cattle, to strip them, their wives, and children naked, and, in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, to drive them to the mountains, to wander through the woods and bogs; and if they by any means procured any other clothes, or but even ordinary rags to cover their nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of shelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their priests and chief commanders.

And so they drove such of the English, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the country. Some of them took their journey towards Carrickfergus, others towards Coleraine, Derry, and other of the northern parts. Many who had assembled together, and stood upon their defence, came to terms with their bloody assailants, and gave them their goods, plate, and money, for leave to come up to the city of Dublin. And, having bought their licence at so dear a rate, had passes and convoys assigned them by the chief captains of the rebels, and so came on upon their way in great troops of men, women, and children.

Out of the county of Cavan, as Master Creighton, who, by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing, testifies in his examination, there passed by his house in one company of 1400 persons; in another 500, from Newtown, in the county of Fermanagh; in others lesser numbers, all without any weapons, or any thing else but the very clothes on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away; but many were most barbarously stripped of them, by those who undertook to give them safe conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatsoever they had to cover their nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the examination of Adam Clover, of Slonosy, in the county of Cavan, who, being duly sworn, deposeth "inter alia:"

"That this deponent, and his company that were robbed, observed, that thirty persons, or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about one hundred and fifty more persons cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood, issuing from their wounds, lay upon the highway for twelve miles together; and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the rebels was such, that their parents and friends could not carry them further."

And further saith, "that some of the rebels vowed, 'That if any digged graves, wherein to bury their dead children, they should be buried therein themselves:' so the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls, and some few their parents carried a great way to bury them."

And this deponent further saith, "that he saw upon the way a woman, left by the rebels stripped to her shift, set upon by three women and some Irish children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor Englishwoman, and stripped her of her shift in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour under their hands, and both she and her child died there."

Thus did their mercy, in sparing these poor creatures in this manner, prove by such a far greater cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousands of British that fell into their hands; for now they starved and perished in multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to those that outlived the misery of their journey, their limbs only served to drag up their bodies to christian burial, there denied unto them. For many of the men, and most of the women and children that thus escaped, either to Dublin, or other places of safety in the north, did not long outlive the bitterness of their journey; but

either overwhelmed with grief, or wearied out with travel, contracted those diseases, which, furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

These were the first fruits of this rebellion, which now began to extend into the other provinces, having covered over the northern parts of the kingdom with fearful desolations. The first plotters were yet undiscovered: but the great, active instruments, appointed for the execution of this horrid design, fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir Phelim O'Neale, being the chief of that clan, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late earl of Tyrone, assumed to himself the chief power among the rebels in Ulster; and by his directions guided the rest of his accomplices on in the destruction of all the English there.

He was one of very mean parts, without courage or conduct; his education, for a great part of his youth, was in England; he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, and there trained up in the protestant religion, which he soon changed after, if not before, his return to Ireland; lived loosely, and, having no considerable estate, by reason of the great mortgage upon it, became of very little esteem in all men's opinions; yet, such was the zeal of his countrymen in this cause, their secresy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, that, by their forwardness to destroy the English and get their goods, he quickly overrun that part of the country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this rebellion, by seizing most treacherously, at the very first upon Charlemont, where the Lord Dunfield lay with his company of foot, of the forts of Dungannon and Montjoy, as that in his letter, written to father Patrick O'Donnell, his confessor, bearing date from Montjoy, the 30th of October, he was able to boast of great and many victories; and presently after he had assembled such a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, that he marched down with great numbers of men towards Lisnagarny, near the chief plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot "to spare them," as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take; therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy;) and yet he left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in Dundalk, in the county of Lowth; which was a frontier town in the last wars against Tyrone, and so well defended itself, as, with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a company of foot of the old army; but the lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor arms, nor ammunition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants, who delivered up the town into the possession of the rebels, about the beginning of November, 1641.

The rebels, presently after their taking of Dundalk, marched on further into the county of Lowth, and possessed themselves of Ardee, a little town within seven miles of Tredagh, anciently called Droghedah: so as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that town.

But I shall now return to the consultations and means used here by the justices and council, for the securing of the city and castle of Dublin, which, by reason of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, were in very great and most apparent danger of a sudden surprize.

And, first, for the castle: Sir Francis Willoughby being made governor, had a company of 100 men, well-armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary warders, who gave their usual attendance there: and, because the lords conceived it might be dangerous, in such desperate times, to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle, as had daily occasion to attend the council-board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork-house; where they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort, in great numbers, of several lords, gentlemen, and others, who, within a few days after, declared themselves rebels, and so went out among them.

It was God's immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those persons, who soon after became such bloody rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity; for certainly they might, with great ease, have taken out of the way the lords-justices and council, and so have left all things in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends, without any further contention or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege in case the town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, should come to be surprised by the rebels; who now carried all things so clearly before them in the north, that they most confidently gave out that they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of it.

The castle being thus happily provided for, the lords next took measures to secure the city in some sort against any sudden attempts. And this proved a work not easy to be effected; not only in regard to the ruinous condition of the walls, the great extent of the suburbs, and the weakness of the place, but much more in respect of the corrupt and ill affections of the popish inhabitants within the city; for so strangely were many of them deluded with the instigations of their priests, that they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all that in them lay to promote the rebellious designs then set on foot, which were undertaken, as they believed, only for the re-settlement of religion, and the recovery of their liberties.

They were the instruments to convey away privately most of the chief conspirators, who had undertaken to surprise the castle on the 23rd of October. They secretly entertained many of the rebels that came out of the country; they likewise sent relief to those that were abroad by secret ways, conveying as well ammunition as intelligence of all passages from hence; and such strong aversions had they against all contributions for the maintenance of his majesty's army that, in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the lords sent for the mayor and aldermen, and (laying before them the high necessities of the state, together with the apparent danger of the city and the whole kingdom,) desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next treasure that should arrive out of England, the popish party among them was so prevalent that, after a most serious consultation and very solemn debate among themselves, they returned this answer, that they were not able to furnish above £40, and part of that was to be brought in in cattle.

And now the lords-justices and council, that they might show the great confidence they had in the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, and give them both opportunity and means to express their loyalty and affections to his majesty's service, resolved, according as the constitution of their affairs then required, to do some such acts as might clearly persuade them of the great trust they really reposed in them; and therefore, first, they gave out several commissions of martial law for executing, without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the common law, of such traitors and rebels as should be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the country about them; and these they directed to the most active gentlemen, though all papists, dwelling in the several counties; viz. to Henry Talbot, in the county of Dublin; John Bellew, esq., in the county of Lowth; Richard Dalton and Thomas Tuit, esqrs., in the county of Westmeath; Valerian Westley, in the county of Meath; James Talbot, in the county of Cavan.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said counties of the Pale, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command such forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the state for the defence of the country, and issued from the council

board several commissions of government unto them; as one to the Earl of Ormond and the Lord Viscount Montgarret, for the county of Kilkenny; to Walter Bagnall, esq., for the county of Caterlagh; Sir James Dillon the elder, and Sir James Dillon the younger, for the county of Longford; Lord Viscount Costeloe, for the county of Mayo; Sir Robert Talbot and Garrat Birne, for the county of Wicklow; Sir Christopher Bellew, for the county of Lowth; Earl of Kildare, for the county of Kildare; Sir Thomas Nugent, for the county of Westmeath; Nicholas Barnewall, for the county of Dublin; Lord Viscount Gormanstone, for the county of Meath. All these were made choice of without distinction of religion; the lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief persons of power in the country into those places of trust; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the northern rebels, (which they knew them to be well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the service,) or, at least, that they might be kept, by this great mark of the confidence placed in them by the government, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

In these commissions there was power given to these lords and gentlemen, to whom they were directed, not only to use fire and sword, for the destruction of the rebels and their adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them, into his majesty's favour or mercy. This plainly shews the very great confidence the lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their desires to make them instruments, to deliver those multitudes of people, that engaged themselves in this rebellion, from the power either of his majesty's arms, or civil justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious nation to peace and obedience: and they at the first applied lenient measures, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards forced to have recourse to more violent means.

That these governors thus constituted might be the better enabled, according to the authority and power given to them by their several commissions, to undertake the defence of the county in this extremity of the near approaching dangers, the lords gave orders to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for the arming of some men, to be raised in each county for the common safety, besides the arms they gave them, and other gentlemen, for the defence of their own private houses.

As to the Lord Gormanstone, there were delivered arms for five hundred men, for the county of Meath; there were also delivered arms for three hundred men, for the county of Kildare; arms for three hundred men for the county of Lowth; arms for three hundred men, for the county of West Meath; and arms for three hundred men for the county of Dublin: and about the same time there were sent down four hundred muskets, to the lords of the Ardes and Clandeboys, for the arming of the Scots, in the county of Down. All these had powder, lead, and match, proportionable to their arms, at the same time delivered to them.

But now the poison of this rebellion, which had hitherto contained itself within the northern counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom; it had already infected the counties of Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Lowth, lying contiguous unto them; and on the 12th of November, the Irish in the county of Wicklow broke out most furiously, despoiling, robbing, and murdering all the English inhabitants within that territory: they burned all their well built houses, drove away their cattle, and laid siege to fort Carew, wherein was a company of foot the old army.

The intelligence being brought to the lords justices thereof, they well considered the importance of the place, and that, if it were in the hands of the rebels, and the whole county in their possession, they could expect little quietness, or even safety in the city, by reason of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down forces for the relief of it: but when they came, on the other side, to consider their want of means for the performance of that service,—that they had no money,—but few men, and many of them not to be trusted; and that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the city in a manner unguarded; they were forced to lay aside that resolution, and, with great grief, to sit still, and suffer the poor English in those parts to be exposed to the merciless cruelties of those barbarous rebels, who went on furiously with the work, and quickly cleared all that county of the English inhabitants.

Within a few days after, the Irish, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow, began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now also great appearances of the disloyalty of the county of Kildare, who, with great protestations, under the pretence of doing service, had gotten into their hands the arms and ammunition designed for them by the state: and so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the lords and chief gentlemen of the English pale, (they giving no manner of intelligence to the state concerning the proceedings of the rebels, nor making any kinds of preparations against them,) that their affections began, even then, to be justly suspected.

So that the city of Dublin, (which was the receptacle of the whole state, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the English and despoiled protestants,) was now reduced to a very sad condition; desperately encompassed on every side; the northern rebels being come down, in two several parties, with great forces, within twenty miles of it on the one side; and the rebels of the county of Wicklow, accompanying it on the other side, which, with the great resort of strangers, and the continual rumours of new plots and devices to surprise the town, possessed the protestants with extraordinary fears of the present danger.

But that which made their condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily resort of great numbers of English, who came up in troops, stripped and miserably spoiled, out of the north. Many persons of good rank and quality, were covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers, and others, that had escaped with their lives sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murder of their husbands; mothers the death of their children, barbarously destroyed before their faces; poor infants ready to perish, and pour out their souls in their mothers' bosoms. Some wearied out with long travel, and so crippled that they came creeping on their knees; others so frozen with cold that they were ready to expire in the streets; others, overwhelmed with grief, and distracted with their losses, lost also their senses.

Thus was the town, within the space of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion, filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which, in great numbers, wandered up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And, to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionable to their wants, the popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort unto them; so that these poor creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street.

Many empty houses in the city were, by special direction, taken up for them, barns, stables, and outhouses filled with them; yet many lay in the open streets, and others under stalls, and there most miserably perished. The churches were the common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in so great multitudes, that there was scarce any passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not become like common beggars, crept into private places; and some of them, that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise; and so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burden of their present calamity, to many of them, that they even refused to be comforted.

I have known of some that lay almost naked, and, having clothes sent to them, laid them by, refusing to put them on; others that would not stir to fetch themselves food, though they knew where it stood ready for them; but they continued to lie in their filthy rags, not taking care to have any thing clean or comfortable about them. And so, even worn out with the misery of their journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and, soon after they had recovered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them.

The greatest part of the women and children, thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the city of Dublin; and such great numbers of them were brought to their graves, that all the church-yards within the whole town were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So much so that the lords-justices took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side of the river, taken in upon the out greens, and set apart for burying places.

These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the rebels used to those English, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of these cruel papists,—what strange, horrid, inventions the rebels used towards them, torturing and massacreing those they there murdered,—is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left upon record to posterity, under the oaths of many that escaped, and are mentioned here for no other purpose, than to shew the strange horror and amazement the beholding of them bred in all the English and protestant inhabitants of the city.

They seeing the rebels prevail so mightily, expected, if they continued here, to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties; and they now understood, by those who were come up from among them, that their design was, as soon as they had taken in Drogheda, to come and seize upon the city and castle of Dublin, and so to make a general extirpation of all the English, root and branch, not to leave them name or posterity throughout the whole kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the city then had; what fears, terror, and astonishment the miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The English inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their countrymen in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at the gates, and now ready to enter; the avenues all open, neither ramparts nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the care and endeavours used by the lords-justices and council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, few men got together; the papists well furnished with arms, closely concealed, and desperately animated by their priests to all manner of mischief; no fortifications about the suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions.

All things tended to sudden confusion; the very face of the city was now changed, and had such a fearful aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin; the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable, the applications, by reason of the strange aversions of the popish party, of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider for himself and for his own private preservation; those that lived in the suburbs removed with their families into the city: the privy-counsellors and persons of quality into the castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The Rolls were, by special order, removed thither; the records of several other offices were likewise brought in. But upon the rebels advancing somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those, who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the strength of those old dilapidated walls; and therefore, to make sure, resolved to quit the kingdom, embarking themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some, who were detained with contrary winds in the harbour, chose rather to endure all extremities on shipboard, than to hazard themselves on shore again.

The Scottish fishermen, who lay with their boats in great numbers within the bay, fishing for herrings, having, with much forwardness, made an offer to the state to bring five hundred of their men ashore to take arms, and engage in immediate service, (a proposition at that season most acceptable,) were so strangely affrighted one evening with a false alarm, as that in the night, on a sudden, they put to sea, and quite disappeared on these coasts till the year following.

The papists, on the other side, being most confident that the city would be taken and sacked by the rebels, and fearing, lest happily they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the country.

And that which heightened the calamity of the poor English was, that their flight was to be made immediately in that winter; which was such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous season, as in the memory of man had never been observed to continue so long together. Yet, the terror of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the sea, most of those who could provide themselves with shipping, though at never so excessive rates, deserted the city. And such was the violence of the winds, such continuing, impetuous storms, that several barks were cast away; some, in three months after their going from hence, could not make good their way to any port in England, and almost all that then put to sea were in great danger of perishing.

The Particulars of the First Plot of the Irish Rebellion. Together with a brief Narration of the most notorious Cruelties and bloody Massacres, which ensued in several parts of this Kingdom.

Thus we see what a great height this rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less than one month after the very first appearance of it. What horrid murders, cruel outrages, and fearful desolations, it had already wrought in one province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties there acted had upon other parts. But, before I pass further, I hold it not amiss to look back, and trace it up to the first beginnings we find of it within this country of Ireland.

Concerning the first original of this great conspiracy, as likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am myself much dissatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth; and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein.

And, if we will give credit to several examinations taken, (many of them from those of their own party,) we must believe the plot for a rebellion in Ireland to be of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent. It had been long in contriving, and (howsoever, peradventure, first thought of in Ireland,) yet it received large contributions towards its consummation out of England and other foreign parts.

I have seen an examination of one, who affirms, that he heard it confidently averred by Malone, a priest, (one that styled himself chaplain-major within the pale,) that he himself had been seven years employed in bringing on this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several parts about it.

Master Goldsmith, a minister in Connaught, told me, that he did, a full year before the rebellion broke out, receive a letter from a brother of his, residing at Brussels, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though so obscurely, that he did not well understand it till afterwards.

Patrick O'Bryan, of the parish of Galloom, in the county of Fermanagh, affirmed upon oath, "That all the nobles in the kingdom, that were papists, had a hand in this plot, as well as the lord Mac Guire and Hugh Oge Mac Mahon; that they expected aid out of Spain by Owen Roe O'Neale; and that colonel Plunket, one

of those that was to be an actor in the surprise of the castle of Dublin), told him, that he knew of this plot eight years since, and that, within these three years he hath been more fully acquainted with it."

Francis Sacheverel, esq., hath deposed, "That, at several times, shortly after the beginning of this rebellion, he hath heard four several popish priests, viz. Hugh Rely, of the county of Down; Edmund O'Tunnah, of the county of Armagh; Morice Mac Credan, of the county of Tyrone; and James Hallegan, of the county of Armagh, say, that the priests, Jesuits, and friars, of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the seas, were the plotters, projectors, and contrivers of this rebellion and insurrection; and that they have been these six years in agitation and preparation of the same; and that the said priests did then express a kind of joy, that the same was brought to so good effect."

He also further deposeth, "That at several times Ever Boy Mac Gennis, in the county of Down, gent., and Hugh O'Hagan, of the county of Armagh, gent. did brag and say, that they doubted not but that they should shortly conquer the English in the kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves; and that they would not rest so content, but they would raise strong armies to invade and conquer England."

Roger Moore, one of the prime conspirators, told Master Colely, then prisoner with him, "That the plot had been in framing several years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindered."

By letters sent from Rome to Sir Phelim O'Neale and the lord Mac Guire, which were intercepted and brought to the lord Parsons, though the friar that wrote them doth not express any certain knowledge of this very plot, yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the Irish, that the news of Sir Phelim O'Neale's taking arms was very acceptable to the pope and his two cardinal nephews, assuring him of all assistance from thence; and further desiring him to send over an agent to Rome, and to employ several persons of his own nation, whom he there named, then residing at Madrid, Paris, and with the emperor, they being fit instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring succours from those princes, who, he assured him, would join to give him all assistance in this action.

Besides these, we have many other presumptive proofs, that the Irish, (since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of men, as their several clans, so strangely multiplied during the late peace, can now afford,) have long had it in design to shake off the English government; to settle the whole power of the state in the hands of the natives, and to repossess them of all the lands now enjoyed by the British throughout the kingdom; and that in this plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed, there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of Great Britain, when the people of Scotland, lately in arms, had, by their own power and wise managements, drawn his majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction, as well in their church discipline, as the liberties of that kingdom. And in England, (the distractions being grown up to some height, through the great misunderstanding betwixt the king and his parliament,) Ireland was, at this time, left naked and unguarded, the government in the hands of lords-justices, the old army dispersed in places at so great distance, that it could be of little advantage; the common soldiers, most of them Irish; and all the old commanders and captains, except some few, worn-out and gone. This, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and, (masking their perfidious designs under the public pretences of religion and the defence of his majesty's prerogative), they let loose the reins of their own vindictive humour, and irreconcileable hatred to their British neighbours.

Now, for the very first time when this great plot received its first form;—though I conceive it to have been of somewhat a more ancient date, yet, by all the examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher than the month of January, 1640-41; and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief gentlemen of Ulster, the lord Mac Guire doth sufficiently testify, as well in the relation written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir John Coniers, then lieutenant, to be presented to the lords in parliament, as also in his examination taken before the lord Lambart and Sir Robert Meredith, knt. in Ireland, March 26, 1642.

In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in Dublin in Candlemas term, about the time when Master John Bellew came out of England with the commission for the continuance of the parliament in Ireland, Roger Moore acquainted him, that, if the Irish would rise, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their lands, and freedom of their religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of Leinster to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, as likewise a good part of Connaught; and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentlemen of Ulster.

Now, for the manner of putting this plot in execution, the said lord Mac Guire doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said Roger Moore, (having the next day acquainted Philip O'Rely, Turlagh O'Neale, brother to Sir Phelim O'Neale, Master Cosloe, and Mac Mahon herewith) did propose, that, first, every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, at least those that did live in one county with them; and that, when they had so done, they should send to the Irish in the Low Countries and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution; so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with a supply of arms and ammunition; that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise that day, and seize upon all the arms he could get in his own country; and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May; and by that time there was no doubt to be entertained, but that they themselves would be supplied by the Irish from beyond the seas.

Then he told them further, that there was no doubt of the Irish joining with them, and that all the doubt was of the gentlemen of the English pale; but he said, that for his own part, he was really assured, that, when the Irish had risen, gentlemen of the pale would not stay long after; or, at least, that they would not oppose any thing: and that, in case they did, the Irish had men enough in the kingdom without them: moreover, that he had spoken to a great man, (who then should be nameless) who would not fail, at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the act; but till then he was sworn not to reveal him: but yet that, upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in the command of men in those parts of Connaught, where he lived.

He further saith, that in Lent following, Master Moore, according to his promise, came into Ulster: but that nothing was done there, but that all matters were put off till May following, when they met at Dublin, it being both parliament and term-time; and that from thence they dispatched one Tooly Conley (parish priest to Master Moore), to colonel O'Neale, in the Low Countries; who, within a few months after, arrived with this answer from the said colonel, "That he desired them not to delay any time in rising, but to let him know of the day when they intended it; and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good aid; also that he desired them, by any means, to seize on the castle of Dublin, if they could."

And further he saith, that, during the time of these their private meetings, there landed at Dublin, colonel Birne, colonel Plunket, captain Brien O'Neale, and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that these were acquainted with the plot, and did offer their service to bring it on, and that they would raise their men under colour to carry them into Spain, and

then seize on the castle of Dublin, and, with the arms found there, arm their soldiers, and have them ready for any action that should be commanded them.

He further also saith, that they had several private consultations about the carrying on of this conspiracy, not only at Dublin, but in other places in the province of Ulster, and that they had set down several days for the putting of it in execution; but, meeting with some obstacles, did not come to conclude of the certain time, till about the beginning of September, and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23rd of October, for the day to execute this long designed plot in; and that they had respect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the market day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people wandering up and down the streets; that they then settled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the several provinces for the surprise of the castle, and what commanders should lead them on; that, seeing the castle had two gates, that the Leinster-men should undertake to seize upon the little gate, which lay nearest to the place where the arms and ammunition were placed; and that the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and that Sir Phelim O'Neale should be there in person; but that he excused himself, because he resolved at the same time to seize upon Londonderry; and that thereupon, by the importunity of the undertakers, it was imposed upon him, the said lord Mac Guire, to be there in person at the taking of the castle of Dublin.

That it was further resolved what number of forces should be brought up out of the other provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir James Dillon did undertake to be there with one thousand men within four days after the taking of the castle; as also, that it was resolved, that every one, privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise that day, and seize on all the forts and arms in the several counties; as likewise on all the gentry, and make them prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune; and not to kill any, but where from necessity they should be forced thereunto by opposition.

These particulars, together with many other circumstances very considerable, are set down in the relation given in by the lord Mac Guire, while he remained prisoner in the Tower of London; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation published by authority, and so presented to the common view.

We shall find also, that Mac Mahon, in his examination, taken when he was first apprehended by the lords-justices and council here, doth testify, that all the chief of the nobility and gentry in this kingdom were acquainted with the first plot; and particularly, that all the popish party, in the committee sent into England, as likewise in both houses of parliament, knew of it.

In the examination of William Fitz-Gerald, it is there affirmed, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, sending for him five days after his rising in arms, told him what he did was by directions and consent of the prime nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom; and that what he had done in the northern parts, the same was executed at Dublin, and in all other forts and towns throughout Ireland; as being a course resolved upon among the lords and gentry, for the preservation of his majesty's prerogative, and of their own religion and liberties, against the puritan faction in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And that the lord of Gormanstone knew of this plot while he was in England, is testified by lieutenant-colonel Read in his examination, as also by the lord Mac Guire in his relation; who saith, "That colonel Plunket told him, that he, being at London, had acquainted some of the Irish committee, and particularly the lord of Gormanstone, with this plot, and that they approved it well." Colonel Plunket, in his letter to father Patrick Barnwal, lord abbot of Mellifont, (as he styles him,) doth seem much to glory in the means he had used to incite the lords and gentry of the pale to appear in that blessed cause, (as he terms it,) and assures him, that the lord of Gormanstone, (whom he there calls lord-general,) will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought out in Ireland; and carried on to the very point of execution. And first, it is to be observed, that howsoever Sir Phelim O'Neale, the lord Mac Guire, Philip O'Rely, colonel Mac Brian, Hugh Mac Mahon, and their adherents, chief of the Irish clans in Ulster, and other counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the stage, and by their bloody execution, notoriously declare themselves chief actors in this horrid tragedy. Yet this rebellion was neither altogether, nor originally plotted by them; but most of them had only subordinate notions of it, as they, (as well as others of the chief nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom,) had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first conspirators. I take it to be most probable, after the general plot came to be reduced into form, that, as the lord of Gormanstone was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he, and the chief lords of the pale, joined together to draw in, as they had done in all former rebellions, the principal chiefs of the old Irish, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business. And after they had joined together, and so finely ordered the matter, that they had made it a general rising, as Sir Phelim O'Neale terms it, of all the catholics throughout the kingdom, with the general consent of the prime nobility and gentry thereof; then, as it were, with one general voice, they sounded forth, from all the four provinces of Ireland, the same language,—they used the same remonstrances, and made the very same pretences for their justification;—they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdering the British and protestants; only in the north they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent blood, than in any of the other three provinces. They agreed likewise in recalling their commanders; all the four provinces had their particular emissaries abroad. Those of Leinster brought back colonel Preston, a branch out of the house of Gormanstone, who had long lived with good reputation in Flanders, and him they made general of their forces there; and those of Ulster sent into Flanders likewise, for Owen Roe O'Neale, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that province; the Munster-men brought over Garrat Barry, whom they made general of their forces; and those in Connaught drew back one Burks, to whom they gave the chief command of such men as they were able to draw together, for the advancement of the common design. All these held a due correspondency, and in all their actions, had a just concurrency towards the main end.

The great instrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the native Irish into a firm combination with the old English, as appears by the lord Mac Guire's relation before mentioned, was Roger Moore, esq., a person of broken fortune, of Irish descent, and from the family of the O'Moores, in the county of Leax, but by intermarriages, allied to some of the principal gentlemen of the pale. He treated with them about the association, and first broke the design to the northern Irish; he was the man that made several journeys into Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught. Sundry messages were sent and returned the summer before the breaking out of the rebellion, by his means and intercourse between them; and all things were so ordered for their agreement, that they were to go hand in hand together. Some of the principal gentlemen of the pale, as colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and others, were designed to join with the lord Mac Guire, Mac Mahon, Brian O'Neale, Con O'Neale, Hugh Birne, for the surprise of his majesty's castle of Dublin.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpose now to declare how those great instruments of mischief, that were the supreme conductors of this wicked design, moved forward so successfully in the beginning, towards the accomplish-

ment of their long intended extirpation of all the British protestants out of the kingdom.

I find two sorts of persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main foundations, whereupon their bloody superstructures were afterwards easily reared up: and these were such of the popish lawyers as were natives of the kingdom, and those of the Romish clergy of several degrees and orders.

For first, they had in regard for their knowledge in the laws of the land, very great reputation and trust; they now began to stand up, like great patriots, for the vindication of the liberties of the subject, and redress of their pretended grievances; and having, by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the house of commons then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious speculations of their own brains: which, (though plainly discerned to be full of virulency, and tending to sedition;) yet so strangely were many of the protestants, and well meaning men in the house, blinded with an expectation of ease and redress, and so stupified by their bold accusations of the government, that most of them thought not fit, and others did not dare, to stand up to contradict their assertions; so that what they spake was received with great acclamation and much applause, by most of the protestant members of the house; many of whom, under specious pretences of public zeal to this country, they had inveigled into their party.

And then it was, that having impeached Sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor of Ireland, of high-treason, together with other prime officers and ministers of state that were of English birth, some of those great masters took upon them, with much confidence, to declare the law; to make new expositions of their own upon the text; to frame their queries;—challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully overgrown, misgovernment, than to be made against an authority, that had, for many years, struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed, far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued distempers of the kingdom. They disdained the moderate qualifications of the judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the law and their duty to their sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn: they resolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing it wholly into the hands of the natives; which they knew they could not compass in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparations for it there, and delivered such desperate maxims, as being diffused abroad, would fit and dispose the people to a change: as for example, they declared it to be law, "that being killed in rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the king no forfeiture of estates:" and that, "though many thousands stood up in arms in a kingdom, working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the king, it was no rebellion:" and that, "if a man were outlawed for treason, and his land thereby vested in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the outlawry, and recover his ancestor's estate: and many other positions of a like kind tending to sedition and disturbance, did they continue to publish during that session. And, by the power and strength of their party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a suspension of Poyning's act; and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that statute, which remains as one of the greatest ties and best monuments the English have of their entire dominion over the Irish nation, and the union of that kingdom to the imperial crown of England. They further assumed power of judicature to the parliament in criminal and capital offences: a right which no former age had left any precedent for, neither would this admit the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the session of parliament, begun in May, till about two months before the first breaking out of this rebellion; it being very ill taken, that, even then, they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high crime against the lords-justices, as one of the chief moving causes to the taking up of arms generally throughout the kingdom.

But, to let these things pass, how artfully soever these proceedings were carried on, and (being covered over with pretences of zeal and public affection,) passed then current without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully convinced that all these passages,—together with the other high contests in parliament, not to have the newly raised Irish army disbanded;—the importunate solicitation of their agents in England, to have the old army in Ireland cashiered, and the kingdom left to be defended by trained bands of their own nation:—as likewise the commissions, procured by several of the most eminent commanders now in rebellion, for the raising men to carry into Spain; were all parts of this plot, prologues to this ensuing tragedy, preparation (such as had been long laid,) to bring on the sudden execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the kingdom.

Now, for the jesuits, priests, friars, and all the rest of the fraternity belonging to their holy orders, (who, as I said, had a main part to act, and did not fail with great assiduity and diligence, to discharge the same,) they lost no time; but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the country to make such other dangerous impressions on the minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And, when this plot was (as they thought) so surely laid, that it could not well fail: and the day was once fixed for its execution, they did, in their public devotions, long before the arrival of the said day, recommend by their prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the catholic cause.

And for the facilitating of the work, and stirring up the people, with greater animosity and cruelty, to undertake it at the time prescribed, they loudly in all places declaimed against the protestants; telling the people, that they were heretics, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented, with much acrimony, the severe courses taken by the parliament in England, for the suppressing of the Romish religion in all parts of the kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the people, that in England they had caused the queen's priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline: that the same cruel laws against popery were here ordered to be put suddenly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland, upon the 23d of November next ensuing, and so to make a general massacre of all who would not desert their religion, and presently become protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the English nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard masters; under whose government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and vassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the land they possessed, though a great part bought at high rates from the natives, as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair English cattle; at their goodly houses, though built by their own industry, at their own charges; at the great improvements they had made of their estates, by their own labour and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into Ireland, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the Irish counties, to see the English live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lived, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their cattle into their own cabin or

cottages, and there delighting to lie among them. These considerations made them, with an envious eye, impatiently to look upon all the British lately come over into the kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the lands to the proper natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the English, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the land they possess by gift from the crown, upon the attainder of any of their ancestors.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Irish to draw the whole government of the kingdom into their hands, and to enjoy the public profession of their religion, as well as to disburthen the country of all the British inhabitants settled therein, that they made the whole body of the state to be universally disliked;—represented the several members of the government as persons altogether corrupt and ill affected;—pretended the ill humours and distempers in the kingdom to be grown to such a height as to require cauteries, and deep incisions; and that indeed, nothing was able to work so great a cure, but a universal rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joint concurrence in opinion of all the great physicians, that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications in so desperate a malady. In those instructions, privately sent over into England by the lord Dillon, of Costeloz, presently after the breaking out of the rebellion, the alteration of the supreme power in the government, and settling of it in the hands of the earl of Ormond;—giving leave to the grand council of the kingdom to remove such officers of state as they thought fit, and to recommend natives to their places;—were there positively laid down to be a more likely means to appease these tumults than a considerable army.

In the remonstrance of the county of Longford, presented about the same time to the lords-justices, by the same Lord Dillon, as also in the sketch of the commonwealth, found at Sir John Dungar's house, not far from Dublin, and sent up thither out of Connaught, to be communicated to those of Leinster (both which pieces publicly appeared soon after the breaking out of the rebellion), the main points, insisted upon in them and several others, were, 1st, the restoration of the public profession of the Romish religion; 2dly, the restitution of all the plantation lands unto the Irish; and, 3dly, the settlement of the present government in their hands. All the remonstrances from various parts, and that came out of the several provinces of the kingdom, do concur in these propositions, with very little or no difference: and, therefore, that the desires, with the first intentions, of those who are now out in rebellion, may more clearly appear, I have thought fit here to insert them, as I found them methodically digested into certain propositions, termed,

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietness.

"1. That a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and that, in pursuance thereof, and for strengthening the same, an act of abolition may pass in the parliament here.

"2. That all marks of national distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by act of parliament.

"3. That, by several acts of parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared, that the parliament of Ireland hath no subordination to the parliament of England, but that the same hath in itself supreme jurisdiction in this kingdom, as absolute as the parliament of England there hath.

"4. That the act of 12 Henry VII. commonly called Poyning's Act, and all other acts expounding, or explaining the same, may be repealed.

"5. That, as in England there passed an act for a triennial parliament, there may pass in Ireland another for a sexennial parliament.

"6. That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the second of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, and all other acts made against catholics, or the catholic religion, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. may be repealed.

"7. That the bishoprics, deaneries, and all other spiritual promotions of this kingdom, and all friaries and nunneries, may be restored to the catholic owners, and likewise all impropriations of tithes; and that the sites, ambits, and precincts, of the religious houses of the monks, may be restored to them; but, as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed that they should be taken from the present proprietors, but that they should be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

"8. That such as are now entitled catholic archbishops, bishops, abbots, or other dignitaries in this kingdom, by donation of the pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation, nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his majesty's rights of patronage, first-fruits, and twentieth parts, in manner and quantity, as now his highness receives benefit thereby.

"9. That all inquisitions, taken since the year 1634, to entitle his majesty to Connaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogartie, Kilnemanagh, Duhera, Wincloe, and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his majesty's late graces.

"10. That an act of parliament may pass here for the securing the subjects' title to their several estates against the crown, upon any title accrued unto it before sixty years, or under colour or pretext of the present commotions.

"11. That all plantations, made since the year 1610, may be avoided by parliament, if the parliament shall hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the crown the rents and services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers, &c. &c."

These and others are the means proposed by these catholic remonstrants, for reducing of the kingdom to peace; these the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant counsel they would have followed, in settling the tranquillity and present government of this land: so that we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious inquiries into the secret causes of their first rising. We have here enough, out of their own mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this rebellion. And now, for the matter of religion; however, I am very confident, they ever really intended the re-establishment of that of the church of Rome, with all the rites and ceremonies thereof, together with the extirpation of all persons of the reformed profession: yet, considering the large indulgence and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full exercise of that their religion throughout all the parts of the kingdom, it may be most justly suspected, (how zealously soever they now obtrude it,) that this was only the bare outward coverture, made use of by the principal undertakers, to draw on a poor, ignorant, superstitious people, to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable man be ever presumed, that such persons as made no conscience of committing treason, and so many cruel murders, and all other kind of abominable villanies, not to be paralleled in any other country, could be drawn, purely out of conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and public profession of their religion.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up arms, than the redress of their pretended grievances, whereunto his majesty had condescended, and, out of his inclinations for their present relief, had given much more satisfaction to their agents lately in England, than ever they could, in any other time, expect to receive, or hope to enjoy: yet we see how little effect those great graces, brought over not above two months before this rebellion broke out, took among them; for, presently after the return of their agents with them, this most detestable conspiracy, (which had been long in hatching,) began to work, and to be put in execution. And, if we shall consider their main design and chief

ends therein, as they appear in their first principals, or will give credit to the several speeches and passages that we meet with among the rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out, as also to several other testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular persons among them,—we must believe, that their design clearly was "to destroy and root out all the British and protestants planted within this kingdom, to cut off the sovereignty of the crown of England, and so to deliver themselves from their long-continued subjection to the English nation."

But, to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime movers and chief incendiaries in this horrid rebellion, they had a most serious consultation, what course to take with most safety to themselves, for the disburthening of the kingdom of the English, who were in very great numbers planted among them? Some were of opinion that they should spare their lives, not to render themselves guilty of the spilling of so much innocent blood; but that they should seize on their goods, expel them their habitations, and, after banishing them out of the kingdom, proceed, as the Spaniards did with many thousands of the Moors, whom, as it were, in a moment, they cleared out of their dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniences which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby.

First, That the British were in so great numbers, as they could not, either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief. Then, that if they only expelled them out of the kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit instruments to be entertained in England, and from thence returned back full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses; that, by their long experience and knowledge in the country, they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the war; and, having their bodies inured to this climate, would prove much more able soldiers than any new men that could be raised, or any other ways brought over.

How they determined this particular, I shall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great council, than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the first beginnings of their rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief actors in this particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the English very various, and much differing in several places; some only stripping and expelling of them—others murdering man, woman, and child, without mercy.

But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, "that, by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the British and protestants out of Ireland." And "that these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of their long-premeditated, malicious intentions," sufficiently appears by their actions, as well as by their virulent expressions, uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the kingdom their own. They then said openly, "that they meant to destroy the English, and that they made a covenant, no Englishman should set footing among them." Some of the Irish would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon those that spoke English, and have all the English names of places changed into the old Irish denominations. Others professed, that they would not leave an English man or woman alive in the kingdom, but that all should be gone; no, nor so much as an English beast, nor any of the breed of them. James Hallegan, the priest, did read an excommunication in the church, which, as he alleged, came from their great Irish metropolitan, and, terrifying his parishioners therewith, he told them, "That, from that day forth, whosoever did harbour, or relieve, any Scot, Englishman, or Welshman, or give them alms at their doors, should be excommunicated:" whereby, as Master Sacheverel testifies in his examination, many were starved, and died for want in those parts.

We have it from Master Creighton, a reverend minister, one long detained prisoner within the county of Cavan, that the friars exhorted the people with tears to spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the English out of Ireland; and, when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of the English name under heaven.

The Irish, in many places, killed English cows and sheep, merely because they were English; in some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece of their buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The Lord Montgarrat, Master Edward Butler, the Baron of Logmouth, went with their forces into Munster, about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and, while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less than 50,000 (others say 100,000) English sheep, beside a great abundance of English cattle; and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left, in great multitudes, stinking, to the great annoyance of the country. This was testified by Henry Champart, in his examination taken before Sir Robert Meredith, knt. &c.

James Shaw, a minister, deposeth, "That, after the cessation, divers of the rebels confessed, that the priests had given them the sacrament, upon condition that they should not spare man, woman, nor child that were protestants; and that he heard divers of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1643.

Thomas Johnson, vicar of Tullah, of the county of Mayo, deposeth, "That he heard Stephen Linch, prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this deponent, because he would not go to mass? answered, 'That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a sheep or a dog;' and several of the rebellious soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would do a pig."

John Addis, of the county of Westmeath, deposeth, "That Robert Magohugan, priest, said to this deponent, that it was no more pity nor conscience to take Englishmen's lives or goods from them, than to take a bone out of a dog's mouth." Jurat. July 21, 1642.

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and to such a height of madness were they grown, that they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own nation. But, as soon as they had begun their rebellion there, they spoke confidently, in all places, of transporting their arms into England; that they would send 30,000 men over into that kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign auxiliaries thither to join with them; and so, by a high hand, establish the free exercise of the Romish religion within that kingdom. A design, certainly, which the priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondences abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their affairs in Ireland.

Thus we see what were the causes and first motives to this unnatural rebellion; as likewise who were the chief actors and the great instruments, designed by the first plotters, to pre-dispose the people to a readiness to take arms for the rooting out of the British inhabitants from among them. The preparations being all made, and the plot in all points ripe for execution, it was carried on to the very evening before the day appointed for the taking of the castle of Dublin, without discovery. And, though it pleased God to bring it then to light, (as hath been declared,) and so, happily, to disappoint it in the main piece; yet it took effect in the northern parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the province of Ulster.

And whereas the priests did long before, in their public devotions at mass, pray for a blessing upon a great design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard they did, in many places the very day before the breaking out of this rebellion, give the people a dismiss at mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all the lands which, they pretended, were unjustly detained from them by the English; as also to

strip, rob, and despoil them of all their goods and cattle. They had, without doubt, by one means or other, either private or public instructions, determined not to leave to the English any thing that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer subsistence among them.

This was the main bait used to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other persuasions, fictions, or wild chimeras, that they infused into them. It is most apparent that the principal gentlemen in all parts, as well as their clergy, pressed them on to despoil the English of all their goods and cattle, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy desires to get them into their possession, and that they could not possibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to execute all manner of villanies, than the hopes of enjoying so rich a prey now presented unto them.

The people being now set at liberty from the restraints of conscience, and prepossessed by their priests with a belief, that it was lawful for them to rise up and destroy all the protestants, who, they told them, were worse than dogs; that they were devils, and served the devil; assuring them that the killing of such was a meritorious act, as well as a preservative against the pains of purgatory; gathered themselves together in great numbers, assembling in several companies through the several parts of the northern counties, with staves, scythes, and pitchforks; (for, at first, they had not many better weapons;) and so, in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously, at the first, only to drive away the cattle belonging to the English; and then to break into their houses, and seize upon their goods.

John Parry of Druermosh, in the county of Armagh, deposeth, "That O'Cullan, a priest, told his auditors at mass, that the bodies of such as died in this quarrel should not be cold before their souls should ascend up into heaven, and that they should be free from the pains of purgatory."

Margaret Bromley, in her examination, deposeth, "That some of the rebels would say, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew, if themselves should now die, their souls should go to heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the English."

It is true there were some murders committed on the very first day of their rising, and some houses set on fire; but these, as I conceive, were, for the most part, out of private spleen, or where they had particular instructions so to do; as they had from the Lord Mac Guire to kill Master Arthur Champion, a justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh; who with several others of his neighbours, were murdered at his own house upon the 23rd of October, in the morning.

But certainly that which they mainly intended at first, and which they most busily employed themselves about, was driving away the Englishmen's cattle, and taking possession of their goods; wherein the common people were not the only actors, but even the chief gentlemen of the Irish in many places most openly appeared, and under plausible pretences of securing their goods from the rapine and spoil of the common people, got much peaceably into their hands. And so confident were the English of their good dealing at first, that many delivered their goods by retail unto them, and gave them particular inventories of all they had; nay, digged up such of their best things as they had hidden under ground, to deposit in their custody. Much likewise they got by fair promises and solemn engagements to do them no further mischief, or suffer them, their wives and children, quietly to retire and leave the country. But others, and especially the meaner sort of people, fell more rudely to work at the very first, breaking up of their houses, and using all manner of force and violence, to make themselves masters of their goods.

And having thus seized upon all their goods and cattle, ransacked their houses, and got their persons under their power; the next thing they did was to strip man, woman, and child, many of them naked, and so to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them, in some places, so much as to shelter themselves under bushes, or in the woods; and strictly prohibiting all the Irish, under great penalties, to give them entertainment, or any kind of relief, as they passed on upon the highways. And certainly their design in this most manifestly appears to have been no other, than that all such as they could not lay their hands upon, and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miserably perish of themselves through cold, nakedness, and want; and therefore, as fast as any of them, so stripped, got old rags to cover their nakedness, they endeavoured to strip them again and again, as may appear by the examination of John Gourley, who deposeth, "That some were stripped twice, some thrice; as fast as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedness, the next Irishwomen, or even the children that met them, would take them off." And he and his wife further deposed, "That, when their house, together with the town of Armagh, were set on fire by the rebels, she was stripped of her clothes seven several times after she got off her clothes; at length they left her not so much as her smock or hair lace. And that she got to a place, and hid herself in a hutch for three or four days, and after went to find out her children, two of which had the small-pox visibly upon them."—Jurat. November 8, 1642.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devilish ends hereby, is but too well known; the English leaving sufficient monuments in the highways as they passed, as well as in the towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them: and, for the fuller satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing examinations.

James Redferne, of the county of Londonderry, deposeth, "That, in the town of Coleraine, since the rebellion began, there died of robbed and stripped people, that fled thither for succour, many hundreds, besides those of the town who had anciently dwelt there; and that the mortality was such, and so great, that many thousands died in two days; and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the carcases of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them as close and thick as if they had been packing up herrings together."

Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowris in the King's county, widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, "That she, this deponent, and divers other protestants her neighbours; and, amongst the rest, twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were also stripped naked; and then, they covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels then and there lighted the straw with fire, and threw it amongst them, of purpose to burn them; where they would have been burned or smothered, if some of the rebels, more pitiful than the rest, had not commanded these cruel rebels to forbear, so that they escaped; yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the woods from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted, lay long upon some of their skins, and some of their children died in their arms: and when, as this deponent and the rest endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the Birr, the cruel rebels turned them back again, saying, they should go towards Dublin; and when they endeavoured to go towards Dublin they hindered them again, and said they should go to the Birr; and so tossed them to and fro. Yet, at length, such of these poor stripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the rebels, escaped to the Birr, where they were harboured and relieved by one William Parsons, esq.; and yet there died at the Birr, of those stripped persons, about forty men, women, and children. And this deponent, and those other stripped people that survived, lived miserably at the Birr, aforesaid, until they, with the rest, had quarter to come from thence to Dublin."

Jur. 7th March, 1642.

JOHN WATSON.
WILLIAM ALDRIDGE."

Isabel, the relict of Christopher Porter, late of Dowris in the King's county, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, in all the particulars above-mentioned, as

Magdalen Redman, before examined, being her neighbour.

Some of the most notorious Cruelties, and barbarous Murders committed by the Irish Rebels, attested upon Oath, as they appear in several Examinations hereunto annexed.

We may, in these poor people, as it were in large characters, behold the miseries of all those multitudes of men, women, and children, that were in all parts of the kingdom thus inhumanly stripped, and so exposed to the same want, cold, and nakedness. "The mercies of the wicked are cruel." How bitter was their compassion to all those British that thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were, as they told them at first, but the beginning of their sorrows; for, when the northern rebels began to find their own strength, and that, partly by treachery, and partly by force, they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in Ulster, disarmed the English, robbed them of their goods and cattle, stripped them of their clothes, and had their persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable resistance made by them: then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce, outrageous manner, furiously broke out, acting, in all places of that province, with most abominable cruelty, such horrid massacres and execrable murders as would make any christian ear to tingle at the sad recital of them. Then they began to appear in their own colours, and, with great delight, to satiate their ancient, implacable, malice, in their long wished for and often plotted destruction of all the British inhabitants.

Within the county of Fermanagh multitudes were killed in cold blood; some taken at the plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own houses, others travelling upon the highways; all, without any manner of provocation by them given, suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off.

At the castle of Lisgoole, within that county, above 150 men, women, and children, were all consumed by fire. Thomas Wenstaw and John Simpson, of the county of Fermanagh, gentlemen, depose and say, "that, in the castle of Lisgoole, there were 152 men, women, and children burnt, when the said castle was set on fire, or smothered; not above two or three escaped.—Jurat. Jan. 12, 1641.

At the castle of Moneah, near 100 British were there slain all together; and the same bloody company of rebels were no sooner admitted into the castle of Tullagh, (which was delivered up into the hands of Roury Mac Guire, upon composition and faithful promises of fair quarter,) but, that, within the very court, they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword, murdering them all without mercy. Thomas Wenslaw further deposeth, "that at the castle of Moneagh, there were ninety protestants more slain and murdered; and that, from the castle of Moneagh, the rebels marched to the castle of Tullagh, where, by their own confession, they promised those protestants that were there fair quarter; but, when they had delivered up their arms and the castle, those rebels in the bawne of the castle, first stripped them all of their clothes, and then and there most cruelly murdered them."

Richard Bourke, bachelor in divinity, of the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, "that he heard and verily believeth, the burning and killing of 100 at least in the castle of Tullagh, and that the same was done after fair quarter promised."—Jurat. Jul. 12, 1643.

At Lissenskeah they hanged, or otherwise killed, above 100 persons, most of them of the Scottish nation; for, after they had once got the English in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the Scots with as much cruelty as they did the English. This country was very well planted by the British undertakers; and all of them and their tenants, in a very short space, after a most horrible manner, were quite destroyed, or utterly banished from their habitations. In the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the British were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O'Neale, and his brother, Turlough O'Neale, were the principal actors, the murders of the British were more numerous, and committed with greater cruelty, if it were possible, than in any other place. "Roury Mac Guire, upon the 24th of October, 1641, came with his company unto Lissenskeah, and desired, in a friendly manner, to speak with Master Middleton, who had the keeping of the castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he entered therein, was to burn the records of the county, whereof Master Middleton was the keeper, being clerk of the peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewise £1000 which he had in his hands of Sir William Balfour's; which as soon as he had, he compelled the said Middleton to hear mass, and to swear never to alter from it. Immediately after he caused him, his wife, and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered 100 persons besides, at least, in that town; these particulars, and several others, were set down at large, in a relation sent me by Sir John Dunbarr, knt. one of the justices of the peace within the county of Fermanagh."

There were 1000 men, women, and children, carried out at several times in several companies, and all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of Portnedown, which was broken down in the midst, and so the rebels, driving and forcing them on, threw them into the river. This number is deposed to in Dr. Maxwell's examination, taken on the 22nd of August, 1642.

And, as other relations give it in, 4000 persons were drowned within the several parts of that county. The number of so many persons drowned within the county of Armagh is deposed to by Thomas Green and Elizabeth his wife, as appears by their examinations, taken November 10, 1643.

The rebels, in a most barbarous manner, drove on many of those miserable stripped christians unto the place of their sufferings, like swine; and if any were slack in their pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest, either by killing or wounding some of their fellows on the way. William Clerke, of the county of Armagh, tanner, saith, "that he, with 100 men, women, and children, or thereabouts, were by the rebels, driven like hogs about six miles, to a river called the Band; in which space the aforesaid protestants were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast with swords and pikes, thrusting them into their sides; and they murdered three by the way, and the rest they drove to the river aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and, with their pikes, and swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said river, and immediately they perished; and those who assayed to swim to the shore, the rebels stood and shot at them."—Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the wife of Ralph Corne, deposeth, that 180 English were takhn by the Irish, and driven like cattle from Castle Cumber to Athy.

Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe conduct out of the country, and so got them to go cheerfully on by virtue of Sir Phelim O'Neale's pass, until they came at some place fit for their execution. Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Rue Price, of the town and county of Armagh, deposeth, "that five of her children, together with 110 other protestants, out of the parishes of Armagh, Laugaule, and other places, were sent away with passes from Sir Phelim O'Neale, with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in England. That their conductor was Capt. Manus O'Cane and his soldiers, who, having brought, or rather driven them, like sheep or beasts to the bridge of Portnedown, there forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the deponent's five children, and then and there drowned most of them."

And, if they drowned them not, then they had some prepared to shoot, or knock down with poles any such as could swim, or used any other means to escape

out of the water. "And those who could swim and come to the shore, they either knocked them on the head, and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the water."—Jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.

Amongst many others, a gentlewoman whose name was Mrs. Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and finding no means to escape their fury, she suddenly clasped her arms about one of the chief rebels, that was most forward to thrust her into the water, and, as I find it credibly related upon oath, carried him to the bottom with her; and so they were both drowned together. James Shaw, of Market Hill, in the county of Armagh, deposeth to the manner of Mistress Cambell's pulling the rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her.—Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

The cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns laid waste, all the fair plantations made by the British left desolate; in some parishes two hundred families murdered and destroyed; the whole county, as it were, was made a common butchery; and through all parts of it many thousands perished in a short time by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent. Captain Parkin, deposeth, "That Sir Phelim O'Neale, flying from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody massacres, causing Manus O'Cane to get together all the protestants, which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Coleraine; but, before they were scarce a day's journey from him, they were all murdered; and so were several others, by special direction from Sir Phelim O'Neale and his brother Turlagh, notwithstanding they had received promises of being protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were, by the same directions, carried away, but murdered afterwards at Charlemont. And, presently after, his brother and he, with other adherents, maliciously set on fire the cathedral church and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there five hundred persons, young and old. At the parish of Killaman, forty-eight families were then murdered by directions from Sir Phelim, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year." Jurat. March 8, 1643.

Jane Grace, the wife of Nicholas Grace, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, deposeth, "That there were twenty-two English protestants burned in one house, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the rebels stripped, killed, or murdered all, or the most of the English of that parish, which consisted of two hundred families. That they set many in the stocks until they confessed where their money was concealed, and, when they could get no more, that they then murdered them."

But before I leave this subject, I shall pass a little further, and out of some examinations, taken here upon oath, which I have perused, present a brief collection of some other horrid, inhuman cruelties, which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent souls. To many, these rebels shewed so much favour as suddenly to dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or time, to make their prayers; for others, they considered a sudden death too easy a punishment. Therefore they imprisoned some in filthy dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and, there clapping bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leisure; others they barbarously mangled, and left languishing upon the highways, who cried out but for so much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain. Edward Saltinglass, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposeth, "That George Lawlis, a rebel of the said county, resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first say his prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees." Jurat. June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price, deposeth, "Then when as divers of the English were about to be murdered, and desired the rebels on their knees first to admit them to make their prayers to God, the rebels have often, in her, the deponent's hearing, in Irish, answered and said, 'Bequeath your soul to the devil; and at other times the rebels would say, Why should you pray? your soul is with the devil already.' And, with those words in their mouths, would slaughter, and put them to death." Jurat. ut suprà.

Edward Bankes, of Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, clerk, deposeth, "That the rebels there, on the first day of January, killed fifteen men and women, all English protestants, at Cashell: and that they entered and took the town, and, having the same, that they took this deponent, and other clergymen, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put into the dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery." Jurat. April 21, 1642.

John Cregge, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, deposeth, "That, in the parish of Levilegish, there were divers Englishmen cruelly murdered; some twice, some thrice, hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their miseries by killing of them." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Others they buried alive, a manner of death they used to several British in many places. William Parkinson, of Castle-Cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, gent., deposeth, "That, by the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were eye witnesses of a bloody murder committed near Kilfeale, in the Queen's county, upon an Englishman, his wife, four or five children, and a maiden. All which were hanged by the command of Sir Morgan Cavanah and Robert Harpoole, and afterwards put all in one hole; the youngest child, being not fully dead, put out his hand and cried mammy! mammy! upon which, without mercy, they buried him alive." Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.

Some had ropes put about their necks, and so drawn through the water; some had willows, and so were drawn up and down through woods and bogs; others were hanged up, and taken down, and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess where their money was hid, which as soon as they had told, the rebels then despatched them out of the way. Edward Saltingstone, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposeth, "That Manus O'Cane, Bryan O'Kelly, Shane O'Neile, Neile Oge O'Neile, gent., did take William Blundell, of Grange, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the Blackwater at Charlemount, and drew him up and down the water to make him confess his money, who thereupon gave him 21*l.* Yet, within three weeks after, he, his wife, and seven children, were drowned by the rebels." And further saith, "That Samuel Law, of Grenan, in the parish of Armagh, was, by the said Neile Oge O'Neile, and others, brought to a wood, and that then they there put a willow about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them 10*l.*" Jurat. ut suprà.

Margaret Fermeny, in the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, "That the rebels bound her and her husband's hands behind them, to make them confess their money, and dragged them up and down by a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skain, having first knocked him down and stripped him; and that, being an aged woman of seventy-five years old, as she came up afterwards to Dublin, she was stripped by the Irish seven times in one day; the rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them clothes." Jurat.

Others were hanged up by the arms; and with many slashes and cuts, they made the experiment with their swords how many blows an Englishman would endure before he died. Edward Wilson, of the county of Monaghan, deposeth, "That among other cruelties used by the rebels to the English, they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died." Jurat.

Some they ripped up, and left them with their bowels hanging out. Anne, the wife of Mervin Madesley, late of the city of Kilkenny, gent., sworn and examined, deposeth, "That some of the rebels, in Kilkenny aforesaid, struck and beat a poor English woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died; those barbarous rebels having first ripped up her child, of about six years of age." Jurat.

James Geare, of the county of Monaghan, deposeth, "That the rebels at Clownis murdered one James Netterville, proctor to the minister there, whom they first wounded in several parts, and then mangled his body in a most revolting manner; and thus barbarously they used him after they had induced him to go to mass with them." Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Owen Frankland, of the city of Dublin, deposeth, that Michael Garray told this deponent, "That there was a Scotchman, who, being driven by the rebels out of the Newry, and knocked on the head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the town naked; whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of the town, cut him all to pieces; and murdered his wife, though great with child." Jurat. July 23, 1642.

But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman monsters for women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several women, many of them pregnant, whom they inhumanly mutilated; a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that condition. At Ballimcolough, within four miles of the city of Rosse, in April, 1642, John Stone, of the Graige, his son, his two sons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged; one of his daughters being then pregnant, they treated her in such a barbarous manner, as is not fit to be mentioned.

And sometimes they gave their children to swine. Philip Taylor, late of Portnedowne, deposeth, "That the rebels killed a dyer's wife, of Rosse-trever, at the Newry, and ripped her up, she being pregnant with two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch; and that he, this deponent, drove away swine from eating one of the children." Jurat.

Some infants the dogs ate. John Montgomery, of the county of Monaghan, sworn and examined, saith, "That one Brian Mac Erony, ringleader of the rebels in the county of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to death, they buried alive. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the daughter-in-law of one Foard, in the parish of Clownis, being delivered of a child in the fields, the rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child." Jurat. June 26, 1641.

And some infants they cast into ditches. Katherine, the relict of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, carpenter, deposeth, "That the rebels of the said county robbed, stripped, and murdered a great company of protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid herself in a ditch of water, and sat there among high rushes so long, as that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly." And further saith, 'That some of the rebels, that escaped and fled from the battle of Lisnagarnay, meeting one Mrs. Howard, and Mrs. Frankland, both great with child, and six of their children with them, those rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all; and after opening the women, took out their infants, one of them being alive, and threw them into a ditch in the sight of Jane, this deponent's daughter, who escaped because she spoke Irish, and said she was an Irishwoman." Jurat. Feb. 24, 1643.

And as for sucking children, and others of a riper age, some had their brains knocked out. James Stevenson, clerk, of the county of Leitrim, deposeth, "That the rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and, enquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a Scotchman's child; whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the brains of it out against a tree." Jurat. April 20, 1643.

Some they cut in gobbets and pieces. John Stubbs, of the county of Longford, gent., deposeth, "That he heard, by some of the sheriff's men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubbs, the deponent's brother, were put to death by Lisagh Farrol's, and Oliver Fitz Gerald's men, who hanged them upon a windmill, and, when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skains." Jurat. November 21, 1641.

Elizabeth Price, deposeth, "That a great number of poor protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their skains, pitchforks, and swords, and would slash, mangle, and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them outright, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death. And, whereas if those so mangled, desired their persecutors to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes, after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour; of which she hath in many particulars been an eye witness." Jurat. June 29, 1641.

Others they ripped up alive. William Parkinson, of Kilkenny, esq., deposeth, "That the wife of John Harvey told him, that she, being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to mass to save her life, was, notwithstanding, stripped again, together with her children: and one Purcell, a butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, of five years of age, ripped up her body till her entrails fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof the mother complaining to the mayor of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and despatch her; so as not only the butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her life." Jurat. ut suprà.

Some were found in the fields, sucking the breasts of their murdered mothers. Others lay stifled in vaults and cellars. Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion, in the county of Fermanagh, esq., deposeth, "That, when the castle of Lisgoole, was set on fire by the rebels, a woman, leaping out of a window, to save herself from burning, was murdered by the rebels; and next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and was also murdered by them." Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Multitudes of men, women, and children were found drowned, cast into ditches, bogs, and turf pits; the ordinary sepultures of the British nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were forced to stay. John Duffield, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposeth, "That the rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they thereof died, and that their wives and the said John's six children, being all stripped, died of want and cold." And further saith, "That many thousands of protestants, men, women, and children, being stripped of their clothes died also, of cold and want in several parts of the country." Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.

Multitudes were enclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were most miserably consumed. Some dragged out of their sick beds to the place of execution. Catherine Madeson, of the county of Fermanagh, deposeth, "That they drew some, lying sick of fevers, out of their beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them, of men, women, and children, to the number of sixteen, and drowned them in a boggy pit, knocking such on the head with poles as endeavoured to get out."

Jane, the wife of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumcad, in the county of Armagh, gent., sworn, and examined, saith, "That her husband and his mother, about eighty-eight years old, and his brother, being murdered by the rebels, in the parish of Kilmore, that a great number of protestants were, about Candlemas, 1641, by the means and instigation of Joan Hamskin, (formerly a protestant, but a native Irishwoman, and lately turned to mass,) and of divers other her assistants, forced and thrust into a thatched house, within the parish of Kilmore; and then and there (the protestants, being almost naked, covered with rags only,) the same house was, by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts thereof, the poor imprisoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there locked

in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were protestants; three only escaped out of a hole of the house; and the rest, that attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death." Jurat. June 16, 1642.

Children forced to carry their aged parents to the places designed for their slaughter. Thomas Green, in the parish of Dumcres, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, sworn and examined, saith, "That the deponent, Thomas Green, hardly escaped with his life, but that the other deponent and six children were all left among the rebels, and so stripped of their clothes, and deprived of food, that five of the children died; and she, this deponent, being put to beg among the merciless rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish army." She further saith, "That the rebels did drown in a bog, seventeen men, women, and children, at one time, within the said parish; and she is verily persuaded, that the rebels, at several times and places within the county of Armagh, drowned above four thousand protestants, forcing the sons and daughters of those very aged people, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their beds and houses, and to carry them to be drowned, especially in the river of Toll, in the parish of Loghall." Jurat. November 10, 1643.

Nay, some children were compelled most unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents, wives to help to hang their husbands, mothers to cast their own children into the water; and yet, after these forced acts, (which, no doubt, were performed out of hope and assurance to have their own lives saved,) were always murdered. John Rutledge deposeth, "That such were the barbarous and inhuman cruelties of the rebels, that sometimes they forced the wife to kill the husband, the son to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last bloodshedder." He further saith, "That, of his knowledge, the rebels in the town of Sligo, forced one Lewes the younger, to kill his father, and then hanged the son: and in Mogne, in the county of Mayo, the rebels forced one Simon Leper's wife to kill her husband, and then caused her son to kill her, and then they hanged the son."

Dennis Kelly, of the county of Meath, deposeth, "That Garret Tallon, of Cruisetown, in the said county, gent., as it is commonly reported, hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon, his son, a papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two men did, in a most bloody manner, with skains, kill the said Ann Hagely and her daughter, and her daughter's two children, because they would not consent to go to mass: and, after they had killed them, they would not permit them to be buried in a church or church yard; but they four were buried in a ditch." Jurat. August 23, 1643.

A minister stripped stark-naked, and so driven like a beast through the town of Cashel, the rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers. "At Cashel, in Munster, besides many ministers, which they there hanged after a most barbarous manner, they stripped one naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forward with darts and rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead." Jurat. February 24, 1643.

A company of men, women, and children, were put into a house, to which the rebels set fire; and, as they were burning, some children that made an escape out of the flames, were taken by some of the rebels who stood by, who cut them in pieces with scythes, and so cast them into the fire again. Christian Stanhaw, the relict of Henry Stanhaw, late of the county of Armagh, esq., deposeth, "That a woman, that formerly lived at Langoule, absolutely informed this deponent, that the rebels forced a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, into a house, which they purposely set on fire to burn them, and when any of them offered to come out, to shun the fire, the wicked rebels with scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, and burned them with the rest." Jurat. July 23, 1642.

Neither did these horrible tortures, which they put these poor innocent protestants unto, slack their fury; their malice towards them did not terminate with their lives: but, after so many several bloody ways and cruel inventions, wherewith they rent their souls from their wretched bodies, even to their dead carcases, in some places, they denied all manner of burial. Adam Clover, of the county of Cavan, deposeth, "That he observed thirty persons to be most barbarously murdered, and about one hundred and fifty more cruelly wounded, so that traces of blood, issuing from them, lay upon the highway for twelve miles together; and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the cruelties of the rebels were such, that their parents and friends could not carry them further." And further saith, "That some of the rebels vowed, that, if any digged graves, wherein to bury the dead children, they should be buried therein themselves; so the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls." Jurat. January 4, 1641.

Others they left to be devoured by dogs and swine. Thomas Green, and Elizabeth his wife, deposeth, "That the rebels at several times murdered, killed, and destroyed the most part of the protestants in the parish of Dumcres, being about three hundred; and indeed most of the protestants in all the country thereabouts did they kill and destroy, by drowning, hanging, burning; also by the sword, starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, swine, and other ravenous creatures. And this deponent, Elizabeth, saw the dogs feed upon those dead carcases." Jurat. November 10, 1643.

It is not possible to recollect, or express, the wickedness of their mischievous inventions, or the horror of their bloody executions of the English, accompanied with all kind of tortures that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them.

Alas! who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness and perplexity of their souls, the despairing passions and consternations of their minds! What strange, amazed thoughts must it needs raise in their sad hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surprised without remedy, and inextricably wrapped up in all kind of outward miseries, which could possibly by man be inflicted upon any human creatures! What sighs, groans, trembling, astonishment! What shrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations of wives and children, friends and servants weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their present misery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors, that encompassed them on every side, without any bowels of compassion, any sense of their sufferings, or the least commiseration and pity, the common comforters of men in misery!

Whosoever shall seriously weigh these particulars will not much wonder, that such great numbers of British and protestants were destroyed in so short a time, after the first breaking out of the rebellion, as Master Cunningham deposeth in his examination: he there saith, "That the account of the persons killed by the rebels, from the time of the beginning of the rebellion, Oct. 23, 1641, unto the month of April following, was, as the priests weekly gave it in, in their several parishes, one hundred and five thousand." Jurat. April 22, 1641.

John Shaw, a minister, deposeth, "That, after the cessation made with the Irish, divers of them confessed the priests had given them the sacrament, upon condition they should not spare man, woman, or child, that were protestants; and that he heard many of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain." Jurat. January 7, 1643.

When the castle of Lisgoole was set on fire by the rebels, and so many British as are before mentioned consumed in the flames, those mischievous villains, that had done this wicked act, cried out with much joy, how sweetly do they fry!—Elizabeth Champion deposeth,

"That when the rebels had set the castle of Lisgoole on fire, upon the protestants there enclosed, and saw the said house so burning, they said among themselves rejoicingly, oh, how sweetly do they fry!" Jurat. ut suprà.

How did the inhabitants of Kilkenny (a city planted with old English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish) solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a minister and six other protestants, brought in a kind of triumph into that town!—William Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, deposeth, "That, although he lived in the town till about five or six weeks past, in which time, he is assured, many murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them: but he doth confidently believe, that the rebels, having brought seven heads of protestants, whereof one was the head of Master Bingham, a minister, they did then and there, as triumphs of their victory, set them upon the market cross, on a market day, and that the rebels slashed, stabbed and mangled those heads; put a gag, or carrot in the said Master Bingham's mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before him, and bid him preach, 'for his mouth was wide enough;' and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those heads into a hole in St. James's Green." Jurat. August 16, 1643.

But it is no wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous manner to these poor innocent christians, when they spared not most fearfully to vent their rage against their Maker. What open, hellish, blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? With what indignation and reproach did they tear, and trample under their feet, the sacred word of God?

Edward Deane, of Ocram, in the county of Wicklow, tanner, deposeth, "That the Irish rebels made proclamation, that all English men and women, that did not depart the country within twenty-four hours, should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and that the Irish houses, that kept any of the English children, should be burned." And further saith, "That the said rebels burnt two protestant bibles, and then said, that it was hell-fire that burnt." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

John Kerdiffe, clerk of the county of Tyrone, deposeth, inter alia, "That Friar Malone, of Skerries, did take the poor men's bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, with these words, That he would deal in like manner with all protestant and puritan bibles." Jurat. Feb. 28, 1641.

Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, deposeth, "That the rebels entered the parish church at Powerscourt, and burned up the pews, pulpits, chests, and bibles belonging to the said church, with extreme violence and triumph, and expressing of hatred to religion." Jurat. Jan 25, 1641.

Adam Clover, of Stonosie, in the county of Cavan, duly sworn, deposeth, "That James O'Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels, did often take into their hands the protestant bibles and, wetting them in the dirty water, did, five or six several times, dash the same on the face of this deponent and other protestants, saying, "Come, I know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this;" and used other scornful and disgraceful words unto them. And further saith, "That, dragging many protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the church, they there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, if you come to-morrow, you shall hear the like sermon." Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

Edward Slacke, of Gusteen, in the county of Fermanagh, clerk, deposeth, "That one of the rebels there took his bible, opened it, and, laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, 'A plague on it! this bible hath bred all the quarrel; and that he hoped within a few weeks all the bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom.'" Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

But I shall not here touch any farther upon those who died thus gloriously: this will be a worthy work for some more able pen to undertake. If we shall take a survey of the primitive times, and look into the sufferings of the first christians, that suffered under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of those heathenish emperors, we shall not certainly find any one kingdom, though of a far larger extent, where more christians suffered, or more unparalleled cruelties were acted in many years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the space of the first two months after the breaking out of this rebellion. And, howsoever some, by outward inflictions and tortures, were drawn to profess the change of their religion, and had presently their reward; (for many of those who did so, were, by their persecutors, suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, "It was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood;") yet, I dare say, we shall find many of those who were thus cruelly put to death, to have been equal to some of those ancient worthies for their patience, constancy, courage, and magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing and insulting, with their last breath, over the insolency, rage, and malice of their most inhuman and cruel persecutors.

John Glasse, of Montwrath, in the Queen's County, sworn and examined, saith, "That Florence Fitzpatrick, of the said county, esq.; having received Master John Nicholson, and his wife Anne Nicholson, under his protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to mass, or the present rebellion; but they both professed, that rather than they would either forsake their religion, or fight against their countrymen, they would die the death. The husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even showing greater resolution; they would have had her burn her bible; but her answer was, "that before she would either burn her bible, or turn against her countrymen, she would die upon the point of the sword;" which was made good by them; for on Sabbath-day in the morning, before mass, they were cruelly murdered, by the command of the said Florence Fitzpatrick. The instrument employed by him to commit this cruelty was one John Harding, who since hath been, beyond all expression, tormented in his conscience, and with continued apparitions of them, as he conceived, in such lively manner as he murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the horror of it, as it is most frequently reported among the rebels." Jurat. April 8, 1642.

We shall find in the Roman history, during the several cruel contentions betwixt Marius and Sylla, (when their factious followers filled the whole city of Rome with streams of blood,) strange and most incomparable passages of friendship; one exposing himself to all manner of dangers, for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the lives of their beloved masters. But here, on the contrary, what open violation of all bands of humanity and friendship! No contracts, no promises observed; quarter, given in the most solemn manner, and with the greatest oaths and severest execrations, under hand and seal, suddenly broken. The Irish landlords making a prey of their English tenants; the Irish servants betraying their English masters; and every one esteeming any act, whereby they could declare their hatred and malice most against any of the British nation, to be gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the province of Ulster; and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent, to extirpate all the British planted throughout the kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them, men, women, and children; but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their evidences, defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of the English government: nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either name, or posterity, in Ireland.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they co-operated with each other, will be a task of some extent, and more proper for another place in this history. I shall here conclude this discourse, concerning the cruel-

ties exercised upon the British and protestants, with the following examinations. They are eight in number; two witnesses, as it were, taken out of each province, to declare their cruel proceedings. I shall begin with Munster; from whence we have yet had very few examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their miseries, to insert their general remonstrance, made upon the conclusion of the late cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the province of Connaught; then those of the province of Ulster; and lastly two examinations taken of some acts of cruelty committed within the province of Leinster. I have made choice chiefly of such as have been put in by persons of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon oath: as all the examinations concerning cruelties, before mentioned, likewise are. I shall leave the several particulars to the consideration of such as shall please to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect of the former cruelties inserted, as was said to the prophet Ezekiel in another case, "Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these."

A General Remonstrance of the Distressed Protestants, in the Province of Munster.

Setting forth, from the gasping condition of their most sad and distressed souls, that, whereas the province of Munster, through the vast expence of English treasure and blood, was improved, from a state of barbarism, to such a degree of civility, that the power and dignity of the English crown was much advanced and extended, by the surest and noblest bonds of a flourishing people; those of religion, civility, and profit:—Of religion, witnessed by the enlarged congregations both in cathedral and parochial churches; of civility, by the many costly plantations, fair and strong buildings, plentiful markets, and bountiful hospitality; and, of profit, by the free trade and commerce throughout Christendom: lands fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all sorts of the best English cattle; which enabled us to advance great sums to his majesty's customs, to contribute large subsidies, and to supply the west of England with such a considerable proportion of wool and cattle, that a great part of the trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the English undertakers in the time of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; since which time few parts of Christendom, from their beginning, in so short a space, have had such a rise and growth, which was not alone beneficial to ourselves, but the very natives must confess, that their estates were greatly augmented by our improvements. And therefore let it not be wondered at, that, when we consider from what we are fallen to what we are fallen, the pain of loss should strive to equal that of sense; and, if the depth of our miseries have not sunk our souls to stupidity, we may compare our woes to the saddest parallel of any history. Our temples demolished, or (what is worse,) profaned by sacrifices to idols; our houses and castles become ruinous heaps; our nation extirpated, destroyed: no quality, age, or sex, privileged from maccacres and from lingering deaths, (by being robbed and stripped naked,) through cold or famine; passages of a notable piece of clemency and mercy. The famished infants of murdered parents swarm in our streets, and, for want of bread, perish before our faces; and many of our yet miserable remnant, who lived plentifully and relieved others, are forced to ask relief for themselves; and those they ask it of, are constrained by want to refuse them; so as, undoubtedly, our present miseries are not far short of those of the siege of Samaria; and all those miseries are cast upon us by this unparalleled rebellion, at a time, when we were most confident and secure; more and greater immunities and bounties having been granted to us by his majesty that now is, than ever were granted by any of his royal progenitors. For what cause, offence, or least seeming occasion of provocation, these woes have come upon us, our souls could never imagine, (sin excepted,) save that we were protestants, and his majesty's loyal subjects, and could not endure their poisonous breaths, to speak such profaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred fame of our king; and, to give a colour to this cruel treatment, we must go under the notorious names, first, of puritans, and, latterly, of roundheads; for alleging particular instances of which time would fail us, and the length of them would weary the reader.

But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, that the depopulations in this province of Munster do well and near equal those of the whole kingdom. The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman cruelties, were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof by the many months' endeavours of a reverend divine, one archdeacon Bisse, thereunto authorized, by virtue of a commission under the broad seal of this kingdom; who was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And, because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the demeanours of the Irish, since the cessation, as well as before, many English have been murdered as they travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the English, that, if any remain, (which few do, nor, surely, will do, that can but breathe elsewhere,) then must they be in a condition worse than any known slavery. And, likewise, as to other articles of the cessation, they have been totally broken, and our quarters (being of large extent,) universally taken from us, even to the walls of our garrisons; wherein we have often called to the chief of them for justice; which being denied, or, which is worse, delayed, want of means to justify ourselves, leaves us without remedy. For all which we pour forth our griefs and supplications, above to God alone, and here on earth to our dread sovereign.

The Examination of Anne, the late wife of John Sherring.

That about Candlemas, two years past, the said John Sherring, her then husband, going from his farm, which he held from John Kennedy, Esq., near to the silver-works, one Hugh Kennedy, one of the brothers of the said John Kennedy, a cruel rebel, together with a great multitude of Irish rebellious soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said husband, and upon one William Brock, William Laughlin, Thomas Collop, and eight more English protestant men, and about ten women, and upon some children in their company, and then and there stripped them of their clothes, and then with stones, pole-axes, skains, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, most barbarously murdered and massacred her said husband, and all those protestant men, women, and children. In the time of which massacre, a most loud and fearful noise and storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail-stones and rain began. The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before night, the former part of that day being all very fair; but that thunder, lightning, and tempest, happening suddenly after the massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this deponent and many others, insomuch that those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's anger, and threatening of them for their then cruelty! yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloody act, until they had murdered those said English protestants, and hacked, hewed, slashed, stabbed, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her husband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds then and there given him, viz. some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back and neck. And that murder done, those barbarous rebels tied willows about their necks, and drew them out of the refining mill, (where indeed they slew them,) and threw them or most of them, into a deep hole, formerly made one upon another; so that none of those twenty-three men, women, nor children, did escape death. Howbeit, one Thomas Ladell, a Scotchman, and one George Kelsie, who then and there endured and had many grievous wounds, and were left on the ground for dead, crawled

up, after the rebels were gone away, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives. And she further saith, That such was God's judgment upon the said Hugh Kennedy, for that bloody act, that he presently fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night: yet coveting to do more mischief upon the English, but being prevented and denied to do it, he, about a week after, drowned himself in the next river to the silver works. But his barbarous and wicked soldiers went on with their wickedness, and afterwards boasted how they had killed a minister and his wife, and four children, near the city of Limerick. And this deponent is too well assured, that those, and other Irish rebels in that part of the country, exercised and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages, upon the persons and goods of the protestants, so that very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods. And she further saith, That all the popish gentry in the country thereabouts, especially all those of the clans and names of the O'Brians, the Coghlans, and the Kennedies, were all actors in the present rebellion against his majesty; and either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to, all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further saith, That by means of the said rebellion, her said husband and she were at Werinwood, about Candlemas, 1641, robbed and deprived of their cattle, household stuff, corn, malt, provision, ready-money, debts, the benefit of their lease, and other their goods and chattels, of the value, and to their loss of 160*l.* at the least, and that the said John Kennedy, esq., their landlord, was the man that so deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other rebels stripped her naked, Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643.

Henry Jones, Anne Sherring.
Henry Brereton.

The Examination of John Goldsmith, Parson of Brashole, in the County of Mayo, sworn and examined, saith:

That the lord of Mayo, being to convoy all those of Castlebar to Galway, viz., Sir Henry Bingham, with all his company, and the bishop of Killaloe, with all his company, with many of the neighbouring English, being about sixty in number, (whereof there were some fifteen ministers,) covenanted with one Edmund Bourk for the safe convoy of the same parties, upon a certain day; and the said lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcarah, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the ministry.

At which day, the titulary archbishop and the lord of Mayo, meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shreul; at which place the lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the said last-named Edmund Bourk: but (as one Master Bringhurst told the deponent,) that the lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Bourk drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those Protestants; and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with skains, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of the English escaped alive; but the most part were murdered in the place. Among the rest, the bishop of Killaloe escaped with his life; but was wounded in his head; and one Master Crowd, a minister, was so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after.

And this deponent further saith—that in the town of Sligo, forty persons, English and Scotch, were, by the rebels, stripped and locked up in a cellar; and about midnight a butcher, who was sent unto them for the purpose, with his axe knocked them all on the head, and so then and there murdered them; which butcher, coming afterwards to Castlebar, did there confess his bloody act.

In Tirawly, within the county of Mayo, about thirty or forty English (who had formerly turned papists) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves. They making choice of drowning, were brought by the rebels to the sea-side, who had their skains drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the sea: the mothers, with their children in their arms, (crying for drink,) having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and children into the sea, yielding themselves to the mastery of the waves, and so perished.

The torments the rebels would use to the protestants, to make them confess their monies, were these, viz., some they would take and wreathe willows about their heads, until the blood sprang out of the crowns of their heads: others they would hang until they were half dead; then they would let them down, and do the same so often over, until they confessed their monies.

And this deponent further saith—that a youth of about fifteen years of age, the son of Master Montgomery, the minister, meeting with a bloody rebel, who had been his schoolmaster, this rebel drew his skain, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the boy cried out unto him, "Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will!" Nevertheless, the merciless and cruel rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him.

A Scotchman, travelling in the highway, with his wife and children, were beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor wife afterwards, with great grief, told him, this deponent.

The vicar of Urras turned papist, and became drummer to Captain Bourk, and was after murdered for his pains by the rebels.

Another Scotchman, near Ballhane, was hanged by the rebels. Jurat. December 30, 1643.

Henry Jones, John Goldsmith.
Henry Brereton,

Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlmont, in the County of Armagh, Esq., aged threescore Years, or thereabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, by virtue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of Ireland: Deposeth and saith,

That these protestant ministers following, about the beginning of the present rebellion, were murdered in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, viz., Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Smith, Mr Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more, whose names this deponent hath forgotten, by the rebels, none of which would the rebels permit to be buried; the names of such as murdered, this examinant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is, that some of his, the deponent's servants, who were among the rebels, did give him the relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the rebels themselves, and by some of those protestants that had escaped; and that he, this deponent, was a prisoner amongst the rebels at Castle Caulfield, near the place of those murders, where he continued fourteen months. And further saith, that in Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, or near thereunto, the rebels murdered three hundred and six protestants; and between Charlmont and Dungannon, above four hundred, that were murdered and drowned at, and in the river by Benburb, the Black Water, between the counties of Armagh and Tyrone; two hundred and six protestants; and Patrick MacCrew of Dungannon aforesaid, murdered thirty-one in one morning; and two young rebels, viz., John Begbrian Harie, murdered in the said county of Tyrone, one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no resistance, and that the wife of Brian Kelly, of Loghall, in the county of Armagh, one of the rebels' captains, did, with her own hands, murder forty-five. And this deponent further saith, that one Thomas King, sometimes serjeant to the late Lord Caulfield's company, which this deponent

commanded, he being forced to serve under the rebels, and was one of their provost-marshals, gave the deponent a list of every householder's name so murdered, and the number of persons so murdered; which list this deponent durst not keep. At Portadowne there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about forty, or such like numbers, at once, with convoys, and there drowned. There was a loch, near Loghall aforesaid, where were drowned above two hundred: of which this deponent was informed by several persons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. Hodges, and two of her sons, who were present and designed for the like end; but by God's mercy (that gave them favour in the eyes of some of the rebels) they escaped; and the said Mrs. Hodges and her sons gave the deponent a list of the names of many of those that were so drowned, which the deponent durst not keep; and saith, that the said Dr. Hodges was employed by Sir Phelim O'Neile to make powder: but he, failing of his undertaking, was first half-hanged, then cut down, and kept prisoner three months, and then murdered, with forty-four more, within a quarter of a mile of Charlmont aforesaid, they being by Thirlogh Oge O'Neile, (brother to Sir Phelim,) sent to Dungannon prisoners, and on the way murdered. This deponent was shewed the pit where they were all cast in. At a mill-pond, in the parish of Killamen, in the county of Tyrone, there were drowned in one day three hundred; and in the same parish there were murdered of English and Scotch, one thousand and two hundred, as this deponent was informed by Mr. Birge, the late minister of the said parish, who certified the same under his hand, which note the deponent durst not keep: the said Mr. Birge was murdered three months after; all which murders were in the first breaking out of the rebellion; but the particular times this deponent cannot remember, neither the persons by whom they were committed. This deponent was credibly informed by the said serjeant and others of this deponent's servants, who kept company with the rebels, and saw the same, that many young children were cut into quarters by the rebels, and that eighteen Scotch infants were hanged on a clothier's tenter-hook, and that they murdered a young fat Scotchman, and made candles of his grease; they took another Scotchman and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small bowels, the one end whereof they tied to a tree, and made him go round until they had drawn them all out of his body, they then saying, that they would try whether a dog's or a Scotchman's bowels were the longest.

Deposed March 9, 1643, before us,

Henry Jones, Anthony Stratford.
Henry Brereton,

The Examination of Robert Maxwell, Clerk, Archdeacon of Downe, sworn and examined: Deposeth and saith, inter alia,—

That, by command from Sir Phelim O'Neile, the rebels dragged the deponent's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed, in the rage and height of a burning fever; and lest any of his acquaintances or friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said; and thus Sir Phelim paid him two hundred and sixty pounds which he owed him; and his wife Grissel Maxwell, being in child-birth, they stripped naked, drove her about an arrow's flight to the Black-water, and drowned her. The like they did to another English woman in the same parish, in the beginning of the rebellion; which was little inferior, if not more unnatural and barbarous than the roasting of Mr. Watson alive, after they had cut a collop out of the cawl; and that Mr. Starkey, schoolmaster at Armagh, was a gentleman of good parentage and parts, being upwards of a hundred years of age, they stripped naked, caused two of his daughters, maidens, being likewise naked, to support him under each arm, he being not able to go of himself: and in that posture carried them a quarter of a mile, to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their eyes, and the cruelty of their hearts, with the self-same objects at the same time. At the siege of Augher, they would not kill any English beast, and then eat it, but they cut collops out of them, being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more flesh on their backs, so that sometimes, a beast would live two or three days together in that torment; the like they did at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Echlin, esq., they hanged and murdered all his Irish servants, which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this rebellion. And as touching exemplary constancy in religion, this deponent saith, that Henry Cowell, esq., a gallant and well-bred gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a harlot, called Mary Ny Neile, a near kinswoman of Sir Phelim's: he was proffered his life, without the blouse, if he would have gone to mass; but he chose rather to die than to do either. There was made the like proffer of life, for going to mass, to Robert Echlin, a child of eleven or twelve years of age; but he also refused it, saying, he saw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own. And this deponent further saith, that many of the British protestants the rebels buried alive, and took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them as they digged down old ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the protestants, neither would permit any who survived, to perform that duty for them: and further saith, that the rebels would send their children abroad in great troops, especially near unto Kinard, armed with long wattles and whips, who would therewith beat dead men's and women's bodies in a manner not fit to be named, and then would return in great joy to their parents, who received them, for such service, as it were in triumph.

Many of the protestants the rebels would not kill at once, but, when they were half dead, would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands, two or three days after, but that they would kill them outright; which sometimes was granted, and sometimes denied.

A young man, who had his back-bone broken, was found in a field, having, like a beast, eaten all the grass round about him; the deponent could not learn that they afterwards killed him, but that they removed him to a place of better pasture; so that, in those most bloody and execrable wretches, the saying of the Holy Ghost is clearly verified, "The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty:" And he further saith, that the rebels themselves told him, this deponent, that they murdered nine hundred and fifty-four in one morning, in the county of Antrim; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above eleven or twelve hundred more in that county. They told him likewise, that Colonel Bryan O'Neile, killed above one thousand in the county of Down, besides three hundred killed near Killeleigh, and many hundreds both before and after in both those counties.

At Sir Phelim's return from Lesnegavy, some of the soldiers forced above twenty-four British into a house, where they burned them alive; whose terrible cries they desired very much to imitate, and express unto others: And saith, that he heard Sir Phelim likewise report, that he killed six hundred English at Garvah, in the county of Derry; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlong, in the county of Tyrone, and betwixt Armagh and the Newry, in the several plantations and lands of Sir Archibald Atcheson, John Hamilton, esq., the Lord Caufield, and the Lord Mount-Norrice: And saith also, that there were above two thousand of the British murdered, for the most part in their own houses; whereof he was informed by a Scotchman, who was in those parts with Sir Phelim, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the Glenwood towards Dromore, there were slaughtered, as the rebels told the deponent, upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were killed in their flight to the county of Down. The number of the people drowned at the bridge of Portadown are variously reported, according as men staid among the rebels; this deponent, who remained as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the English amongst them, and had best reason to know the

truth, saith, there were, by their own report, one hundred with Mr. Fullerton; at another time they threw one hundred and forty over the said bridge; at another time thirty-six or thirty-seven; and so continued drowning, more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks: so that the fewest that can be supposed there to have perished, must be above a thousand, besides as many more drowned betwixt that bridge and the great Lough of Montjoy, as well as those who perished by the sword, fire, and famine, in Coubrassil, and the English plantations adjacent: which, in regard there escaped not three hundred out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the deponent's house, thirty-six persons were carried to the Curebridge at one time, and drowned. At another time fifty-six men, women, and children, all of them being taken out of the deponent's house; and at other times several other numbers, besides those that were drowned in the Black-water at Kinnard; in which town, and the parish of Tinon, whereof the deponent was rector, there were drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine, and for want of clothes, about six hundred. The deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the diary which he, this deponent, wrote amongst the rebels, being burnt, with his house, books, and all his papers, he referreth himself to the number in gross which the rebels themselves have, upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which, notwithstanding, will come short of all that have been murdered in Ireland; there being above one hundred and fifty-four thousand now wanting of the British, within the very precinct of Ulster.

Upon the view of these examinations, all taken upon oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the rebels, throughout all the parts of the kingdom, proceeded in their barbarous, bloody executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the British and protestants there planted. It is most true, that in Leinster and Munster, (and yet one would scarce believe it, that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-cited examinations of those two provinces,) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early, as in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught.

I find, in one part of Dr. Maxwell's examinations, (which I thought fit not wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned,) that about May, 1642, when the Scottish army, under command of General-Major Monro, had marched down from Carrickfergus, taken in Newry, beaten the Irish out of those parts, with the slaughter of many of them, Sir Phelim O'Neale caused 5000 British, whom he detained in Armagh, Tyrone, and other parts of the north, to be most miserably murdered in the space of three days. James Shaw, of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, deposeth and saith, "That, during the time this deponent was in restraint, and staid among the rebels, in the county of Armagh, they went to besiege the castle of Augher, where they were repulsed, and divers of the rebels of the clan of O'Neales were slain. In revenge whereof, the grand rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neale, gave direction and warrant to one Mulmory Macdonell, a most cruel and merciless rebel, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilly, and Kilcluney; whereupon the said rebel did murder twenty-seven Scotch and English protestants, within musket-shot of this deponent's own house." And further saith, "That, in those three parishes, there have been, before that and since, by killing, drowning, and starving, put to death 1500 protestants; that he observed and well knew the greatest part of the rebels."

There is much more to be said on this subject; but I shall forbear to detail further many other foul circumstances, which would make this rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the public affairs of the state, where I left them, in the hands of the lords-justices and council; who, finding the city to grow more and more pestered with strangers, by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill-affected persons that daily made repair thereunto, they issued out several other proclamations, to prohibit the access of all strangers to the town, and to require such as remained in the city, without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

The lords-justices and council, by their letters bearing date about the 20th of November, gave unto the lord-lieutenant a more certain and full account of the state of the kingdom, than they could anyways do at the first breaking out of the rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their present affairs, they moved that the supplies of men, money, commanders, and arms, mentioned in their former letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his lordship would presently repair hither in his own person, to undertake the management of the war. About the 10th of the month of November, their lordships received an answer from the lord-lieutenant to their former letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their letters to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and that, by order from their lordships, he had acquainted both houses of parliament with them; that he had also sent to his majesty, who still continued at Edinburgh in Scotland, to represent the condition of their affairs; and that he understood his majesty had received some advertisements, out of the north of Ireland, of the present rebellion there. His lordship also farther let them know, that his majesty had referred the whole business of Ireland to the parliament of England; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war; that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed, for their present supplies, the sum of 50,000*l.*, and had taken order for making of all further provisions necessary for the service; as may appear by the order of parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the lord-lieutenant, together with his said letters unto the lords-justices, by whose command it was reprinted at Dublin, November 12, 1641, as here follows, being entitled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in England, concerning Ireland.

"The lords and commons in this present parliament, being advertised of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all protestants living there, and other his majesty's loyal subjects of English blood, though of the Romish religion, (being ancient inhabitants within several counties, and parts of that realm, who have always, in former rebellions, given testimony of their fidelity to this crown,) and for the utter depriving of his royal majesty, and the crown of England, of the government of that kingdom, under pretence of setting up the popish religion;—have thereupon taken into their serious consideration, how those mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, wherein the honour, safety, and interest of this kingdom are most nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to serve his majesty with their lives and fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked rebellion, in such a way as shall be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of parliament; and thereupon have ordered and provided for a present supply of money, and raising the number of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the lords-justices, and his majesty's council resident in that kingdom; with a resolution to add such further succours as the necessity of those affairs shall require. They have also resolved on providing arms and ammunition, not only for those men, but likewise for his majesty's faithful subjects in that kingdom, with store of victuals and other necessaries, as there shall be occasion; and, that these provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several ports of this kingdom, that is to say, Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cumberland, where the magazines and store-

houses shall be kept for the supply of the several parts of Ireland.

"They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his most excellent majesty, for the encouragement of those English or Irish who shall, upon their own charges, raise any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels, that they shall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland, according to their merits.

"And, for the better inducing the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or, in his absence, to the lord-deputy or lords-justices there, according to the power of the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his majesty's gracious pardon to all such as, within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices, and council of that kingdom) shall return to their due obedience; the greatest part whereof, they conceive, have been seduced upon false grounds, by the cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state and to the reformed religion; and likewise to bestow such rewards as should be thought fit, and published by the said lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices and council, upon all those who shall arrest the persons, or bring in the heads, of such traitors as shall be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there. And they do hereby exhort and require all his majesty's loving subjects, both in this and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this whole kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore, with all readiness, bounty, and cheerfulness, to confer their assistance in their persons or estates, to this so important and necessary service for the common good of all.

"Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliament."

About the same time, the lord-lieutenant, finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of Ireland, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own person, made the earl of Ormond lieutenant-general of the forces there, and sent him over a commission for the same. And the said earl did, within few days after, receive a letter from his majesty, out of Scotland, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of 20,000*l.* from the parliament.

There continued daily to repair unto the city of Dublin great numbers of poor distressed English, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance by the rebels. Now, that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them, throughout the several provinces, the lords-justices and council thought fit to issue out a commission under the great seal, directed to certain of the clergy, to take upon oath the several examinations of all such persons, that, having suffered by this present rebellion, would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the commission itself, a copy whereof I have thought fit to insert.

"CHARLES, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watsons, clerks, greeting: Whereas divers wicked and disloyal people have lately risen in arms in this kingdom, and robbed and spoiled many of our good subjects, British and protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner; and forasmuch as it is needful to take due examination concerning the same, know ye, that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our commissioners, and do hereby give unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon oath on the holy evangelists, (which hereby we authorise you, or any two or more of you, to administer, as well to all such persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as to all the witnesses that can give testimony therein,) what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since the 22d of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies; on what day or night the said robberies or spoils were committed or done; what traitorous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then, or at any other time, uttered or committed by those robbers, or any of them, and how often; and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars, and every of them: And you our said commissioners are to reduce to writing all the examinations which you, or any two or more of you, shall take as aforesaid; and the same to return to our justices and council of this our realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you, as aforesaid. Witness our right trusty and well-beloved counsellors, Sir William Parsons, knt. and bart., and Sir John Borlace, knt., our justices of our said realm of Ireland. Dublin, the 23d of December, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

The commissioners above nominated did very seriously address themselves to this work, employing themselves therein with great diligence and faithfulness; and have so well performed the charge imposed upon them, as that, by several examinations, many principal gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief actors in the depredations made on the British, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties, which, through their industry, will now remain upon record, but had otherwise been concealed from posterity, and buried in oblivion.

The like commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster and Ulster. In the province of Munster, the commissioners took great care in the execution of it, many examinations of great importance were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned, according as is required by the said commissioners.

Towards the latter end of November, the lord-justices and council, considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole kingdom, and the further calamities threatened by war and famine, did by a proclamation set forth in print, give strict charge and command, that upon every Friday, a public fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and through the whole city and suburbs of Dublin, by all his majesty's subjects therein, and that divine service and sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said day weekly, in every cathedral and other church and chapel in the said city and suburbs thereof: and this to be performed as is expressed in the said proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of Almighty God may be averted from this kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded to such miserable persons, as these traitors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished, up to this city.

The lord-justices and council, being advertised of the near approach of the rebels to Drogheda, prepared to send down supplies, both of men and ammunition, for the reinforcement of that garrison. There were already appointed six hundred foot and a troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in readiness to march, when an express from Sir Henry Tichbourne came to the Earl of Ormond, to let him know the rebels had that day, being the 21st of November, appeared within sight of the town.

He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day; only, while their forces made a stand there, they sent down a party of one thousand three hundred foot to Millifond, the Lord Moore's house, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but, contrary to their expectation, they

found there twenty-four musketiers and fifteen horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted. The horsemen, when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out, and made their passage through the midst of the rebels, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped to Drogheda. The foot, having refused to accept any quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last man; they endured several assaults, slew one hundred and forty of the rebels, before their powder failed them, and at last they gave up the place upon a promise of quarter: which promise, however, was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old, decrepit men slain; the house ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Upon the receipt of Sir Henry Tichbourne's letter, the lords presently gave orders for the marching away of six hundred men, together with a troop of horse towards Drogheda. They left not the town till the 27th of November, and such was the negligence of the captains, and disorders of the soldiers, as, notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than Swords, a village six miles distant from Dublin: the command of the foot was committed to serjeant-major Roper, and that of the horse to Sir Patrick Weames, who was appointed, with fifty of the Earl of Ormond's troop, to march with those six companies to Drogheda.

As they passed through Gormanstone, the major paid a visit to the lord of Gormanstone, who told him that there were a number of men lying in the way, with an intent to interrupt their passage. The major had likewise other information to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed. He only caused three scouts out of the troop to be sent abroad, to make discovery whether the passage was clear; two of them returned back, a little before he came to the bridge of Julian's-town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a house within a quarter of a mile of the place where the rebels lay; and, while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house took his horse, and riding to the rebels, gave them notice of the near approach of our forces. The horse passed the bridge, and the foot following, turned up into a field on the left hand of the lane, where, by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the rebels, till they were almost within musket shot of them.

The major drew his men presently into battle array; but the horse, (as some of the foot that escaped, affirm,) wheeled about without charging any part of the rebels forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout; and, a lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of countermarch, all the men, possessed as it were with a panic, began, somewhat confusedly, to march back; but were so much amazed with a second shout given by the rebels, (who, seeing them in disorder, followed close on,) that, notwithstanding they had got into a ground of great advantage, they could not be persuaded to stand a charge, but betook themselves to their heels; and so the rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is, upon the execution.

Sir Patrick Weames, without the loss of one horse, passed on safely unto Drogheda: the major, with two of the captains and about one hundred of their men, also made their escape thither: the other three captains, with all the rest of the soldiers that were English, were slain; they spared very few, or none, that fell into their hands, but such as were Irish; whose lives they preserved.

The arms of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their ammunition and carriages; and so highly were the rebels encouraged, by this defeat given to his majesty's forces, that the whole pale began presently to waver; they thought the kingdom their own, and that the English would, in all parts, fall before them, as those poor, ill-conducted people had unhappily done.

And now the lords and gentlemen of the pale thought it high time to discover themselves and their affections to the cause. They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thoughts, but were the first contrivers and bringers in of the northern rebels, into this execrable plot: they had now likewise drawn them into the pale, and therefore they could not hope now much longer to walk under a mask, and entertain the state with further professions of their loyalty; they had obtained a competent proportion of arms and ammunition out of his majesty's store in their own possession: they now saw the northern rebels advanced within the river Boyne, with very considerable forces to strengthen their party, and, by the late encounter, and the successful victory they had therein, they pleased themselves with confident expectations of certainly prevailing, if they would now delare themselves by a public conjunction in the common cause, and, raising such numbers of men and quantities of provision, as the plentiful circuit of the pale did afford, would prosecues the war, so happily begun, and so successfully managed hitherto.

These and several other considerations, operating very powerfully among the lords and chief gentlemen of the pale, they did, within very few days after the late defeat, solemnly proceed to the actual consummation of their long-meditated revolt. For the manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I shall refer the reader to this ensuing relation, given in upon oath, March 16, 1641, before Sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, in the examination of Edward Dodwall, esq., a gentleman of the pale; one very well esteemed among them; one that was present at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their councils and actions.

He deposeth, "that four or five days after the defeat of the English soldiers, at the bridge of Gellianstown, there issued a warrant from the lord of Gormanstone to the sheriff of the county, for a general meeting of all the county, at Dulick; but the place of the meeting was afterwards changed to the hill of Crofty, where all the lords and gentry of the county met, viz., the Earl of Fingal, the Lord Viscount Gormanstone, the Lord of Slaine, the Lord of Lowth, the Lord of Dunsay, the Lord of Trimblestone, the Lord Netterville. And of the gentry, Sir Patrick Barnwall, Sir Christopher Bellew, Patrick Barnwall of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Plattin, James Bath of Acharn, Garret Ailmer, the lawyer, Cusake of Gormanstone, William Malone of Lesmullin, Sedgrave of Kileglau, Linch of the Knos, Lynam of Adamstown, Laurence Doudall of Athlumney, Nicholas Doudall of Brownstown, this examinant's brother, and him, this examinant, with a multitude of others, to the number of one thousand persons at the least, whose names he, this examinant, cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said hill of Crofty, by the lords and gentry aforesaid, there came towards them Colonel Mahone, Philip O'Reily, Hugh Boy Reily, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and Captain Fox, attended with a guard of musketeers."

And this examinant saith, "that, as soon as the parties drew unto the said hill, the lords and gentry of the pale rode towards them, and the lord of Gormanstone, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, why, and for what reason they came armed into the pale? To which Roger Moore, made answer, that the ground of their coming thither and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and for making the subjects in this kingdom as free as those in England were."

"Whereupon the said lord of Gormanstone, desired to understand from them, truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing? And likewise, whether they had not some other private ends of their own? which, being denied by all, upon profession of their sincerity, his lordship then told them, 'seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise join with you therein;' unto which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publicly and generally declared, that, whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction."

And this examinant saith "that, after the agreement

so made as aforesaid, there issued another warrant to the sheriff of the county of Meath, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county of Meath, to be at the hill of Tara, about a week after; and accordingly there met at the same place, the Earl of Fingal, the Lord of Gormanstone, and the rest of the lords and gentlemen aforenamed, together with Sir Thomas Nugent, and Nicholas Plunket, the lawyer, Birford the lawyer, and a multitude of others; and the work of that day was, first, to make answer to a summons made by the state for the calling of the lords unto Dublin: which answer was brought ready-drawn by the Lord of Gormanstone, and presented by his lordship; and, being perused by the said counsel at law, was signed by the lords."

In this manner was this transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt Leinster and Ulster. Valence and Brabant (as Sir Phelim O'Neale styles those two provinces,) were now publicly united together in that great assembly. The Lord Viscount Gormanstone on the one side, and Roger Moore on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now received; they had at length brought it to perfection; they two had the glory of it, and appeared the great public instruments of this powerful union.

The lords and chief gentlemen of the pale, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, that they little valued what was done or commanded by the state at Dublin. They now wholly applied their endeavours to make such preparations towards the war, as might strengthen their party, which (as it now stood in conjunction with the northern rebels,) they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable forces drawn together by the lords-justices and council at Dublin.

Several gentlemen, who in the several counties of the pale were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels. Nicholas White, esq., son and heir to Sir Nicholas White of Lislip, was the first that gave the example, about the 2nd of December; but he carried the matter so handsomely that his company ran away to the rebels, as he pretended, without his consent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the state therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same; but before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone, with their arms and ammunition, to the rebels. Many of the other captains desired no such pretence for their intentions, but delivered themselves and their arms up, to be disposed as they should direct, without any further scruple, or compliment to the state.

Whereupon the lords, finding how manifestly they were abused, by the very great confidence reposed in such gentlemen of the pale, who being made captains, had received arms from them, and perceiving what course they began now to pursue, and how they were resolved to employ their own arms against them, they issued new orders, and with such despatch and diligence, that many of those arms which were delivered out for the use of the pale were stopped; so that out of the one thousand seven hundred arms distributed among the several counties thereof, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty.

It was now almost full two months since the breaking out of this rebellion; the lords-justices and council, out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the Irish throughout the kingdom, did, in the very beginning, with much earnestness solicit immediate sending over of succours out of England; and as soon as they began to make a little further discovery into the strength of this conspiracy, and found their own wants and utter disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the power of the whole body of the Irish, which (as it then began to appear unto them,) was firmly united with all the old English, that were of the Romish profession, incorporated into their party throughout Ireland, they did, with much more earnestness, by their frequent letters and several agents, represent unto his majesty and parliament of England, the very ill, and even desperate condition they were in; and therefore desired that supplies, both of men, money, and all kind of warlike provisions, might be sent with all speed unto them; declaring, that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist, as they now stood environed on all sides with multitudes of the rebels; but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom. And, because they conceived the levies in England could not be so suddenly made, nor the men so easily transported from thence into the north of Ireland, (where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had, by their most unparalleled cruelty towards the English, done most mischief) as out of Scotland, they made a proposition to the lord-lieutenant, to move both his majesty and the parliament, that 10,000 Scots might be presently raised and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terror the Irish had of that nation, that their bodies would better agree with that climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toil and miseries of an Irish war; that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours' sail from some parts of Scotland into the north of Ireland. That the kingdom of Scotland had been lately in arms, and so had all provisions necessary for the furnishing of their men for this expedition in readiness. And lastly, they having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own countrymen settled there already, would, no doubt, undertake the work with all alacrity, and prosecute the war with such vigour, as might testify their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own nation by that barbarous people.

These letters arrived very opportunely, about the time of the king's return from Edinburgh to the parliament of England, then sitting at Westminster; and, there being even then two Scottish lords come out of the kingdom of Scotland, to treat with the parliament of England concerning the sending forces from thence for the relief of Ireland.

This motion was with great readiness yielded unto; and it was ordered, "That the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Leicester, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord Howard of Estric, nominated by the house of peers; and Nathaniel Fiennes, esq., Sir William Ermin, bart., Sir Philip Stapleton, knt., John Hampden, esq., of the house of commons, should treat with the Scottish commissioners concerning the affairs of Ireland; and that there should be a commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great seal of England, together with particular instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

In the propositions given in by the Scottish commissioners, they did, in the first place, make offer of 10,000 men, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland; and, that they might be enabled to send them speedily, they desired an advance of 30,000*l.* of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by England, and that what arms and ammunition they sent unto Ireland might, in the same proportions, be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired, that some ships of war might be appointed to guard the seas betwixt Scotland and Ireland, to watch over their soldiers which they designed to transport in small vessels.

And then, upon landing of their men in Ireland, there should be one hundred horse ready to join with every 1,000 foot that they should send thither; and that they should receive instructions and orders, and in every thing obey the Scottish general.

These propositions, being laid before the house of commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighing the high necessities of this kingdom, that the Scots had 2,500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving of Ireland, as by sending those forces out of Scotland, they readily consented to them, and, having voted them severally, they sent them up to the house of

peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the prompt relief of Ireland, and it was now generally believed, that considerable forces would be transported within a very short time out of Scotland, for the defence of the northern parts of this kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness his majesty, in his speech made to the lords and commons in parliament, on the 14th of December in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of Ireland, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains, or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the Irish nation to their true and wonted obedience.

But, alas! these great expectations were soon dashed, and the forces designed for Ireland, as well out of England as Scotland, were strangely retarded, by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of Irish affairs.

A Letter from the Lords-Justices and Council to the Lord-Lieutenant.

"May it please your Lordship,

"By our letters of the third of December, we made known to your lordship, that Master Hawtridge was then newly arrived with the treasure sent us from thence, which came but to sixteen thousand five hundred, fourscore and ten pounds; a supply of treasure far short of that which has now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the rebels, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, insomuch, that the forces they have about Drogheda on all sides of it, and between Drogheda and this place, reaching even within four miles of this city, are, upon very credible report, estimated to be above twenty thousand men; and besides those numbers, who are so united between this and Drogheda and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed over the whole kingdom. For the meaner sort of people generally rise first; and then those of better quality follow after; and the fire which was first kindled in Ulster, and lay awhile smothered in other parts, begins now to break out so generally, that the defection appears to be universal throughout the whole four provinces. So strangely rooted was the combination, and that strengthened under the specious shew of a war for religion; for, although (before and since the caution from your lordship,) we have, on our part, endeavoured not to give any apprehension to the Irish, that England doth intend to make it a war of religion, yet, as we formerly made known to your lordship, the rebels labour mainly to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far that they call themselves generally the catholic army; a title which has drawn many thousands to their party; and yet, many joined with them for no other reason than because they saw our succours (expected forth of England and Scotland) deferred; they rightly judging, that, without those succours, we are not able to defend them ourselves. And, indeed, until those succours come, they must and will increase. But if our men and arms were once arrived, the very circumstance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some stop to their fury, with which they yet carry all before them, whithersoever they come.

"They continue their rage and malignity as against the English and protestants, who, if they leave their goods and cattle, for more safety, with any papists, those are called out by the rebels, and the papists, goods and cattle left behind; and now upon some new counsels taken by them, they have added to their former a farther degree of cruelty, even of the highest nature, which is to proclaim, That, if any Irish shall harbour, or relieve, any English, and suffer him to escape with his life, that it shall be penal, even to death, to such Irish; and so they will be sure that (though they put not those English actually to the sword,) yet they do, as certainly and with more cruelty, cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any seed of an Englishman in Ireland.

"Nor is their malice towards the English expressed only so, but farther even to the beasts of the fields, and the improvements of their lands; for they destroy all cattle of English breed, and declare openly, that their reason is, because they are English. So great is their hatred, not only to the persons of the English, but also to every thing of that nation, and they destroy all improvements made by the English, and lay waste their habitations.

"We formerly signified to your lordship, that, to take away all jealousy from the papists of the English pale, we would furnish them with some arms; and the rather because we well know that, in the last great rebellion in Ireland, the English pale stood firm to the crown of England; and that the rebel Tyrone, in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the pale with his forces, whilst he was in rebellion. And upon this occasion,—the noblemen and gentlemen of the pale, making deep professions of their loyalty to his majesty, in imitation of their ancestors; and with expressions seeming to abhor the contrivers of this rebellion, against whom they offered to employ their power and strength, if they were furnished with arms: and we, being well assured, that, if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our work; we did, at their earnest suit, issue for them arms for one thousand seven hundred men; wherewith several companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed governors of the forces of the counties, and captains of their companies. But so many of those companies revolted to the rebels, and carried away their arms with them, that we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty arms; so that those whose loyalty, we had reason to expect, would help us are now (through their disloyalty) turned against us, and are strengthened with our own arms. And without all question if those of the English pale had done their duty as became good subjects, with the arms which they had from us, and those they might gather among themselves; they might, with our help, not only have defended the pale against the rebels, but might also have prevented the ruin and destruction wrought by their tenants and neighbours, on the poor English and protestants among them. For the noblemen and gentry sat still and looked on, while the English and protestants were ruined before their faces; and the papists in the mean time remained secure, without the loss of goods, or any thing else.

"When we saw the power and strength of the rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us; and the English and protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this city, in disdain and defiance of this state, (which are scorns of so high a nature as we could not endure, if we had strength sufficient to suppress their insolencies:) And, when we observed the retarding of our succours of men and arms from England and Scotland, (neither of which succours being yet come, nor, as we heard, so much as in view there or in Scotland) and, when we found apparently, that, for want of those supplies, we became, in a manner, so contemptible, that we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this city and castle before our aids should come; we bethought us of all the means we could, of gaining time; being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the state of England, but that some supplies may yet come unto us. And therefore, on the third of December, we directed our letters to divers of the nobility of the kingdom who were nearest to us, (and most of them being of the English pale,) to be with us here on the eighth day of this month, that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the kingdom; and we hoped, by their help, to arrange the matter so that we might gain a few days' time before our surprisal here; by which time, in all likelihood, our succours might arrive. Although it be boldly given out by the rebels, that we shall have no succours from thence; which they assert to embolden their party, and to strike terror and discouragement into the well affected;

amongst whom there are many so weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the kingdom. On the eighth day of this month the earl of Kildare, the lord viscount Fitzwilliam, and the baron of Howth, came to us; but, the rest of the noblemen not coming, we deferred our conference; and on the eleventh day of this month we received letters from seven of them, namely, the earl of Fingal, the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Nettleville, and the lords of Slaine, Trimblestone, Dunsany and Lowth, dated the seventh day of this month, and signed by them, pretending a fear of a massacre of those of their religion; and that therefore they are deterred from waiting on us, but do rather think it fit to stand with the loyalty they profess. When we received those letters, we did wonder whence their fears of coming to us should arise; but afterward we heard that they had been in consultation with the rebels; which also, as to most of them, was confirmed by the examination of Christopher Hampton. And indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own guilt begot in them the fear they pretend. And they spare not, though unjustly, to charge us with a neglect of their advices: whereas not one of them, to this hour, has offered to us any advice, or real assistance towards the pacification of these troubles. It became then public, (nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others,) that those noblemen so far sided with the rebels, that they now stood upon their guard. We therefore judge it fit, for vindicating the state from the aspersion which we found so publicly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed proclamation, as well to satisfy the world as those noblemen, (who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts,) that we never intended to massacre them, or any other persons; that being a thing which we, and all good protestants, do much abhor, whatever the practice of their religion is, and hath been found to be by woeful experience in other parts; whereof we confess we are now in great danger, if our long expected succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny, which the rebels have already exercised towards those of our nation and religion, who fell into their hands, what we, for our parts, may expect from them. But the dishonour and shame which may reflect upon the English nation, by exposing this state and kingdom to so apparent ruin, and, with it, the extirpation of God's true religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those succours.

"We lately received letters from the lady Ofaly, and a letter containing most insolent menaces enclosed therein, sent her from one of the rebels, to which she sent a noble answer; one of the rebels, styling himself chaplain-major and overseer of the coasts and harbours, lately sent a summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one Edward Leech, that was entrusted to keep the island of Lambay, requiring the delivery up of that island to the rebels: which being done, he gave Leech a pass, wherein he styles the rebels' forces the catholic army; and Leech told us, that that mighty chaplain declared openly to him, 'That he was the plotter of this great rebellion; that he had spent in travel and prosecution of that design beyond seas, four thousand pounds; and that all the kings in Christendom, excepting the king of England, and the king of Denmark, have hands in this business.' A castle in the town of Longford, held by the English, (who stood out awhile against the rebels,) being in the end, through want of victuals, necessitated to be rendered up to them upon promise of quarter; a popish priest, standing with his skain in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a minister then amongst the English, did, by thrusting that skain into the minister's stomach, and ripping up his belly, give that as a signal to the rebels, for falling upon the rest of the English; which they did accordingly, as soon as the minister was murdered, killing some, and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

"On the ninth of this month, we received advertisement, that great numbers of men were gathered together in warlike manner at Swords, in the county of Dublin, within six miles of us, they having the army of the rebels behind them on this side Drogheda; whereupon we then immediately sent out our warrant, commanding them to disperse, whereupon we published a manifesto, for vindicating this state from their aspersions also. And it is observable, that those gentlemen at Swords could even on that very Tuesday night, wherein they allege they were so affrighted at their houses, assemble together twelve hundred men in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the state; whereas, for many days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an army of the enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and Drogheda, and whilst some of them (who were openly declared rebels,) and many of their neighbours, (who doubtless hold underhand intelligence with the rebels,) robbed and spoiled the English on all parts round about them; and yet those gentlemen could not in all that time be either so affrighted by the rebels, or so compassionate of their poor English neighbours; and certainly those gentlemen might have been as believing in this state, who have always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the forces of the rebels, which lie so near behind them, and who, they know, have murdered many of his majesty's subjects; and, (for aught they know, if there were not a secret intelligence between them,) might have used them also in like manner.

"But the truth is, we conceive those gentlemen had a mind to join with the rebels, and do now take up pretences to cover their disloyalty, and cast a scandal on this government.

"The rebels in the pale, as in other parts, have caused masses to be said openly in the churches, expelled the ministers from officiating in their churches, and forced divers persons, in order to save their lives and goods, to become papists; openly professing, that no protestant shall be suffered to live in Ireland; and, while they thus insult over all the English and protestants, destroying them for no other reason, but for that they are protestants and English, we let fall nothing against them touching religion; and yet they feign things against us, tending that way, in order to give some colour to their cruel proceedings.

"The rebels of the county of Kildare have taken the Naas and Kildare, in the county of Kildare; the rebels of Meath have taken Trim and Ashboy in the county of Meath, and divers other places; the rebels of the county of Dublin have possessed themselves of Swords and Rathcoole, and spoiled all the English and protestants even to the gates of Dublin; and now about one thousand five hundred of the rebels of Wicklow are in and about Powerscait, and about ten miles from this city. There are also between this and the Naas, within six or seven miles of us, a thousand of the rebels, of Kildare, and the borders of Wicklow and Dublin; so that we are in this city environed by them on all sides by land. And they begin to stop access to us by sea; for the fishermen on the sea coasts, being all Irish and papist inhabitants in the pale, brake out also into rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoiled, and pillaged even within the bay of Dublin, several barks coming hither from England. And, if, to revenge this villany on the fishermen at Clantarfe and thereabouts, so near us, we send forth a party of soldiers to burn and spoil those rebels' houses and corn, the gentlemen of the pale will immediately take new offence. But that we will adventure upon; for now there is no room for dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the state, not caring what scorns are put upon the government; wherein is observable, that the landlord of Clantarfe, is one of those gentlemen risen in arms at Swords.

"Your lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastening with all possible speed, our succours of men and arms, both out of England and Scotland, but also of sending them in greater numbers than those at first designed; seeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general, than at first was conceived; and yet so that such of them as are ready be not forced

to stay for the rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after: for no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison of the multitudes risen against us: and we desire, that the 10,000 designed to come from Scotland, may be wholly sent away, (as well those intended to be left there in readiness, as the rest,) with direction to land as near Dublin as they may, and, (wheresoever they land,) to march to Dublin, if possibly they can. And to send away the ships, appointed for guarding of these coasts, is also very necessary to be hastened; and that two or three ships of good strength follow after. Doubtless these rebels expect a very great supply of arms and ammunition from foreign parts, either Spain or France.

"And although, out of the foresight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in some provisions of victuals and corn, yet we have not been able to provide ourselves sufficiently to stand out any long siege; nor can we now get in any more, our markets being almost taken away, and the forces of the rebels surrounding us in such a manner that we can fetch in no more provisions: wherefore we beseech your lordship, that the magazines of victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with speed, if it be in distress of victuals for ourselves or them, or oats for our horses. Our want of victuals is the more in respect of the daily access of the English spoiled in the country.

"The necessity of the defence of the province of Munster, required the immediate raising of a regiment of foot, consisting of one thousand men, and two troops of horse, of threescore men in each troop; which threescore we appointed the lord president to raise. And for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise, (seeing we cannot do it,) that money and arms, and ammunition for the stores in that province, (now much wanting there) may be sent us.

"And, as the rebels, which beset us and this city on all sides by land, do threaten to cut off our market at Dublin, which we begin to feel already; so they boldly declare, that they will, within a day or two, cut off the water course, which brings water to this city and castle; and, when that is done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our suburbs, and besiege our walls, which we confess we yet want strength to defend, and must want till our supplies come from England, or Scotland, or both: for here we have but about three thousand men, the rest of the old companies being dispersed in several needful garrisons in the county, (excepting seven companies of them surprised, and cut off by the rebels at their first rising in Ulster, and other parts) and about two hundred horses by poll of the whole army, whereof many are Irish. So that, considering the spaciousness of this city and suburbs; and, lastly, the very great numbers of the rebels, (who are so strong as to approach this city with many thousands, and yet leave many thousands also at the siege of Drogheda,) we cannot expect to be able to defend this city, for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected succours.

The earl of Castlehaven, on the tenth of this month, presented at this board the oath, tendered unto him by the rebels to be sworn by him; which, he saith, he refused to swear: and, we hear, they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the sacrament thereupon.

"We did, lately, in hope to gain some time, until our supplies might come, listen to an offer made by some popish priests, to go to the rebels and treat with them. But we have since found that there is little hope of it; for some of the priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

"However, it is fit your lordship should know what we do. We must now crave leave to declare to your lordship, that (things being risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the government, but the loss of the kingdom,) as the supplies of men and arms, and more treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away hither; so is it also needful that we enjoy your lordship's presence here, for the conduct, in your own person, of the great and important affairs of this state, as well in the martial as in the civil government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great and imminent danger, wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your lordship. But we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may befit the greatness of the king, our master, to send with his lieutenant against so numerous enemies as these rebels are become, as well for the honour of his majesty, as for the terror of those rebels.

"By what we have hitherto, and now, humbly represent to your lordship, you may, in part, see the greatness of the public danger wherein this kingdom now stands, and particularly this city and castle, the principal piece thereof; that, if those be lost (which, we now again assure your lordship, were never in so great peril to be lost, since the first conquest in this kingdom by the crown of England) the whole kingdom must quickly follow, and that the danger which must thereupon arise to the kingdom of England, is very great in many respects.

"There is no possibility to prevent those evils, with honour and safety to England, but by succours from thence, or Scotland, or both; and, if those succours come not speedily, it cannot be avoided but the kingdom must be lost. And if, notwithstanding all this so often and truly made known by us to your lordship, we shall perish for want of supplies, we shall carry this comfort with us to our graves, or any other burial we shall have, that your lordship can witness for us to his royal majesty, and to all the world, that we have discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, to that nation, and to this, in humbly representing to his majesty, by your lordship, the chief governor of the kingdom, the extremities and dangers wherein his kingdom and people stand, and the necessity of hastening supplies hither, by all possible means, for preservation of both; so that, whatever may become of our persons, our memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the king our master, as to forbear representing thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have credit to be believed, or not. And, 'that we write truth, and most needful truth,' will be found true, when perhaps we shall perish, and, (which is more considerable,) the kingdom also, for want of being relieved and succoured in time. And so we remain

"Your lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons,	Jo. Borlace,
Ormond Ossory,	R. Dillon,
Charles Lambert,	Ad. Loftus,
John Temple,	Charles Coot,
Francis Willoughby,	R. Meredith.

From his majesty's castle of Dublin,
Dec. 14, 1641."

In this most miserable condition, the lords-justices and council continued shut up within the city of Dublin, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities, which had generally overspread the whole kingdom. Their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might assuage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter outcries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplied, that they were forced to spend their time almost in a perpetual consultation; never at rest, sometimes called up in the night by sudden intelligence, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatened on every side, so as, what through treachery within, or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the city and castle, wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the ruin and destruction of all the British and protestants throughout all other parts of the kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentleman and gallant commander, Sir Simon Harcourt, who being designed governor of the city

of Dublin, was despatched, by special order of parliament, with his regiment, for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last of December, 1641, to the great joy and comfort of all his majesty's protestant and well affected subjects, and to the terror of those rebels now in arms, who had made themselves believe that no succours would be sent out of England towards the suppressing of their notorious rebellion.

The rebels, within very few months after the first breaking out, had so ordered their affairs, as that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland counties of all the British inhabitants. And, except a few castles and other places of strength, (which they held severally besieged, and which had, most of them, suddenly after, surrendered for want of relief,) they had in a manner made themselves absolute masters in all those parts of the kingdom. And, for the maritime places, there were only some of the chief cities which held out against them, besides some few other forts and places of no great importance. As in the province of Leinster, the city of Dublin; and in the province of Munster, the cities of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale; in Ulster, Londonderry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus. And all these they held either besieged, and much distressed, or the inhabitants of them were otherways so over-pestered with the multitudes of poor, stripped people, (who had fled to them for safety,) that the rebels were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness, would within a short time, inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this land, and for their sins to give them up into the power of their cruel enemies who began now to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their victories. And upon the prosperity of their undertakings and late success, they were become so confident of prevailing, even to the total extirpation of all the British and protestants out of this kingdom, that they proceeded to set down a certain form of government, nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, what laws they would have revoked, what statutes newly enacted. And in the mean time they erected a council, which they styled the supreme council, which they invested with absolute power and authority, to order and govern the whole kingdom. This consisted of certain noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one physician, who, being elected unto this charge, had the place of their residence appointed unto them at Kilkenny, a city, in the great and weighty affairs of their state. They there erected several courts of judicature; they made a new broad seal, appointed several great officers of state, coined money, settled an excise upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Soon after, a considerable number of horse as well as foot, sent over by the parliament of England, arrived at Dublin; and having in some petty encounters thereabouts, tried the mettle of the rebels, and found their spirit of a poor and base alloy, they began extremely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous report of their great strength or numbers, which, with much advantage, they had long made use of. Therefore they now began to seek them out in all places; and wheresoever they met with them, they always prevailed, even with small numbers, very often against great multitudes of them, sparing not many times to pursue them into the midst of their great fastnesses, and made the very bogs and woods unsafe receptacles for their broken troops. And with so great success was the war prosecuted by the English, from the first landing of their forces out of England, until the treaty of that most unhappy cessation concluded in September, 1643, as that, in all encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom. And so they carried on their work before them without any assistance, either from the native Irish, or the English-Irish: for I cannot myself remember any gentleman of quality throughout the whole kingdom, that was there born and bred up a papist, that put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the English army. It is true, some of the common soldiers there were, of the English-Irish, that came in: and though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service, and still with much fury and sharpness followed on upon the execution.

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APPENDIX V.

CONTAINING

"THE EXECUTION OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND, NOT FOR RELIGION, BUT FOR TREASON," IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[THIS PAPER WAS WRITTEN BY ORDER OF SECRETARY BURLEIGH.]

IT hath been in all ages and in all countries, a common usage of all offenders for the most part, both great and small, to make defence of their lewd and unlawful acts by untruths, and by colouring and covering their deeds (were they never so vile) with pretences of some other causes of contrary operations or effects; to the intent not only to avoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath been the use of all offenders, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawful princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort, of late years, are especially to be noted certain persons naturally born subjects in the realm of England and Ireland, who having for some good time professed outwardly their obedience to their sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, have nevertheless afterward been stirred up and seduced by wicked spirits, first in England sundry years past, and secondly and of latter time in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking arms and coming into the field against her majesty and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable untruths many simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions. And though it is very well known, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to have deposed the queen's majesty from her crown, and to have traitorously set in her place some other whom they liked; whereby, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would have committed great bloodsheds and slaughters of her majesty's faithful subjects, and ruined their native country; yet, by God's power given unto her majesty, they were so speedily vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts, many and the greatest part upon confession of their faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not many) of the principal escaped into foreign countries, and there, because in none or few places rebels and traitors to their natural princes and countries, dare for their treasons challenge, at their first muster, open comfort or succour: these notable traitors and rebels have falsely informed many kings, princes, and states, and especially the bishop of Rome, commonly called the pope, (from whom they all had secretly their first comfort to rebel) that the cause of their flying from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said pope's authority. Whereas divers of them, before their rebellion, lived so notoriously the most part of their lives, out of all good rule, either for honest manners, or for any sense in religion, as they might have been rather familiar with Catiline, or favourites to Sardanapalus, than accounted good subjects under any Christian princes.

As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, a person utterly wasted by looseness of life, and by God's punishment, even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of his children that should have succeeded him in the earldom; and how his body is now eaten with ulcers caused by his vices, all his companions do see, that no enemy he had can wish him a viler punishment. And out of Ireland ran away one Thomas Stukeley, a defamed person almost through all Christendom, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for treacheries not pardonable: which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious evil and wicked lives of these and others their confederates, void of all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in favour of their treasons, not to colour their offences as themselves openly pretend to do, for avoiding of common shame of the world, but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take arms against their lawful queen, to invade her realm with foreign forces, to pursue all her good subjects and their native countries with fire and sword; for maintenance whereof there had some years before, at sundry times, proceeded in a thundering sort, bulls, excommunications, and other public writings, denouncing her majesty, being the lawful queen, and God's anointed servant, not to be the queen of the realm, charging, and, upon pains of excommunication, commanding all her subjects to depart from their natural allegiance, whereto by birth and by oath they were bound. Provoking also and authorising all persons of all degrees, within both the realms, to rebel, and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrary to all the laws of God and man, and nothing agreeable to a pastoral officer, not only all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled; but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of divers conditions and qualities, some not able to live at home but in beggary; some discontented for lack of preferments, which they gaped for unworthily in universities and other places; some bankrupt merchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learn to obey the laws of the land, have many years, running up and down from country to country, practised some in one corner, some in another, some with seeking to gather forces, and money for forces, some with instigation of princes by untruths, to make war upon their natural country; some with inward practises to murder the greatest, some with seditious writings, and very many of late with public infamous libels, full of despiteful, vile terms, and poisoned lies, altogether to uphold the aforesaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the pope's bull.

And yet also by some other means, to further these intentions, because they could not readily prevail by way of force, finding foreign princes of better consideration, and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes, it was devised to erect up certain schools which they called seminaries, to nourish and bring up persons disposed naturally to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and

to become seedmen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretly into these the queen's majesty's realms of England and Ireland under secret masks, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of jesuits for the stagers and ranker sort, and such-like: but yet so warily they crept into the land, as none brought the marks of their priesthood with them; but in divers corners of her majesty's dominions, these seminaries, or seedmen and jesuits, bringing with them certain Romish trash, as of their hallowed wax, their agnus dei, many kind of beads, and such like, have, as tillage-men, laboured secretly to persuade the people to allow of the pope's foresaid bulls and warrants, and of his absolute authority over all princes and countries, and striking many with pricks of conscience to obey the same; whereby, in process of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous and crafty course had not been by God's goodness espied and stayed, there had followed imminent danger of horrible uproars in the realms, and a manifest bloody destruction of great multitudes of christians.

For it cannot be denied, but that so many as should have been induced, and thoroughly persuaded to have obeyed that wicked warrant of the pope's, and the contents thereof, should have been forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitors; and for to be indeed errant and open traitors, there should have wanted nothing but opportunity to feel their strength, and to assemble themselves in such numbers, with armour and weapons, as they might have presumed to have been the greater part, and so, by open civil war, to have come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kings do rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonly wasted and confounded, hath otherwise given to her majesty, as to his handmaid and dear servant ruling under him, the spirit of wisdom and power, whereby she hath caused some of these seditious seedmen, and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason, not being dealt withal upon questions of religion, but justly condemned as traitors. At which times, notwithstanding all manner of gentle ways of persuasions used to move them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions; yet was the canker of their rebellious humours so deeply entered and graven into the hearts of many of them, as they would not be removed from their traitorous determinations. And therefore as manifest traitors, in maintaining and adhering to the capital enemy of her majesty and her crown, who hath not only been the cause of two rebellions already passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestly wage and maintain his own people, captains and soldiers, under the banner of Rome, against her majesty (so as no enemy could do more;) these, I say, have justly suffered death, not by force or form of any new laws established either for religion or against the pope's supremacy, as the slanderous libellers would have it seem to be, but by the ancient temporal laws of the realm, and namely by the laws of parliament made in king Edward the Third's time, about the year of our Lord 1330, which is above 200 years and more past, when the bishops of Rome, and popes, were suffered to have their authority ecclesiastical in this realm, as they had in many other countries.

But yet of this kind of offenders, as many of them as, after their condemnations, were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions, so many were spared from execution, and do live still at this day; such was the unwillingness in her majesty to have any blood spilt, without this very just and necessary cause proceeding from themselves. And yet nevertheless, such of the rest of the traitors as remain in foreign parts, continuing still their rebellious minds, and craftily keeping themselves aloof from dangers, cease not to provoke sundry other inferior seditious persons, newly to steal secretly into the realm, to revive the former seditious practices, to the execution of the pope's foresaid bulls against her majesty and the realm, pretending, when they are apprehended, that they came only into the realm by the commandment of their superiors the heads of the jesuits, to whom they are bound (as they say) by oath, against either king or country, and here to inform or reform men's consciences from errors in some points of religion, as they shall think meet; but yet in very truth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestly proved to be, secretly to win all people with whom they dare deal, so to allow of the pope's said bulls and of his authority without exception, as in obeying thereof, they take themselves fully discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawful prince and country, yea, and to be well warranted to take arms to rebel against her majesty when they shall be thereunto called, and to be ready secretly to join with any foreign force that can be procured to invade the realm, whereof also they have a long time given, and yet do for their advantage, no small comfort of success; and so consequently the effect of their labours is to bring the realm not only into a dangerous war against the forces of strangers, (from which it hath been free above twenty-three or twenty-four years, a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like) but into a war domestical and civil, wherein no blood is usually spared, nor mercy yielded, and wherein neither the vanqueror nor the vanquished have cause of triumph.

And forasmuch as these are the most evident perils that necessarily should follow, if these kind of vermin were suffered to creep by stealth into the realm, and to spread their poison within the same, howsoever, when they are taken, like hypocrites they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of devotion in religion; it is of all persons to be yielded in reason, that her majesty, and all her governors and magistrates of justice, having care to maintain the peace of the realm, (which God hath given in her time to continue longer than ever in any time of her progenitors) ought of duty to Almighty God the author of peace, and according to the natural love and charge due to their country, and for avoiding the floods of blood which in civil wars are seen to run and flow, by all lawful means possible, as well by the sword as by law, in their several seasons to impeach and repel these so manifest and dangerous colourable practices, and works of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subjects known in the realm, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and that do also not forbear to profess the same, yet in that they do also profess loyalty and obedience to her majesty, and offer readily in her majesty's defence to impugn and resist any foreign force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himself, none of these sort are for their contrary opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrary opinions, that savour not of treason.

And of these sorts, there are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those were, which of late have been executed, as in particular, some by name are well known, and not unfit to be remembered. The first and chiefest by office was doctor Heth, that was archbishop of York, and lord-chancellor of England in queen Mary's time, who, at the first coming of her majesty to the crown, shewing himself a faithful and quiet subject, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestly differing; and yet was he not restrained of his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving willingly both his offices, lived in his own house, and enjoyed all his purchased lands during all his natural life, until by very age he departed this world, and then left his house and living to his friends: an example of gentleness never matched in queen Mary's time! The like did one doctor Pool, that had been bishop of Peterborough, an ancient grave person, and a very quiet subject. There were also others that had been bishops, and in great estimation, as doctor Tunstal, bishop of Durham, a person also of very quiet behaviour. There were also others, doctor White, doctor Oglethorp, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, bishops; and doctor Thurleby and doctor Watson yet living, one of Ely, the other of Lincoln, bishops; not pressed with any capital pain, though they maintained the pope's authority against the laws of the realm; and some abbots,

as Master Fecknam yet living, a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour for a great time. Some also were deans, as doctor Boxall, dean of Windsor, a person of great modesty and knowledge; doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, a person more earnest than wise; doctor Reynolds, dean of Exeter, and many such others having borne offices and dignities in the church, and had made profession against the pope, which they began in queen Mary's time to change; yet were they never to this day burthened with capital pains, nor yet deprived of any their goods or proper livelihoods, but only removed from their ecclesiastical offices, which they would not exercise according to the laws: and most of them, for a great time, were retained in bishops' houses, in very civil and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, until the time that the pope began, by his bulls and messages, to offer trouble to the realm by stirring of rebellion; about which time only some of these aforenamed being found busier, in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was meet for the common quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places, where such other wanderers, as were men known to move sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the pope's bull gave manifest occasion; and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by any inquisition to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as no one was called to any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but have all enjoyed their life as the course of nature would; and such of them as yet remain may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, enjoy the time that God and nature shall yield them without danger of life or member.

And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these, and the most of them, had in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the Sixth, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemn and abhor the authority of the pope; yea, they had many times given their oaths publicly against the pope's authority, and had also yielded to both the said kings the title of supreme head of the church of England next under Christ; which title the adversaries do most falsely write and affirm, that the queen's majesty doth now use; a manifest lie and untruth. And for proof that these aforesaid bishops and learned men had so long time disavowed the pope's authority, many of their books and sermons against the pope's authority remain printed to be seen in these times, to their great shame and reproof to change so often, and specially in persecuting such as themselves have taught and established to hold the contrary.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laymen of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestly of late times seduced to hold contrary opinions in religion for the pope's authority; and yet none of them have been sought hitherto to be impeached in any point or quarrel of treason, or of loss of life, member, or inheritance, so as it may plainly appear, that it is not, nor hath been, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the pope's authority, as the adversaries do boldly and safely publish, that any persons have suffered death since her majesty's reign; and yet some of these sort are well known to hold opinion, that the pope ought, by authority of God's word, to be supreme and only head of the catholic church, and only to rule in all causes ecclesiastical, and that the queen's majesty ought not to be the governor over all her subjects in her realm being persons ecclesiastical; which opinions are, nevertheless, in some part, by the laws of the realm, punishable in some degrees, and yet for none of these points have any persons been prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life. And if then it be enquired for what cause these others have of late suffered death, it is truly to be answered, as before is often remembered, that none at all are impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as do obstinately maintain the contents of the pope's bull before-mentioned; which do import, that her majesty is not the lawful queen of England, *the first and highest point of treason;* and that all her subjects are discharged of their oaths and obedience, *another high point of treason;* and all warranted to disobey her and her laws, *a third and a very large point of treason.*

And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the pope's hostile proceedings in open wars against her majesty in her realm of Ireland, where one of their company, Doctor Sanders, a scholar, and subject of England, a fugitive, and a principal companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels of Rome, was, by the pope's special commission, a commander, as in form of a legate, and some time a treasurer or paymaster for those wars; which Doctor Sanders, in his book of his Church Monarchy, did, before his passing into Ireland, openly, by writing, gloriously avow the aforesaid bull of Pius V. against her majesty, to be lawful, and affirmeth, that by virtue thereof, one Doctor Morton, an old English fugitive and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, to stir up the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Nevill, the late earl of Westmoreland, was a head captain. And thereby it may manifestly appear to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were justly condemned of treason, and lawfully executed by the ancient laws temporal of the realm, without any other matter than for their practices and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the queen and the realm, and for maintaining of the pope's aforesaid authority and bull published to deprive her majesty of her crown, and for withdrawing and reconciling of her subjects from their natural allegiance due to her majesty and to their country, and for moving them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions and religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged and convinced of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still, in their answers, colourably pretend their actions to have been for religion; but in deed and truth they were manifest for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against her majesty and her realm.

And herein is now manifest diversity to be seen, and well considered, betwixt the truth of her majesty's actions, and the falsehood of the blasphemous adversaries; that where the factious party of the pope, the principal author of the invasions of her majesty's dominions, do safely allege, that a number of persons, whom they term as martyrs, have died for defence of the catholic religion, the same, in very truth, manifestly appear to have died (if they so will have it) as martyrs for the pope, and traitors against their sovereign and queen in adhering to him, being the notable and only open hostile enemy in all actions of war against her majesty, her kingdoms, and people; and that this is the meaning of all these that have so obstinately maintained the authority and contents of this bull, the very words of the bull do declare in this sort, as Doctor Sanders reporteth them.

"Pius V., the greatest bishop of the fulness of the apostolic power, declared Elizabeth to be bereaved or deprived of her pretended right of her kingdom, and also of all and whatsoever dominion, dignity, and privilege; and also the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others which had sworn to her any manner of ways, to be absolved for ever from such oath, and from all debt or duty of fealty," and so forth; with many threatening cursings to all that durst obey her, or her laws. And for execution hereof, to prove that the effect of the pope's bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amiss to hear what Doctor Sanders, the pope's firebrand in Ireland, also writeth in his Visible Church Monarchy: which is thus:

"Pius V., the greatest bishop, in the year of our Lord 1569, sent the reverend priest, Nicholas Morton, an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare, by the apostolic authority, to certain noblemen, Elizabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretic; and for that cause to have fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of

them as an ethnick, and that they are not to be compelled to obey her laws or commandments," &c.

Thus you see an ambassage of religion from the pope's holiness, the ambassador, an old doting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent, as he saith, to some noblemen, and those were the two earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, heads of the rebellion.

And after this, he followeth to declare the success thereof, which I dare say he was sorry it was so evil, with these words:

"By which denunciation many noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to think of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certainly that all the catholics would have assisted them with all their strength; but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholics knew not that Elizabeth was declared to be an heretic, yet the councils and intents of those noblemen were to be praised." A rebellion and a vanquishing of the rebels very smoothly described!

This noble fact, here mentioned, was the rebellion in the North: the noblemen were the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland: the lack of the event, or success, was, that the traitors were vanquished, and the queen's majesty, and her subjects, had, by God's ordinance, the victory; and the cause why the rebels prevailed not, was, because all the catholics had not been duly informed that the queen's majesty was declared to be (as they term it) an heretic. Which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligently and cunningly supplied by the sending into the realm of a great multitude of the seminaries and jesuits, whose special charge was to inform the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestly appeared.

And though Doctor Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as favoured the two notable jesuits; one named Robert Parsons, (who yet hideth himself in corners to continue his traitorous practice), the other named Edmond Campion, (that was found out, being disguised like a royster, and suffered for his treasons), that Doctor Sanders' treason is his proper treason, in allowing of the said bull, but not to be imputed to Parsons and Campion. Therefore to make it plain that these two, by special authority, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not feigned or imagined, but are the very writings taken about one of their accomplices immediately after Campion's death.

Faculties granted by the two Fathers, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion for England, the 14th of April, 1580.

Let it be asked or required of our most holy lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratory made by Pius V. against Elizabeth, and such as do adhere or obey her; which bull the catholics desire to be understood in this manner, that the same bull shall always bind her and the heretics; but the catholics it shall by no means bind, as matters or things do now stand or be, but hereafter, when the public execution of that bull may be had or made."

Then in the end, the conclusion was thus added:

"The highest pontiff or bishop granted these aforesaid graces to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journeys into England, the 14th day of April, A.D. 1580, being present, the Father Oliver Manarke, assistant."

Hereby it is manifest what authority Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queen's majesty, howsoever he himself denied the same.

And though it be manifest that these two jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not only required to have the pope's mind declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, shewed how they and other catholics did desire to have the said bull to be understood against the queen of England; yet, to make the matter more plain, how all other jesuits and seminaries, yea, how all papists, naming themselves catholics, do and are warranted to interpret the said bull against her majesty and her good subjects, you shall see what one of their fellows, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion, did, amongst many other things, declare his knowledge thereof the last day of December, in the same year, 1580, in these words following:

"The bull of Pius V. (for so much as it is against the queen) is holden among the English catholics for a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subjects' fidelity, and so remaineth in force; but in some points, touching the subjects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all her subjects are commanded not to obey her; and she being excommunicated and deposed, all that do obey her are likewise innodate and accursed; which point is perilous to the catholics; for if they obey her, they be in the pope's curse, and if they disobey her, they are in the queen's danger; therefore the present pope, to relieve them, hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obey and serve her, without peril of excommunication; which dispensation is to endure but till it please the pope to determine it otherwise."

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before-mentioned, all persons, both within the realm and abroad, may plainly perceive, that all the infamous libels lately published abroad, in sundry languages, and the slanderous reports, made in other princes' courts, of a multitude of persons to have been of late put to torments and death, only for profession of the catholic religion, and not for matters of state against the queen's majesty, are false and shameless, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seem more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which, by their own catalogue, exceed not, for these twenty-five years' space, above the number of threescore, forgetting, or, rather with their stony and senseless hearts, not regarding in what cruel sort in the time of Queen Mary, which little exceeded the space of five years, the queen's majesty's reign being five times as many, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of four hundred; and of that number above twenty that had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates or officers in the church lamentably destroyed, and of women above threescore, and of children above forty; and, amongst the women, some great with child, out of whose bodies the child, by the fire, was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burned. Examples beyond all heathen cruelty. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such as had never, by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, or were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but only of that which, by their blood and death in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify. A matter of another sort to be lamented with simplicity of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a very few traitors, who also in their time, if they exceeded thirty years of age, had in their baptism professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion, which they now so bitterly opposed; and beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queen Mary's time; for though they continued in the profession of their religion wherein they were christened; yet they never at their death denied their lawful queen, nor maintained any of her open and foreign enemies, nor procured any rebellion or civil war, nor did sow any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew any subjects from their obedience, as these sworn servants of the pope have continually done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt but all good subjects within the realm do manifestly see, and all wavering persons (not being led out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceive how they have been abused to go astray. And all strangers, but especially all christian protestants, as emperors, kings, princes, and such-like, having their sovereign estates, either in succession hereditary, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very

truth of these her majesty's late just and necessary actions, only for defence of herself, her crown, and people, against open invaders, and for eschewing of civil wars, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their own like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted, but they will) that it belongeth not to a bishop of Rome as successor of St. Peter, and therein a pastor spiritual, or if he were the bishop of all Christendom, as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulls, or excommunications, in this sort at his will, in favour of traitors and rebels, to depose any sovereign princes, being lawfully invested in their crowns, by succession in blood, or by lawful election, and then to arm subjects against their natural lords, to make wars, and to dispense with them for their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicate faithful subjects for obeying of their natural princes; and lastly, himself, to make open war with his own soldiers, against princes moving no force against him.

For if these powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdom, no country, no city or town, be possessed by any lawful title, longer than one such only an earthly man, sitting (as he saith) in St. Peter's chair at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) think meet and determine; an authority never challenged by the Lord of lords, the Son of God Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour, and the only head of the church, whilst he was in his humanity upon the earth, nor yet delivered by any writing or certain tradition from St. Peter, from whom the pope pretendeth to derive all his authority, nor yet from St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; but contrariwise, by all preachings, precepts, and writings contained in the gospel, and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expressly commanded to all earthly princes, yea, even to kings by special name, and that so generally, as no person is exempted from such duty of obedience, as by the sentence of St. Paul, even to the Romans, appeareth, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;" within the compass of which law or precept, St. Chrysostome, being bishop of Constantinople, writeth, that even apostles, prophets, evangelists, and monks are comprehended. And for proof of St. Peter's mind herein, from whom these popes claim their authority, it cannot be plainlier expressed, than when he writeth thus: "Therefore be you subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or to magistrates sent by him." By which two principal apostles of Christ, these popes, the pretended successors, but chiefly by that which Christ the Son of God, the only master of truth, said to Peter and his fellow apostles: "The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but you not so," may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes over kings and princes, and exercise their pastoral office, as St. Peter was charged thrice at one time by his Lord and Master, "Feed my sheep," and peremptorily forbidden to use a sword, in saying to him, "Put thy sword into the scabbard."

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were duly followed and observed many hundred years after their death, by the faithful and godly bishops of Rome, that duly followed the doctrine and humility of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and thereby dilated the limits of Christ's church and the faith, more in the compass of a hundred years, than the latter popes have done with their swords and curses these five hundred years, and so continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII. about A.D. 1074, who first began to usurp that kind of tyranny, which of late the pope, called Pius V., and since that time Gregory, now the XIII. hath followed, for some example as it seemeth; that is, where Gregory VII. in A.D. 1074, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henry IV., a noble emperor then being, Gregory XIII. now at this time, would attempt the like against King Henry the Eighth's daughter and heir, Queen Elizabeth, a sovereign queen, holding her crown immediately of God. And to the end it may appear to princes, or to their good counsellers in one example, what was the fortunate success that God gave to his good Christian, Emperor Henry, against the proud Pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the Pope Gregory attempted to depose this noble Emperor Henry, there was one Rodulph, a nobleman, by some named the count of Reenfield, that by the pope's procurement usurped the name of the emperor, who was overcome by the said Henry, the lawful emperor, and in fight having lost his right hand, he, the said Rodulph, lamented his case to certain bishops, who, in the pope's name, had erected him up, and to them he said, that the self-same right hand, which he had lost, was the hand wherewith he had before sworn obedience to his Lord and Master, the Emperor Henry, and that in following their ungodly counsels, he had brought upon him God's heavy and just judgment. And so Henry, the emperor, prevailing by God's power, caused Gregory, the pope, by a synod in Italy, to be deposed, as, in like times before him, his predecessor, Otho, the emperor, had deposed one Pope John for many heinous crimes; and so were also, within a short time, three other popes, namely, Sylvester, Benedict, and Gregory VI. used by the Emperor Henry III. about A.D. 1047, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporal actions against the said emperors.

And, therefore, as there is no doubt but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by any pope, in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by every sovereign prince in Christendom, in defence of their persons and crowns, and maintenance of their subjects in peace; so is there at this present a like just cause, that the emperor's majesty, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other sovereign kings and princes in Christendom, should judge the same to be lawful for her majesty, being a queen, and holding the very place of a king and a prince sovereign over divers kingdoms and nations, she being also most lawfully invested in her crown, as for good governing of her people, with such applause and general allowance, loved and obeyed of them, saving a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realm is free, as continually for these twenty-five years past hath been notably seen, and so publicly marked, even by strangers repairing into this realm, as it were no cause of disgrace to any monarchy and king in Christendom to have her majesty's felicity compared with any of theirs whatsoever; and, it may be, there are many kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicity. And though the pope be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his own peculiar patrimony, and by the two great monarchs, the French king, and the king of Spain, in the dominions and territories (although by other kings not so allowed) to continue his authority in sundry cases, and his glorious title to be the universal bishop of the world; which title, Gregory the Great, above nine hundred years past, called a profane title, full of sacrilege, and preamble of antichrist; yet in all their dominions and kingdoms, as also in the realm of England, most notably by many ancient laws it is well known, how many ways the tyrannous power of this his excessive authority hath been and still is restrained, checked, and limited by laws and pragmatiques, both ancient and new; a very large field for the lawyers of those countries to walk in and discourse. And howsoever the pope's canonists, being as his bombardiers, do make his excommunications and curses appear fearful to the multitude and simple people; yet all great emperors and kings before time, in their own cases, of their rights and royal pre-eminences, though the same concerned but a city or a poor town, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthy person to a bishopric, or to an abbey, never refrained to despise all popes' curses or forces, but attempted always, either by their swords to compel them to desist from their furious actions, or without any fear of themselves in body, soul, or conscience, stoutly to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and laws; the ancient histories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and ineffectual than of the kings of France.

But leaving those that are ancient, we may remember how, in this our own present or late age, it hath been manifestly seen how the army of the late noble emperor, Charles V. father to King Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in A.D. 1527, Rome itself was besieged and sacked, and the pope, then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirty-three, in his Mount Adrian or Castle St. Angelo, taken prisoners, and detained seven months or more, and after ransomed by Don Ugo di Moncada, a Spaniard, and the marquess of Grasto, for about four hundred ducats, besides the ransoms of his cardinals, which was very great, having not long before-time been also, notwithstanding his curses, besieged in the same castle by the family of the Colonesi, and their fautors his next neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yield to all their demands. Neither did King Henry II. of France, father to Henry, now king of France, about A.D. 1550, fear or regard the pope, or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edicts against many parts of the pope's claims in prejudice of the crown and clergy of France, retracting the authority of the court of Rome, greatly to the hindrance of the pope's former profits. Neither was the army of King Philip, now of Spain, whereof the duke of Alva was general, stricken with any fear of cursing, when it was brought before Rome, against the pope, in A.D. 1555, where great destruction was made by the said army, and all the delicate buildings, gardens, and orchards, next to Rome walls, overthrown; wherewith his holiness was more terrified than he was able to remove with any his curses. Neither was Queen Mary, the queen's majesty's late sister, a person not a little devoted to the Roman religion, so afraid of the pope's cursings, but that both she and her whole council, and that with the assent of all the judges of the realm, according to the ancient laws, in favour of Cardinal Pole, her kinsman, did forbid the entry of his bulls, and of a cardinal's hat at Calais, that was sent from the pope for one Friar Peyto, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinal in disgrace of Cardinal Pole; neither did Cardinal Pole himself, at the same time, obey the pope's commandments, nor shewed himself afraid, being assisted by the queen, when the pope did threaten him with pain of excommunication, but did still oppose himself against the pope's commandment for the said pretended Cardinal Peyto, who, notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go up and down in the streets of London like a begging friar: a stout resistance in a queen for a poor cardinal's hat, wherein she followed the example of her grandfather, King Henry VII. for a matter of allum: so as however the christian kings, for some respects in policy, can endure the pope to command, where no harm nor disadvantage groweth to themselves; yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall give aid to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulls, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemn anathematicals, no, nor their cross keys or double-edged sword, will serve their turns to compass their intentions.

And now where the pope hath manifestly, by his bulls and excommunications, attempted as much as he could, to deprive her majesty of her kingdoms, to withdraw from her the obedience of her subjects, to procure rebellions in her realms, yea, to make both rebellions and open wars with her own captains, soldiers, banners, ensigns, and all other things belonging to war: shall this pope, or any other pope after him, think that a sovereign queen, possessed of the two realms of England and Ireland, established so many years in her kingdoms, as three or four popes have sat in their chair at Rome, fortified with so much duty, love, and strength of her subjects, acknowledging no superior over her realms, but the mighty hand of God? Shall she forbear, or fear to withstand, and make frustrate his unlawful attempts, either by her sword, or by her laws, or to put his soldiers, invaders of her realm, to the sword martially, or to execute her laws upon her own rebellious subjects civilly, that are proved to be his chief instruments for rebellion, and for his open war? This is sure, that howsoever either he sitting in his chair with a triple crown at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of Christendom, shall renew these unlawful attempts, Almighty God, whom her majesty only honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her only Sovereign Lord and Protector, and whose laws and gospel of his Son Jesus Christ she seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliver sufficient power into his maiden's hand, his servant Queen Elizabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpeters of infamies and lies have sounded forth and intituled certain that have suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion; so may they also, at this time, if they list, add to their forged catalogue, the headless body of the late miserable earl of Desmond, who of late secretly wandering without succour, as a miserable beggar, was taken by one of the Irish in his cabin, and in an Irish sort, after his own accustomed savage manner, his head cut off from his body; an end due to such an arch-rebel. And herewith, to remember the end of his chief confederates, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders, the pope's Irish legate, who also, wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succour, died raving in a frenzy. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitor of Ireland next to Stukeley, a man not unknown in the pope's palace for a wicked crafty traitor, was slain at one blow by an Irish noble young gentleman, in defence of his father's country, which the traitor sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earl, a very bloody faithless traitor, and a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandering to seek some prey like a wolf in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his own usage, being, as he thought, sufficiently armed with the pope's bulls and certain agnus dei, and one notable ring about his neck, sent from the pope's finger, (as it was said:) but these he saw saved not his life. And such were the fatal ends of all these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this day in Ireland a known traitor. To this number they may, if they seek number, also add a furious young man of Warwickshire, by name Somervile, to increase their calendar of the pope's martyrs, who of late was discovered and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her majesty, (whose life God always have in his custody!) The attempt not denied by the traitor himself, but confessed, and that he was moved thereto in his wicked spirit by enticements of certain seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading of sundry seditious vile books lately published against her majesty. But as God of his goodness hath of long time hitherto preserved her majesty from these and the like treacheries; so hath she no cause to fear being under his protection, she saying with king David in the psalm, My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; he is my protection, and the strength or the power of my salvation. And for the comfort of all good subjects against the shadows of the pope's bulls, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of her majesty's reign, by God's singular goodness, her kingdom hath enjoyed more universal peace, her people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, the earth of her kingdoms hath yielded more fruits, and generally all kind of worldly felicity hath more abounded since and during the time of the pope's thunders, bulls, curses, and maledictions, than in any other long times before, when the pope's pardons and blessings came yearly into the realm; so as his curses and maledictions have turned back to himself and his fautors, that it may be said to the fortunate queen of England and her people, as was said in Deuteronomy of Balaam, the Lord thy God would not hear Balaam, but did turn his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings; the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.

Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of her

majesty's actions to be good, reasonable, lawful, and necessary; yet because it may be that such as have, by frequent reading of false artificial libels, and by giving credit to them upon a prejudice or fore-judgment afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in favour of the pope, will rest unsatisfied: therefore as much as may be, to satisfy all persons as far forth as common reason may warrant, that her majesty's late action, in executing of certain seditious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the pope's supremacy, or against her majesty's regality, but for the very crimes of sedition and treason, it shall suffice briefly, in a manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following.

First, It cannot be denied but that her majesty did, for many years, suffer quietly the pope's bulls and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment weighed down with lead, or as of water-bubbles, commonly called in Latin bullæ, and such-like: but yet after some proof that courage was taken thereof by some bold and bad subjects, she could not but then esteem them to be very preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and therefore, with what reason could any dislike, that her majesty did for a bare defence against them, without other action or force, use the help of reviving of former laws, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kind of bulls within her realm?

Secondly, When notwithstanding the prohibition by her laws, the same bulls were plentifully (but in secret sort) brought into the realm, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the bishop of London's palace near to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, the principal city of the realm, by a lewd person, using the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in any common reason dislike, that her majesty finding this kind of denunciation of war, as a defiance to be made in her principal city by one of her subjects, avowing and obstinately maintaining the same, should, according to justice, cause the offender to have the reward due to such an act? And this was the first action of any capital punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to move rebellion, which was after her majesty had reigned about the space of twelve years or more.

Thirdly, When the pope had risen up out of his chair in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had, contrary to the advice given by St. Bernard to his predecessor: that is, when by his messages he left Verbum and took Ferrum, that is, left to feed by the word, and began to strike with the sword, and stirred her noblemen and people directly to disobedience and to open rebellion, and that her subjects, by his commandment, had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field: who with common reason can disallow, that her majesty used her principal authority, and by her forces lawful subdued rebels forces unlawful, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the pope himself useth to do with his own rebellious subjects in the patrimony of his church? And if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to have their wills, none ought to pity him, if, for want of resistance and courage, he lost both his crown, his head, his life, and his kingdom.

Fourthly, When her majesty beheld a further increase of the pope's malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in her north parts vanquished, in that he entertained abroad out of this realm, the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitives of the realm, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realms of England and Ireland, who there secretly allured her people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to send also, out of Italy by sea, certain ships with captains of his own, with their bands of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensigns, banners, and all other things requisite to the war, into her realm of Ireland; where the same forces, with other auxiliary companies out of Spain, landed, and fortified themselves very strongly in the sea-side, and proclaimed open war, erecting the pope's banner against her majesty: may it be now asked of these persons, favourers of the Romish authority, what in reason should have been done by her majesty otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitives so stolen into the realm, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparel as roysters or ruffians, some scholars, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons, and upon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to convince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimony of their own companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realm? What may be reasonably thought was meet to be done with such seditious persons, but by the laws of the realm to try, condemn, and execute them? and especially having regard to the dangerous time, when the pope's forces were in the realm of Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof, her majesty and her realm was forced to be at greater charges than ever she had been since she was queen thereof. And so by God's power, which he gave to her on the one part, she did by her laws suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realm of England, and by her sword vanquished all the pope's forces in her realm of Ireland, excepting certain captains of mark that were saved from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so unfortunate and desperate a voyage.

But though these reasons, grounded upon rules of natural reason, shall satisfy a great number of the adversaries, (who will yield that by good order of civil and christian policy and government, her majesty could nor can do no less than she hath done, first to subdue, with her forces, her rebels and traitors, and next, by order of her laws, to correct the aiders and abettors, and lastly, to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into her dominions) yet there are certain other persons, more nicely addicted to the pope, that will yet seem to be unsatisfied, for that, as they will term the matter, a number of silly poor wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholars or priests, by the names of seminaries, jesuits, or simple schoolmasters, that came not into the realm with any armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland, in their rebellions or wars: of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the laws of the realm, they might have been otherwise punished and corrected, and yet not with capital punishment. These kind of defences tend only to find fault rather with the severity of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subjects. But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous favourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their ears to reason) whether they think, that when a king being established in his realm, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterward openly raised in his realm by his own seditious subjects, and when by a foreign potentate or enemy the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels, by messages and promises, comforted to continue, and their treasons against their natural prince avowed, and consequently when the same potentate and enemy, being author of the said rebellion, shall, with his own proper forces, invade the realm and subjects of the prince that is so lawfully and peaceably possessed: in these cases shall no subject, favouring these rebels, and yielding obedience to the enemy the invader, be committed or punished as a traitor, but only such of them as shall be found openly to carry armour and weapon? Shall no subject, that is a spy and an explorer for the rebel or enemy, against his natural prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparel, with writings, or other manifest tokens, to prove him a spy for traitors, after he hath wandered secretly in his sovereign's camp, region, court, or city? Shall no subject be counted a traitor, that will secretly give earnest and prest money to persons to be rebels or enemies, or

that will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountains, or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the havens and creeks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of towers and walls, because these offenders are not found with armour or weapon? The answer, I think, must needs be yielded, (if reason and experience shall have rule with these adversaries) that all these and such-like are to be punished as traitors; and the principal reason is, because the actions of all these are necessary accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and wars. But if they will deny, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Judas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kiss.

Now therefore it resteth to apply the facts of these late melefactors, that are pretended to have offended but as scholars or bookmen, or, at the most, but as persons that only in words and doctrine and not with armour, did favour and help the rebels and the enemies. For which purpose, let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, schoolmasters, bookmen, seminaries, priests, jesuits, friars, beadmen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will, neither their titles nor their apparel doth make them traitors, but their traitorous secret emotions and practices: their persons make not the war, but their direction and counsels have set up the rebellions: the very causes final of these rebellions and wars have been to depose her majesty from her crown: the causes instrumental are these kind of seminaries and seedmen of sedition: the fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all her faithful subjects: the rewards of the invaders (if they could prevail) should be the disinheriting of all the nobility, the clergy, and the whole commonalty, that would (as they are bound by the laws of God, by their birth and oaths) defend their natural gracious queen, their native country, their wives, their children, their family, and their houses. And now examine these which you call your unarmed scholars and priests, wherefore they lived, and were conversant in company of the principal rebels and traitors at Rome, and in other places, where it is proved that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realm? Why they have wandered up and down in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names, and manner of apparel? Examine further, how these vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies have answered, when they were taken, and demanded what they thought of the bull of pope Pius V., which was published to deprive the queen's majesty, and to warrant her subjects to disobey her? Whether they thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebel? Secondly, Whether they thought her majesty to be the lawful queen of the realm, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the pope? Thirdly, Whether the pope might give such licence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other her majesty's subjects, to rebel as they did? Or give power to doctor Sanders, a natural born subject, but an unnatural worn priest, to take arms and move wars, as he did in Ireland? Fourthly, Whether the pope may discharge the subjects of her majesty, or of any other princes christened, of their oaths of obedience? Fifthly, Whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders, or one Bristow, a rebellious fugitive, did in their books write truly or falsely, in approving the said bull of Pius V., and the contents thereof? Lastly, What were to be done, if the pope, or any other assigned by him, would invade the realm of England, and what part they would take, or what part any faithful subject of her majesty ought to take? To these questions, very apt to try the truth or falsehood of any such seditious persons, being justly before condemned for their disloyalty, these unarmed traitors, I say, would no wise answer directly hereto, as all other faithful subjects to any prince christian ought to do. And as they, upon refusal to answer directly to these questions only, might have been justly convinced as guilty of treason; so yet were they not thereupon condemned, but upon all their other former actions committed both abroad and in the realm, which were no less traitorous than the actions of all other the spies and traitors, and of Judas himself afore remembered, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adjudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholars or priests) having been first conversant of long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth, in time of war and rebellion, by commandment of the capital enemy the pope or his legates, to be secret spies and explorers in the realm for the pope, to deliver, by secret Romish tokens, as it were an earnest or prest, to them that should be in readiness to join with the rebels or open enemies, and in like sort with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poison the senses of the subjects, pouring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her majesty and the laws of the realm; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subjects with the flames of rebellion, and to search and sound the depths and secrets of all men's inward intentions, either against her majesty, or for her; and, finally, to bring into a bead-roll, or as it were into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings of all that should be ready to rebel, and to aid the foreign invasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the service of the pope, and the traitors and rebels abroad, have made them traitors; not their books, nor their beads, no, nor their cakes of wax which they call agnus dei, nor other their relics, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome: and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that these did justly deserve their capital punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon.

Now, if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons before recited, may not serve to stop the boisterous mouths and the pestiferous tongues, and venomous breaths of these that are infected with so gross errors, as to defend seditious subjects, stirrers of rebellion against their natural prince and country; then are they to be left without any further argument, to the judgment of Almighty God, as persons that have covered their eyes against the sun's light, stopped their ears against the sound of justice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason, and, as the Psalmist saith, "They speak lies, they are as venomous as the poison of a serpent, even like as the deaf adder that stoppeth his ears."

Wherefore, with charity, to conclude, if these rebels and traitors, and their fautors, would yet take some remorse and compassion of their natural country, and would consider how vain their attempts have been so many years, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and would desist from their unnatural practices abroad; and if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the dark, would employ their travels in the works of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schools, and content themselves with their profession and devotion; and that the remnant of the wicked flock of the seedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings; there is no doubt, by God's grace, (her majesty being so much given to mercy, and devoted to peace), but all colour and occasion of shedding of blood of any more of her natural subjects of this land, should utterly cease. Against whose malice, if they shall not desist, Almighty God continue her majesty with his spirit and power long to reign and live in his fear, and to be able to vanquish them and all God's enemies, and her rebels and traitors both at home and abroad, and to maintain and preserve all her natural good loving subjects, to the true service of the same Almighty God, according to his holy word and will.

Many other things might be remembered for defence of other her majesty's princely, honourable, and godly actions in sundry other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railers have of late time, without all shame, by feigned and false libels, sought to discredit her majesty and her government: but at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleged by way of advertisements, are sufficient to justify her majesty's actions to the whole world in the cases remembered.

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